

"THE VERBAL ROOT IN XHOSA,  
ITS COMPONENT RADICALS AND EXTENSIONS "

by

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS.

Radical	R
Primary Radical	R1
Secondary Radical	R2
Mono-radical	mono-R
Di-radical	di-R
Tri-radical	tri-R
Root	r.
Verbal root	v.r.
Ideophonic root	Id. r.
Nominal root	nom. r.
Adjectival root	adj. r.
Radical Extension	REx.
Radical Conversion Extension	RCE.
Extension	Ex.
Tonal Markings:	
High Tone	H, ' /
Low Tone	L, \
High-Low (falling) tone	F, ^
Consonant (with Radical)	<u>C</u>
Vowel (with Radical)	<u>V</u>
Vowel-Consonant (with Extension)	<u>vc</u>

Unidentified lost consonant	ʎ
Unidentified phoneme (in <u>V</u> , <u>C</u> context)	~
Radical consisting of Vowel only (original initial consonant having been lost).	~ <u>V</u> -
Radical consisting of Consonant only (original vowel having been lost)	- <u>C</u> ~
Primitive/Obsolete (starred forms)	*
Same meaning	(s.m.)
Derived from	<
Giving rise to	>

PREFACE.

I am deeply indebted to my promoters who have guided me with such patience and from whom I have gained so much during the years of study under them.

Professor D. Ziervogel has put me deeply in his debt.

While never sparing criticism, it has always been constructive; and while faithfully refusing to overlook faults has always given me encouragement and suggested a positive approach to the problems confronting me.

During this past year, while Prof. Ziervogel was on long leave, Prof. J.A. Louw has very kindly taken over the responsibility of promoter. I am deeply grateful to him, for his enthusiasm has been an inspiration to me, and his profound knowledge of Xhosa has been of immense value. I have been indeed fortunate in enjoying the guidance of two men so well informed in their subject and so willing to impart their knowledge to others.

Further, I am indebted to Mr. Governor Mjali for the information concerning the tones of the various forms used in this thesis. Mr. Mjali's tones have also been checked by Mr. J.B. Jubase, of the Department of Bantu languages at the University of S.A., and my grateful acknowledgement to him is here recorded.

Mr. G. Mjali has given the Transkeian tonal interpretation throughout. For this I am grateful, for my own experience of Xhosa has been mainly in the Transkei. It is necessary to state this, since there is a certain measure of difference between the Transkeian tonal system and that of certain parts of the Ciskei and more Southern section of the Xhosa area. Mr. Mjali is well qualified

to supply this information. He grew up in the Transkei, where his Father was a Methodist minister. After passing his matriculation at the Clarkebury Institution, he studied at Fort Hare, where he read Bantu Languages under the direction of Professor D.D.T. Jabavu. For the past fifteen years he has been the Xhosa editor of WAMBA (formerly 'Umhlobo Wabantwana').

My own contact with Xhosa began with a period of twenty one years spent in various parts of the Republic of South Africa, while engaged in Missionary work. The greater part was spent in the Transkei, while shorter periods, spent on the Witwatersrand and in Swaziland, gave me the opportunity of coming into contact with language groups other than Nguni, and Nguni languages other than Xhosa. This experience has stood me in good stead in undertaking this investigation.

The nature of this study has, of necessity, been concerned to a large extent with known forms, and the Xhosa dictionary has provided the raw material for much of the analysis contained in this thesis. Though reference has been made, in the course of study, to such earlier dictionaries as John Ayliff's 'Vocabulary of the Kaffir Language' (1862), Albert Kropf's Kafir-English Dictionary (1899) and Kropf and Godfrey's second edition of the same work (1915), care has been exercised to check forms used against the more recent work contained in the 'New Concise Xhosa-English Dictionary' (J. McLaren, edited by J.J.R. Jolobe - 1963).

Finally, I wish to record my deep gratitude to my Wife, who has for the past few years not only encouraged me to continue with this work, but has unselfishly waived all claims to the times we could otherwise have been enjoying one another's company.

To Mrs. Dawn Mulder I owe a great debt. For the past three years, she has typed and re-typed parts of the manuscript, with unfailing accuracy and great cheerfulness. Her patience and efficiency are beyond praise.

Last, but by no means least, I would record my appreciation of the prompt, helpful and efficient assistance given to me by the members of the staff of the Library of the University of South Africa.



CHAPTER IINTRODUCTION1.1.0 AIM OF THESIS

1.1.0 As the title suggests, the purpose of this investigation is to establish a clear picture of what constitutes a verbal root in Xhosa, and to classify the various means whereby a simple verbal root may be extended to modify its meaning.

1.1.2 As far back as 1891, Torrend wrote in his classic "Comparative Grammar of the South African Bantu Languages", describing various suffixes which, when added to simple verbal roots, give rise to what he called 'derivative verbs'. His analysis was the basis of later developments in this field of study.

1.1.3 Before embarking on an investigation of the various types of extensions, it was obviously necessary to begin by isolating the verbal root itself, in its simplest form.

1.1.4 In dealing with the verbal root, an attempt is made to identify the nature of the component radicals that comprise the root, and further to speculate on the probable meaning-content of these radicals. Since, however, radicals do not, in general, occur in isolation, such deductions must, of necessity, be mainly speculative.

1.2.0 THE VERBAL ROOT : (v.r.)

1.2.1 Most writers on Bantu have dealt with the verbal stem, and spoken in terms of monosyllabic, disyllabic stems etc. This was natural enough in view of the fact that a syllable in Bantu normally consists of a consonant plus a vowel, and the classification of verbs according to the number of syllables in their stem seemed the obvious means of identification.

1.2.2 In this thesis, however, I have departed from this procedure and dealt with the root, for the following reason. It is generally accepted that the final vowel of a verbal stem is detachable : that once it is dropped, the verbal root is what remains.

The conventional position is clearly stated by Doke.<sup>1)</sup>

In Zulu, the vast majority of simple verb stems is composed of two syllables, and ends in the vowel -a. With the inflexion of the verb, this final -a may give place to some other vowel or to some derivative suffix. There is one part of this regular verb stem, however, which does not change, and this invariable part is called the root:

e.g:

Verb stem	Root
thanda	-thand-
funa	-fun-

1.2.3 This led to the further question : how are we to describe the root of a disyllabic verb stem? It now consists of a syllable (consonant plus vowel) and a consonant. It cannot be a disyllabic root. It can, however, now be regarded as a root consisting of two radicals. But there is an obvious difference between these radicals :

The first : consists of Consonant plus Vowel,

The second : consists of a Consonant only.

e.g: Root : -thand-

First radical : -tha-

Second radical: -nd-

---

1) Text Book of Zulu Grammar : Doke (1931)  
p. 119. para 298.

1.3.0. THE RADICAL (R).

1.3.1. One is immediately faced with a problem. Are these two radicals of a basically different nature, as they appear on the surface? Or are they fundamentally similar?

1.3.2. Apart from their semantic rôle and influence it was necessary to establish whether each of these radicals originally possessed a radical-vowel, or whether only the first had a vowel, while the second consisted only of a consonant. This question is dealt with in the text.

1.3.3. Other questions that had to be answered in this connection were :

Is it possible to say that these radicals play a specific rôle? If so, what is the precise nature of their respective rôles? In what respects are they similar, and in what respects do they differ?

1.3.4. Following on the lead given by Meinhof, Bourquin<sup>1)</sup> developed the theory that the first and second radicals in a di-radical verbal root do actually fulfil distinct functions, though he did not go beyond pointing out that the main semantic force of the verb is vested in the first radical, and that the second influences it in some direction. He did not elaborate on the latter.

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1) cf. Para 3.1.0.

1.2.5 In his thesis, on the Sotho verbal stem, Van der Merwe<sup>1)</sup> developed this line further and shewed how certain verbal roots, possessing a similar first radical, have also a similarity in general meaning. This principle has now been followed up, and developed in this study in relation to the Xhosa root.

1.2.6 Similarly, when dealing with the second radical in a di-radical verbal root, ideas advanced by McLaren<sup>2)</sup> led me to follow up the possibility of establishing a definite pattern, whereby it would be possible to specify the direction in which any such radical would influence the root.

1.2.7 In other words, by making a detailed comparison of verbal roots, on the dual-basis of similarity of form, on the one hand, and semantic similarity on the other, to identify the rôle at least of the most commonly found radicals, in both first and second position in the di-radical verbal root.

1.2.8 The two radicals in a di-radical verbal root are referred to, respectively, as the primary radical<sup>3)</sup> and the secondary radical.<sup>4)</sup>

1.2.9 It must be emphasized that the attempt to analyse the di-radical verbal root into primary and secondary radicals, and thereafter to elucidate the meaning-content of these radicals respectively, has been of an entirely speculative nature. The theories put forward in this connection are tentative, and not intended to be regarded in any way as final.

1.2.10 In seeking to classify the high frequency secondary radicals into what have been termed 'semantic categories', such classification is, again, of a speculative nature. What is significant is not so much the actual categories suggested herein, but the fact that some such classification appears to be possible. That the actual categories suggested here are not altogether satisfactory, and may indeed prove to be inadequate, is of secondary importance.

1) cf. D.F. van der Merwe, "On the Morphology and Semasiology of the Sotho Verbal Stem, with special reference to the derivative verbal species". (1941) : cf Appendix A.

2) cf. Para. 4.2.0

3) cf. Chapter 3 : (R1)

4) cf. Chapter 4 : (R2)

1.4.0. THE VOWEL IN THE DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOT.

1.4.1. At first sight, a typical verbal root consists of Consonant-Vowel-Consonant. Several questions present themselves in regard to this vowel : What is its origin? In what way is it attached to the Consonant phonemes? Has it any specific semantic function? And if so, what is its nature?

1.4.2. In the course of this study, I have endeavoured, at least, to indicate the directions in which the answers to these questions may be found.

I have indicated, for instance, that this vowel is, basically, the undetachable vowel of the primary radical,<sup>1)</sup> though it may have been influenced through the now lost vowel of the secondary radical.

1.4.3. While not attempting to allocate a definite semantic shape to any individual vowel, there is evidence, for example, that /U/ may often indicate a 'reversive' idea of the basic verbal root,<sup>2)</sup> or abundant action.

1.4.4. Further, the possibility is discussed of a variation in radical vowel being accompanied by a variation in the semantic shape of the primary radical, and a corresponding variation in the meaning of the verbal root<sup>3)</sup> as a whole.

1.5.0. SEMANTIC SHAPE.

At this stage an explanation of this term is called for.

When dealing with a complete verbal root, it

---

1) cf. Para: 7.2.4.  
 2) cf. Para: 2.7.6.  
 3) cf. Para: 2.7.1.

is possible to say that it has 'meaning': e.g. "see", "go", "strike" etc. But although a radical may have a basic idea attaching to it, <sup>1)</sup> or may influence the meaning of the complete root in some direction<sup>1)</sup>, yet neither radical, in itself, can be said to possess 'meaning'. Where semantic value can be appreciated, without amounting to specific 'meaning', the fact is referred to as 'semantic shape'. Both the first and the second radical each possess semantic shape, but taken together, as a complete verbal root, they have 'meaning'.

#### 1.6.0. EXTENSIONS TO THE VERBAL ROOT.

1.6.1. While the basic form of the typical verbal root is di-radical, there are various species, derived from the di-radical, by means of suffixal extensions. These suffixes invariably come after the simple root, and before any terminative.

1.6.2. Meinhof<sup>2)</sup> has given us a very thorough and comprehensive analysis of what he calls "derivative extensions" or "suffixes." These "suffixes", however, appear to be of different kinds, and fulfil different functions. It has been my aim in this thesis, to classify these various 'extensions', as I prefer to call them, and to determine in what ways, if any, they differ: both in form and function.

1.6.2. The definition of an extension, in general terms, is:

---

1) cf. Para: 3.1.0.

2) cf. C. Meinhof & N.J. v. Warmelo, "Introduction to Phonology of Bantu Languages" (1932): p. 43. para 21 et seq.

"A morpheme or group of morphemes which through association with a verbal root produces a modification in the semantic force of the verb in respect of relationship, while retaining the basic meaning of the verbal root itself."

1.6.4. In the course of this investigation it became evident that it is necessary to differentiate between:

- (i) An extension added to a non-verbal root, to convert it to use as a verbal root.<sup>1)</sup>
- (ii) An extension added to a di-radical verbal root, giving rise to a tri-radical root.<sup>2)</sup>
- (iii) An extension added to a verbal root, at the will of the speaker, which, while not modifying the basic meaning of the action described, yet adds flexibility to the verb in respect of its application (e.g. causing the action, doing it to someone else, and so on).

1.6.5. I have endeavoured to examine and classify these different types of Extension, referring to them, respectively, as

- (i) Radical Conversion Extension
- (ii) Radical Extension, and
- (iii) Extension.

---

1) cf. Para: 12.5.0. et seq.

2) cf. Para: 11.5.0. et seq.

3) cf. Para: 14.0.0. et seq.

1.6.6. In connection with the last-named, viz., Extension, while acknowledging the valuable contribution made by Van der Merwe, I have had to differ with him in regard to the vowel of the Extension.<sup>1)</sup> I have attempted to shew that this vowel is as much an undetachable part of the Extension, as the radical vowel is of the radical, of which it forms an integral part.

1.6.7. A further question that has received attention is whether there is any hard and fast rule governing the order of sequence of extensions when two or more are in series.<sup>2)</sup>

#### 1.7.0. TONAL SEQUENCE IN THE VERBAL ROOT.

1.7.1. It became clear, as the work proceeded, that the study of the verbal root and its extensions, would be incomplete without some reference to their tonal patterns.

1.7.2. Have di-radical verbal roots definite tonal sequences? Does a root retain its tonal sequence when extended? Are there definite tonal sequences to be found in given extension forms? If so, what principles govern these sequences?

1.7.3. In the final chapter, an analysis is made of the tonal patterns which are characteristic of the various verbal roots (and cognate ideophonic roots) both in their simple and extended forms.

1.7.4. I have spoken of tonal 'sequences' and deliberately refrained from using Westphal's term<sup>3)</sup> of 'tonal profiles'. My reasons for so doing are given in the appropriate place.<sup>4)</sup>

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1) cf. Para: 14.12.1.

2) cf. Para: 16.1.2. et seq.

3) cf. Prof. E. Westphal: 'Tonal Profiles of Xhosa nominals in final syntactical position.' (1967).

4) cf. Para: 18.1.2., 18.1.3.



1.7.5. An analysis has been made of the progressive modifications in the tonal contrasts of the verbal root, when the addition of a succession of extensions is made, and the sequence high/low contrasts recorded. The analysis is based upon the examples given in the corresponding sections of the thesis.

1.7.6. Since there are certain differences between what are commonly known as Transkeian and Ciskeian tonal dialects, I have used the Transkeian variety throughout.

1.8.0. MARKING OF TONE.

1.8.1. As far as possible, I have marked the tones in the examples of Xhosa roots throughout this study. I have refrained from giving the tones of roots other than those of Xhosa, recognising my own limitation in this regard, and being aware of the possibility of further complications of dialectic variations therein. Tones have only been marked on the roots, and not on prefixes, such as the infinitive, noun class prefixes etc.

1.8.2. The tones marked are those occurring in the infinitive form of the di-radical root.

1.8.3. High Tone indicated by H or ´  
 Low Tone indicated by L or `   
 High (Falling) Tone, indicated by F or ^

1.8.4. Technically speaking, only a vowel can carry a tone. The di-radical verbal roots, having lost their final vowel, are indicated throughout, as having a final low tone on the secondary radical.

1.9.0. STARRED FORMS.

Reference is made occasionally in this study to the reconstructed starred forms in accordance with the works of Meinhof and others associated with his views, such as Bourquin. This has been done for practical reasons, in order to give some basis of comparison. It is fully realised that, in view of later research, these forms may be found to be inadequate in many respects, and will have to be modified at a later stage.

1.10.0. INDICATION OF ROOT.

Because it has been important to differentiate between the root and its extensions, I have used capital letters to indicate the verbal root:

e.g: -BÓN-`

and also, where a radical extension has been added:

e.g: -THÁNDÁ:Z--`

But the Extensions have been typed in lower case letters:

e.g: -BÓNísán-`

CHAPTER 2.2.0.0. THE RADICAL.

2.1.1. A radical is the irreducible element within a root which, though not necessarily possessing a definite "meaning" when standing alone,<sup>1)</sup> exerts a semantic influence upon any root of which it forms a part.

2.1.2. In Xhosa, a radical consists, basically, of a consonant<sup>2)</sup> plus a vowel, so linked together that they are without significance when separated, but constitute, together, a single morpheme with a definite semantic shape.

2.1.3. A Primary Radical is any radical which occurs in first position in a verbal root. When the root is mono-radical, the primary radical is, of course, the only one.

2.1.4. A Secondary Radical is any radical which occurs in second position in a verbal root, whether it be a di-radical or multi-radical v.r.

2.1.5. A Primary Radical may take the form of consonant plus vowel; or semi-vowel plus vowel; or merely a vowel.<sup>3)</sup>

2.1.6. All Secondary Radicals were originally similar to the Primary Radicals and consisted of a consonant plus a vowel. In the course of development, however, the distinctive radical-vowel of the final radical in most verbal roots has been replaced by an invariable terminative<sup>4)</sup> and the original vowel is no longer identifiable.

- 
- 1). e.g: A radical has a definite "meaning" when it occurs as a mono-radical verbal root.  
 2). By "consonant" is also implied consonant, consonantal compound, or semi-vowel.  
 3). cf. Para 2.2.1.  
 4). cf. Chapter 10.

2.1.7. In present-day Xhosa, a radical may appear as:

(i) Consonant plus vowel : -CV-

(ii) Consonant only : -C~

(The original radical vowel having been dropped in favour of an invariable Terminative: e.g. -a etc.)

(N.B. ~ represents the lost radical vowel, now not identifiable).

(iii) Vowel only : ~V-

(The original consonant, probably - $\chi$ - having been lost: here represented by ~)

(iv) Semi-Vowel plus Vowel : -CV-

2.1.8. Examples of Radicals:

(i) -CV- :

cf. Primary Radical -BÀ- in -BÀMB̀ (hold)  
 " " -THÌ in mono-Radical v.r.  
 -THÌ (say - do etc.)

(ii) -C~ :

cf. Mono-Radical v.r. -KH~ (pluck)  
 Secondary Radical -PH~ in -KHUPH̀ (take out)

(iii) ~V- :

cf. Primary Radical ~A- in -ÂKH̀ (build)

(iv) -CV- (-C- being a semi-vowel)

cf. Primary Radical -YÁ- in -YÁL̀ (command).

2.2.0. PRIMARY RADICALS CONSISTING OF A VOWEL ONLY.

(See (iii) above).

2.2.1. A primary radical may consist of a vowel only. Originally it is almost certain that all radicals had an initial consonant. Certain radicals, however, with an

original consonant  $-\overset{*}{\gamma}-$  have lost this consonant, and the radical has been reduced from  $-\overset{*}{\gamma}A-$  to  $-A-$ . For example, the root  $-\overset{\wedge}{AKH}\overset{\grave{}}{}$  (build) is probably derived from the primitive form  $-\overset{*}{\gamma}AK-$ . Today the radical vowel  $-A-$  of  $-\overset{*}{\gamma}A-$  survives as the primary radical in  $-\overset{\wedge}{AKH}\overset{\grave{}}{}$ .

2.2.2. N.B. It is important to differentiate such primary radicals, consisting of a vowel only, from the non-radical initial vowel, occurring in certain verbal roots, where the initial vowel is a survival of a primitive infinitive prefix  $^*\overset{\gamma}{i}-$  etc. and not a radical.

2.2.3. The initial consonant  $^*\overset{\gamma}{}$ , which is lost in the primary radical of vowel verbal roots, recurs in the imperative form as /y/ : for example :

yAKHani apho! (build over there!)

yAKKela imithandazo yethu! (receive our prayers)

2.3.0. THE INCIDENCE AND FUNCTION OF  
THE RADICAL IN DI- AND MULTI-RADICAL  
VERBAL ROOTS.

2.3.1. While it will be necessary to deal fully with this aspect of the radical when describing the di-radical and multi-radical verbal roots, it is desirable to mention briefly at this stage the fundamental differences between the radical when used as R1<sup>1)</sup> and when used as R2.<sup>2)</sup>

---

1) R1 : Primary Radical ; cf. Chapter 3.

2) R2 : Secondary Radical ; cf. Chapter 4.

2.3.2. Fundamentally the morphological shape of the Primary Radical (R1) and the Secondary Radical (R2) is identical. Each consists, basically, of consonant plus vowel (with the variations already mentioned)<sup>1)</sup>

2.3.3. That is to say, originally all radicals probably had the same semantic force, whether used as R1 or R2.

2.3.4. In the course of development, however, where two radicals were fused together to make one morpheme, with a combined semantic shape, (i.e. as in the formation of the di-radical verbal root<sup>2)</sup> certain secondary radicals tended to occur more frequently with a definite semantic force, often with considerable semantic shift, for example, R2 -M-<sup>3)</sup> indicating prolonged action, and so on (cf. mono-R v.r. -(i)M<sup>~</sup> (stand)).

#### 2.4.0. PRIMARY RADICAL.

2.4.1. A radical occurring by itself, as a mono-radical verbal root, or a radical occurring in first position in a di-radical or multi-radical verbal root, is known as a Primary Radical.

For Example:-

2.4.2. The mono-Radical -THĪ (say, think, do, etc.) is both a primary radical, and, incidentally, also a mono-radical verbal root, besides being the mono-radical stem.

2.4.3. The mono-Radical -PH<sup>~</sup> (give) is both a primary radical, and a mono-radical verbal root.

2.4.4. The mono-Radical -(i)M<sup>~</sup> (stand) is both a primary radical, and a mono-radical verbal root.

1) cf. Para: 2.1.7.

2) cf. Para: 7.2.3.

3) cf. Para: 4.8.0.

2.4.5. In the mono-radical verbal roots, the primary radical must inevitably carry the full semantic force of the root, since it is the only radical.

e.g:    -B̀       (become)  
           -(i)M̀   (stand)  
           -TH̀     (say, think, do).

2.4.6. When the primary radical is fused with a second radical, the latter becomes the secondary radical in a di-radical root.

2.4.7. The Primary Radical in such a combination of R1:R2 continues to carry the main semantic force of the root. For example, the primary radical -J̀- carries the idea of twisting, turning : It occurs in several di-radical verbal roots, with this meaning predominating:

e.g:    -J̀C̀     (plait neatly)  
           -J̀J̀     (twist, turn)  
           -J̀K̀     (turn round, turn about)  
           -J̀L̀     (interweave)  
           -J̀NG̀    (hang, dangle, swing)  
           -J̀Z̀     (tie, put around, (the head)).

2.4.8. In each of these roots, the fundamental idea of 'twisting', 'turning' is obvious, and is vested in R1 -\*J̀-. The modifying influence, giving distinctive meaning to the roots, is supplied by the variations in R2.

2.4.9. In Appendix A, I have given fairly full examples of this principle, shewing how the main semantic shape of the verbal root is carried by R1.

#### 2.5.0. SECONDARY RADICAL.

2.5.1. A radical occurring in second position is known as a secondary radical.

2.5.2. The same radical may occur either as a primary or a secondary radical.

2.5.3. The semantic force of a radical is by no means necessarily the same in primary and secondary position.

For example, the radical -B~, as a mono-radical (primary radical) carries the meaning of "be; become."

As a primary radical, it may have a variety of semantic shapes: e.g.

In    -BĀB̀     (itch),    -BĀL̀     (count)  
       -BĀND̀     (be cold to the touch; congeal)  
       -BĀNG̀     (cause)  
       -BĀZ̀     (sharpen to a point)

There does not appear to be any clear semantic relationship between these primary radicals. There are, in fact, differences of tone. There may also be several semantic values or several distinct radicals with the morphological shape -B~.

By contrast, when -B~ occurs as a secondary radical, it most frequently indicates definite and often vigorous action of some kind (when so occurring, it is known as an 'operative' radical)<sup>1)</sup>.

Or it may indicate 'becoming' or 'being' in a certain state or condition<sup>1)</sup>; (when so occurring, it is known as a 'neuter' radical. In such instances, it is in line semantically with -B̀, when occurring as a primary radical.)

2.5.4. At this stage, it is only necessary to note that any radical may carry an entirely different semantic force depending on whether it occurs in a primary or a secondary position.

---

1) See Para: 4.3.0.



2.5.5. The secondary radical has almost an adverbial influence upon the semantic shape of the verbal root, modifying the action described by the primary radical in some given direction. The direction in which the secondary radical influences the primary radical is discussed fully in a later chapter.<sup>1)</sup>

2.6.0. RELATED RADICALS.

2.6.1. There are only two mono-radical verbal roots whose radical vowel can be identified with absolute certainty - They are

-THÌ (say, think, do) and

-TSHÒ (say so, think so, do thus).

In other words, we may say that there are only two radicals in Xhosa today (occurring also as primary radicals) with a known radical vowel.

2.6.2. There is also one di-radical verbal root, with a secondary radical with a known, undetachable radical vowel; namely

-AZÌ (know).

2.6.3. In other words, there are actually three radicals in Xhosa which appear to have retained their original radical vowel : viz.

-THÌ, -TSHÒ and -ZÌ.

(N.B. Even -TSHÒ is open to question : it might well be a later variant of -THÌ).

2.6.4. The remainder of the mono-radical roots have all accepted the invariable terminative -a etc. and thus lost their original radical vowel, whatever it may have been.

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1) cf. Semantic shape of secondary radicals:  
para: 4.8.0.

They therefore can only be recorded as :

-B̃ (become) -PH̃ (give) etc.  
 -(i)M̃ (stand) -(i)Ṽ (hear) etc.

(N.B. The symbol /~/ representing a vowel,  
 the exact nature of which is now uncertain).

2.6.5. In the case of secondary radicals of di-radical roots, all trace of the original radical vowel is now lost, since its place has been taken by the invariable terminatives -a etc., although its influence may still survive in the radical vowel of R1 in the di-radical root.

#### 2.7.0. RHIZEME.

The term 'Rhizeme' is one I have had to coin. It is applied to a family of related radicals wherein there may be variants in the consonant or vowel phonemes, or in both, resulting in a modification of the semantic shape of the radical, without destroying its relationship to the rhizeme as a whole. This is a phenomenon that has already engaged the attention of students of Bantu languages,<sup>1)</sup> particularly on the level of the consonant phonemes. The idea is here extended to include also variants within the vowel phonemes of the radical. The term 'rhizeme' is derived from the Greek  $\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha$  (root).

2.7.1. The main semantic shape of a root is carried by the R1. Thus we have, for example,

-THÁTH̃ (take), with R1, -THÁ- (idea of taking).

We find also the root,

-THÒTH̃ (withdraw), with R1, -THÒ- (similar idea of taking, but in this instance, taking back)

And again, we have,

-THÚTH̃ (take away), with R1, -THÚ- (similar idea of taking, but in this case, taking away).

1) cf. Prof. J.A. Louw, "The consonant phonemes of the lexical root in Zulu". (Afrika und Übersee sprachenskulturen; Band XLViii : 1964.

2.7.2. Recognising the fact that a radical vowel in the R1 of a di-radical root is not necessarily the original basic R vowel, we could represent R1 in each of the above instances as -TH~, with R vowel -A-, -O-, and -U- respectively.

2.7.3. There is sufficient semantic relationship between these three roots to allow for the possibility that -TH~ is the same R1 in each case, but with a different vowel, giving a semantic shift to the R. This variation in vowel might either be due to the influence in the R2 fused with it to form a di-R v.r., or it might be that -TH~ can take various R vowels, to form related R, viz., -THA, -THO- and -THU etc.

2.7.4. If this is so, then we have a group of R, related closely to each other but with variant R vowels.

For example:

The radicals -TH~, -THA, -THO and -THU belong to the same rhizeme, as illustrated by the three roots:

TH~	THA	in	-THÁTH-	(take)
	THO	in	-THÓTH-	(draw back)
	THU	in	-THÚTH-	(take away)

2.7.5. There are three main directions in which variant forms may be found within a given rhizeme : namely,

- (a) When a given R has a constant R consonant, with variations in the R vowel :
- (b) Where there is a variation in the R consonant, the R vowel remaining constant :
- (c) Where the R consonant and vowel are identical, but there is a variation in the tonemic value of the R vowel.

Fuller examples of this principle are given below.

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1) cf. Doke : "Bantu Terminology".

2.7.6. (a) A given radical having a constant radical consonant with variations in the radical vowel ; e.g:

-SÁL` (remain) cf -SÚL` (wipe off, wipe away)

There is an obvious semantic relationship existing between these two roots. It becomes even clearer when we add, for comparison,

-SÚS` (remove, take away (tr)), and

-SÚK` (get up and go away)

The primary radical in each case is the common R1 -S~ (idea of removing, going or taking away). It occurs here variously as :

-SA- in -SÁL` and as -SU- in -SÚL`, -SÚS`, and -SÚK`.

R1 -SÁ- contains the idea of 'remaining', while in each case, R1 -SÚ- contains the reverse idea, i.e., that of 'removing', 'going or taking away'.

The variant factor here is the vowel -U- which, when it replaces -A-, has a reversive significance.<sup>1)</sup>

It appears, however, that -SÁ-, -SÚ- and -SÚ- are actually variations of the same radical: the one representing the basic idea of the verbal root, and the other expressing variations.

As the di-radical roots stand today, R1 is -SÁ-, -SÚ- and -SÚ- respectively. Whether they were originally so, or whether the present variation in radical vowel has evolved in the process of the formation of the di-radical root by the fusion of R1 with R2, is a question discussed in principle when dealing with the synthesis of the di-radical verbal root.<sup>2)</sup>

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1) In the extensions (cf para: 15.8.0. the vowel -u- frequently has the semantic force of reversing or undoing the action described by the original root.

2) cf Synthesis of the di-radical root ; para 7.2.0.

The above are by no means isolated examples. Other such pairs of roots (and pairs of R) include such as : e.g.,

- PHÀPH` (be open : alert, attentive) and
- PHÙPH` (dream)
- THÀTH` (take) and
- THÙTH` (convey away)
- VÀL` (shut) and
- VÙL` (open)

It would appear that variations in the tone of the radical vowel may occur within the same rhizeme.

2.7.7. (b) There may also be variants within any given rhizeme, the variations in this case being vested in the consonantal element.

Louw<sup>1)</sup> has made a thorough investigation of this phenomenon in Zulu. It is unnecessary to quote at length from Louw's paper, as that is available in its full text. The following pairs of verbal roots are, however, quoted to illustrate the principle involved:-

"A whole range of stems will be given here to illustrate the function of /kh/ and /g/ to indicate a minimum of semological differences between stems whose meanings have otherwise great similarities:" e.g.,

/ kh /	/ g /
-kheba (dig out, hollow out)	-geba (bend down, incline)
-khexa (sit in amazement, be dejected, be open mouth with amazement).	-gexa (hang loose)
-khekha (get plucked, dipped up)	-gega (remove hair)
-khipha (take out)	-giba- (take out, pursue)".

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1) Louw, J.A., "The Consonant Phonemes of the lexical root in Zulu". Afrika und Übersee, Band XLVIII No. 2, 7:3:65.

Louw goes on to state that this contrast in consonant phonemes appears to be of greater significance than differences of tone when contrasting such pairs of roots. He says<sup>1)</sup>

"The majority of the verb stems..... in 4.6. are all low in tone so that it is only the opposition between /kh/ and /g/ which is really relevant. This supports my opinion that this significant opposition between related consonants has replaced tone to a great extent in Zulu."

Further quotation would be redundant.

Louw has, however, drawn attention to a most important factor in the study of the semantic shape of radicals. The principles pointed out by him regarding Zulu apply equally to Xhosa. Such a detailed study is, however, beyond the scope of this study.

This principle is seen operating in Xhosa.

Taking an example from a primary R, we have e.g.,

( -HLÀL̀ (remain, sit) : R1, -HLÀ-  
( -SÁL̀ (remain behind, stay) : R1, -SÁ-

-HLÀ- and -SÁ- are almost certainly related R, derived from a common ancestor, probably \* -ka-.

Similarly we have :

( -GÀND̀ (stamp, tramp): R1, -GÀ-  
( -KHÂND̀ (beat out, hammer, forge): R1, -KHÂ-

( -NAMÁthel̀ (stick to, adhere to): R1 : -NA-  
( -NCAMÁthel̀ (stick close to,

(be attached to) : R1 : -NCA-

An example of the same principle operating in a secondary R is found in such pairs of roots as :

-thi fúthù (be overheated, out of breath):

R2, -thù

-FUDÚMál̀ (be warm) : R2, -DÚ-

1) J.A. Louw: "The Consonant phonemes ... in Zulu."  
para 4.7.

2.7.8. The possibility exists of a third variant within a related group of radicals, namely, where the R have identical consonants and vowels, but there is a variation in the tonemic value of the vowels.

An example of this may be found in the R1 -HLA- as found in the roots :

- HLĀZā̃ (adj., fresh)
- (um)HLĀZā̃ (2) (raw sore; ulcer)
- HLĀZ-̃ (expose: and so, disgrace).

2.7.9. In contrast with the foregoing, however, it is possible to find instances of pairs of R, which appear identical in form, and with a similar tonal value, which do not belong to the same rhizeme, and which have widely differing semantic shapes. For example :

The two mono-R v.r.,

- B̃ (become) and -B̃ (be of opinion, think)

And such di-R v.r. as

- BĀNG-̃ (cause) and -BĀNG-̃ (claim)

each has an apparently identical form and tone, in the R1, yet with no apparent connection semantically.

## CHAPTER 3.

3.0.0. PRIMARY RADICAL.

3.0.1. A primary radical is the first radical in any verbal root, irrespective of whether it is a simple mono-radical, or an extended multi-radical root. For example:

-THÌ in -THÌ (say)

-BÔ- in -BÔN- (see)

-BÔ- in -BÔNGÓ:Zel- (beseech for)

It is this primary radical which carries the main semantic shape of the complete verbal root.

3.1.0. Bourquin<sup>1)</sup>, following Meinhof, recognised that the two radicals that comprise a di-R verbal root have a different semantic function.<sup>2)</sup> He drew attention to the fact that the main semantic shape of the root is vested in the primary radical, and that the secondary radical modifies the semantic shape of the primary radical in a certain direction. He did not, however, go on to identify the direction or directions of such influence.

3.1.1. I am entirely in agreement with this point of view. The primary radical does carry the main semantic shape of the verbal root, and the secondary radical has, often, almost an adverbial influence, indicating continuity of action, interrupted action, and so on.<sup>3)</sup>

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1). W. Bourquin (1922) "Neue UrBantu Wortstämme" etc.: Chp. 2, page 191 et seq.

2). The terminology in this paragraph is my own, not Bourquin's.

3). See "Secondary Radical" para: 4.8.0. etc.



3.1.2. If we take, for example, the group of v.r.,  
-JÌC̀ etc.,<sup>1)</sup> we find a common Rl, viz. -JÌ-, and a common  
semantic shape, namely, the idea of twisting or turning.

We may conclude, therefore, that the common semantic  
shape is supplied by the common Rl.

3.1.3. On the other hand, it does not necessarily  
follow, because two or more roots contain a common Rl,  
(that is, in form and tone), that the Rl is identical in  
each case.

It is possible to have several radicals with identical  
consonant-cum-vowel combination and with no discernible  
tonal differences, yet having different semantic shapes.

For example, if we take the CV combination of -BA- :  
we find the following roots with -BA- as Rl : viz:

- BĀB̀ (itch)
- BĀL̀ (count)
- BĀND̀ (congeal, be cold to touch)
- BĀNG̀ (cause)
- BĀZ̀ (sharpen to a point)

Yet there appears to be no common semantic shape shared  
by these Rl.

We may conclude that there are probably several  
radicals with the same CV form.

3.1.4. In the light of what I have said about the  
Rhizeme<sup>2)</sup>, it is also possible to find two or more Rl,  
with different radical vowels, yet being so closely related  
that, in essence, they constitute the same Rl.

For example:

In the group of roots:

- PHĀPH̀ (be alert, attentive; open out)
- PHĒPH̀ (be nimble, start aside etc).
- PHŪPH̀ (dream)

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1) cf. Para: 2.4.7.

2) cf. "Rhizeme"; see para: 2.7.0.

The three Rl, -PHÀ-, -PHÊ- and -PHÛ- belong to the same rhizeme, carrying the idea of being wide-awake or alert. The common Rl should here be represented as -PH~, ~ representing the variant vowel within this rhizeme.

3.1.5. And again, taking the pair of roots,

-PHÁTH- (touch, handle, hold in the hand)

-PHÛTHÁ-PHÛTH- (grope about, feel around  
with the hands)

we have actually two different variants of the same Rl, viz. -PH~, belonging to the same rhizeme. (In the latter root, -PHÛ- is the 'reversive' of -PHÁ-).

3.1.6. In other instances, a difference in tonemic values is clearly established, differentiating between two Rl whose CV form is identical, but with different semantic shapes.

For example:

-THÁND- (like, love, etc.)

-THÁND- (wind up).

3.1.7. There are, on the other hand, pairs of verbal roots with apparently identical Rl, both in CV form and tonemic values, with quite different meanings: e.g.,

-BÁNG- (cause, occasion, bring about), and

-BÁNG- (claim, demand)

A more accurate tonemic analysis might, however, disclose a fine variation between these R, but no such data is at present available.

3.2.0. Except where a Di-R v.r. obviously consists of a reduplicated Rl, e.g.,

-BHÁBH- (flutter, flap)<sup>1</sup>

there is nothing that I have been able to discover to

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1). The reduplicated R indicates repetitive action as described by the R.

indicate that any given R must carry the same semantic shape in both R1 and R2 positions.

3.3.0. In Appendix A, I have listed 147 primary radicals, and against them, mentioned two or more verbal roots with a corresponding common R1, and a related semantic shape.

Reference to this Appendix will give full examples of the principles outlined in the preceding paragraphs.

There is, of necessity, a great variety of R1 semantic shapes possible in relation to any CV form.

## CHAPTER 4.

4.0.0. SECONDARY RADICAL.

4.1.0. Reference has already been made to Bourquin's comments<sup>1)</sup> regarding the respective functions of the primary and secondary radicals.

4.2.0. McLaren<sup>2)</sup> takes the matter a step further, and attempts to allocate definite semantic values to some of the more commonly found R2.<sup>3)</sup> What he says in this connection is of great importance, in that it was the first serious attempt, in Xhosa at least, to give positive semantic values to certain R2.

He says, inter alia,

"The great majority of Xhosa verbs end  
in one or other of the following syllables:

la, ka, ma, ba, tha, za, mba, nga."

He then gives examples of these stems, and the gist of his conclusions can be summarised in the following table:

Table of McLaren's semantic  
classification of R2 : <sup>4)</sup>

<u>'Second Syllable'</u> <sup>5)</sup>	<u>Type of Action described.</u>
ba	forcible action
ka	motion, or change of position
la	mostly transitive
ma	continued or progressive action
tha	action done with the hand
mba	continuous action
nda	denoting mental feeling or acts
nga	tentative action
za	suffixed to descriptive nouns to form a verb.

1) cf. Para: 3.1.0.

2) McLaren: Xhosa Grammar (1936) para 146.

3) McLaren refers to "second syllables" where I would refer to R2 (R2, of course, having the form -C~.)

4) cf. McLaren: Xhosa Grammar (1936) para: 146.

5) His "second syllable" corresponds to my R2 (viz. -C~)

4.3.0. Van der Merwe<sup>1)</sup> made a detailed study of the R1 and R2 in the Sotho verb, and came to two conclusions that are of interest to us here : namely,

- (a) That it is the consonant in the radical which is the dominating semantic factor; and
- (b) That although the radical vowel of R1 "may give some colouring to the meaning of the root", its function is only of secondary importance.

I must challenge this supposition, for it is obvious that the consonant and the vowel which constitute any radical are both an essential and integral part of the radical. Without the radical vowel, the consonant alone has no semantic shape. But the CV combination does carry semantic value.

4.4.1. The vital importance of the rôle played by the radical vowel of R1 is clearly seen in the Rhizeme.<sup>2)</sup> Here it is clear that the variation in radical vowel has a definite semantic influence on the shape of the whole root.

4.4.2. Whereas, in R1, the radical retains a radical vowel (whether in its original form, or in a form resulting from the fusion of RV of R1 and R2), in R2 of most di-radical v.r., the radical vowel has been dropped in favour of the more recent terminatives -a, -ile etc.

For example, in -THEMB<sup>´</sup>- (hope)

R1 retains its radical vowel -E- in -THE<sup>´</sup>-

R2 has lost its radical vowel and should,

more correctly, be written as ~ in -MB~.

1) V.d.Merwe, "On the Morphology and Semasiology of the Sotho verbal stem .." (1941) Chapters 1, 2 and 3.

2) cf. Rhizeme : para: 2.7.0.

4.4.3. Owing to the loss of the radical vowel of R2, we are at a disadvantage when we attempt to make a large-scale comparative analysis of the incidence of certain R2, with a corresponding analysis of similar semantic values. Had R2 retained its original radical vowel, we could say that, for instance,

CA had a certain semantic shape, while  
CE, CI, CO, CU, had definite variations in semantic shape.

As it is, however, with the loss of the final vowel in favour of -a etc., all we have to work on is the surviving consonant, with the unidentified radical vowel: i.e. -C~.

4.4.4. This being the case, all secondary radicals, with any given consonant, are indistinguishable from one another. This makes detailed and accurate classification extremely difficult, if not impossible. However, I have endeavoured to make as clear an analysis of the more frequently-occurring (high frequency) secondary radicals, the results of which are given in the following pages. In order to carry out this survey, I took 977 regular di-radical v.r., comparing them on the two-fold basis of:

- (i) Similarity of secondary radical forms (i.e. C~) and
- (ii) Similarity of semantic shapes.

4.5.0. An analysis was made of the frequency of incidence of the various secondary radicals occurring in these 977 v.r., and three main categories were found to be necessary: viz:

- (i) High-frequency secondary radicals: These have a frequency of incidence of over 1%, with a definite semantic shape attaching to them. (In many instances a given C~ was found to fall into more

than one semantic category. This could possibly be accounted for, at least in part, by the factors mentioned above<sup>1)</sup>. These R2 I have called 'Standardised' high-frequency secondary radicals.

(ii) High frequency secondary radicals (with a frequency of incidence of over 1%) which do not shew any definite tendency to carry a distinctive semantic shape. These R2 I have called 'Unstandardised' high-frequency secondary radicals.

(iii) Low-frequency secondary radicals (with a frequency of incidence of less than 1%). These appear to have no identifiable semantic shape, and I have called them 'unstandardised' low-frequency secondary radicals.

N.B. It must be borne in mind that several of the last-named group have 'click' consonants, which indicate either a 'borrowing' from non-Bantu Khoisan languages, or a substitution of a 'click' for some other true Bantu consonant.

4.6.0. The following Table sets out the details of these three groups of secondary radicals.

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1) cf. Para: 4.4.3.

TABLE A.

Shewing the comparative frequency of incidence of  
SECONDARY RADICALS  
in di-R verbal roots.

## 4.6.1.

(i) High Frequency Standardised Secondary Radicals:

<u>Radical:</u>	<u>Percentage Frequency:</u>
-B~	10. 5
-C~	2. 0
-D~	2. 0
-R~	1. 4
-K~	6. 0
-L~	18. 5
-M~	4. 1
-MB~	3. 0
-ND~	3. 5
-NG~	6. 1
-Q~	2. 1
-S~	2. 4
-TH~	5. 3
-X~	2. 0
-NY~	1. 4
-SH~	2. 0
-Z~	4. 5

## 4.6.2.

(ii) High-Frequency Unstandardised Secondary Radicals:

-N~	4. 1
-PH~	2. 0
-Y~	1. 8



## 4.6.3.

(iii) Low Frequency Unstandardised Secondary Radicals:

Frequency:	0.08%	-NTS~	-NX~	-TY~	
	0.07%	-TS~			
	0.06%	-NDL~	-NTY~	-TSH~	
	0.05%	-DL~	-F~	-J~	
		-NGC~			
		-NQ~	-NGQ~	-NKQ~	
	0.04%	-KR~	-MF~	-T~	
	0.03%	-NC~	-QH~	-GQ~	
	0.02%	-CH~	-NKC~	-GX~	-NGX~
		-G~	-GW~		
		-MP~	-MZ~	-NK~	-W~
	0.01%	-BH~	-CH~	-GC~	
		-KRW~	-KW~	-LW~	-THW~
		-NJ~	-NTSH~	-NXH~	-NKX~
		-P~	-NQH~	-GQW~	
		-SHW~	-TYH~	-TYHW~	

4.7.0. THE SEMANTIC SHAPE OF STANDARDISED SECONDARY RADICALS IN REGULAR DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS.

4.7.1. First of all, 977 regular di-radical verbal roots were analysed to ascertain their comparative frequency of incidence. The result is given in Table A.<sup>1)</sup>

4.7.2. The low-frequency secondary radicals were too numerous, and of too low a frequency to be able to draw any general conclusions concerning their semantic value. I therefore classed them as "unstandardised" for the purposes of this survey.

4.7.3. In the case of the three high frequency unstandardised radicals, (-N~ 4.1%, -PH~ 2.0%, and -Y~ 1.8%), no clear picture emerged.

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1) cf. Para: 4.8.0.

4.7.4 The semantic values attributed to the high-frequency secondary radicals (which constitute 78% of the total radicals analysed), were arrived at as follows. Verbal roots with high-frequency secondary radicals were sorted and grouped together under these radicals. A second sorting was made, into sub-groups, according to their semantic affinity. These groupings are given in full in Appendix B.

4.7.5 The results of this analysis have not proved to be very conclusive in general. For example, while a given radical may be found in only one or two categories, it is by no means the only radical occurring in such categories. For instance, -L~ is found in both the Neuter (2) and Effective (4) categories, and even then, it is only one of many radicals in these two, contrasting, categories.

4.7.6 On the other hand, the results are rather more satisfactory in the case of the Factative (9), where -Z~ predominates, and occurs in no other category: Contactive (10) -TH~.

4.7.7 With regard to the Associative radical (11), -N~, while it appears to be the typical associative radical, it is not only found in that category.

4.7.8 In view of these inconclusive results, it is obvious that the classification given hereunder, can only serve as a working hypothesis within strict limitations. Several other factors, such as the lost radical vowel of the R2, would have to be considered, before a really satisfactory semantic classification could be made.

## 4.8.0

TABLE B

Shewing the semantic categories of the  
high-frequency secondary radicals.

## 4.8.1

1. OPERATIVE R2 (2)

B~	D~
34	9

2. Neuter R2 (13)

B~	D~	R~	K~	L~	N~	Q~	S~
11	6	2	7	17	9	2	3
	SH~	TH~	X~	Y~	NY~		
	2	5	2	4	3		

3. Punctative R2 (6):

C~	PH~	Q~	TH~	X~	NY~
13	4	12	7	7	4

4. Effective R2 (7):

D~	R~	K~	L~	N~	X~	Y~	NY~
7	8	41	56	9	10	4	2

5. Positional R2 (2):

M~	PH~	(Pos. Eff.)
4	11	

6. Protractive R2 (6):

M~	MB~ (Protr-Op)	N~	ND~	NG~	NY~
32	33	8	24	52	4

7. Mental-Emotional R2 (2):

ND~	N~
9	4

8. Causative R2 (1):

S~
11

9. Factative R2 (3):

SH~	Y~	Z~
9	7	29

10. Contactive R2 (1):

TH~
32

11. Associative R2 (1):

N~
7

12. De-Adjectival R2 (1):

PH~
1

Unstandardised R2 (6):

C~	D~	Q~	S~	SH~	TH~
4	1	3	2	4	1

4.8.2. Total number of regular di-radical verbal roots on which this survey is based: 626. (Being those with high-frequency R2). The complete list of classified verbal roots, upon which this classification is made, is given in Appendix B.

4.9.0. Description of the terms used in describing the semantic categories of high-frequency R2.

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4.9.1. The verbs in Appendix B are classified according to their secondary radicals, and grouped again according to any semantic affinity between them. By this means it has been possible to arrive at the several semantic values attaching to the various high-frequency secondary radicals.

4.9.2. A description of the semantic categories is given below.

1. OPERATIVE R2:

The verbs with this radical describe "doing something", and frequently describe vigorous or even violent action, e.g. 'breaking up', 'mixing up', 'kicking', 'stabbing' etc. Others again describe less violent action, such as 'bending', and again others, quieter activity requiring skill, such as 'singing', 'painting'. Semantically there is often little if any distinction between 'operative' and 'effective' radicals. There is also a separate group of 'Protractive-Operative' radicals which are described in para: (6) hereunder.

2. NEUTER R2:

Are found with verbs describing "being" or "becoming" or "being in a state" of doing or being. The greatest variety in semantic force is found in this category, there being 13 radicals with a 'neuter' significance.

3. PUNCTATIVE R2.

There are six radicals mentioned with 'punctative' force. They describe various actions which are performed at intervals, intermittently, or repeated time and time again. Because of their intermittent nature, such verbs often indicate 'staccato' action, such as 'chopping', 'hacking' etc., or again, they may describe action that is renewed from time to time, e.g. "struggling on."

4. EFFECTIVE R2:

As stated under (1), it is not always clear what divides an 'effective' from an 'operative' radical. Such radicals, however, describe positive action, and may be transitive or intransitive. (These radicals are frequently found in verbal roots derived from ideophones, fulfilling, at the same time, the rôle of a RCE.<sup>1)</sup>)

5. POSITIONAL R2:

These have a narrow radical content, being practically restricted to the two radicals -M~ and -PH~. Verbs with this type of radical indicate the fixing of something in position. Either basically, or in relation to something or someone else: i.e., describing "going out" or "coming in", or "accompanying" or "taking out" from.

6. PROTRACTIVE R2:

The verbs with these R2 describe a wide variety of activity of a prolonged nature. They include transitive and intransitive verbs: they describe drawn-out physical activity; or a process giving rise to a certain state (Protractive Neuter).

7. MENTAL/EMOTIONAL R2:

The two radicals -ND~ and -M~ cover most of this group. They are in verbs which describe activity employing the mind or the emotions.

1) cf. RCE = Radical Conversion Extension: cf. para: 12.2.1.(iii)

8. CAUSATIVE R2:

As their name implies, such radicals describe 'causing something to happen', or 'giving rise to' as distinct from 'doing'. For example, while 'get up' is 'Effective', 'make to get up' or 'awaken' someone is 'Causative'. In many cases, verbal roots with this secondary radical also have forms with the 'Effective' and 'Neuter' secondary radicals.

9. FACTATIVE R2:

Whereas 'Causative' radicals describe 'making something happen', 'Factative' radicals describe action that brings about a certain state or condition while this continues to exist : such as 'kindling' a fire, which then continues to burn.

10. CONTACTIVE R2:

This radical supplies the idea of action involving contact with someone or something ; or action performed with the hand, or some part of the body.

11. ASSOCIATIVE R2:

Such radicals are not numerous, but are found in a few verbs describing association between two (or more) people or things, or referring to human relationships between people.

12. DE-ADJECTIVAL R2:

As the name suggests, this radical is found in a di-radical verbal root, derived from a mono-radical adjectival root. Only one such example has so far come to my notice in Xhosa.<sup>1)</sup>

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1) cf. Para. 13.7.2.

13. UNSTANDARDISED R2:

I have used this term to describe radicals which, while occurring in one or other of the above 12 groups in certain contexts, do not appear to fall into any particular category in the instances quoted.<sup>1)</sup>

4.10.0. LOW-FREQUENCY SECONDARY RADICALS.

Due to their low-frequency of incidence, I have made no attempt to classify these. There are too few to justify any generalisation.

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1) cf. Table A., para's: 4.6.2., 4.6.3.

## CHAPTER 5.

THE VERBAL ROOT.5.0.0. THE ROOT.

5.1.0. A Root is that irreducible element in a word which remains after the word has been stripped of all structural framework, such as prefixes and suffixes<sup>1)</sup>, while still retaining its essential semantic entity.

5.2.1. If we apply this definition to the English word "understand" : "understand" is the verbal root. It describes the act of the mind when any fact is grasped. This root cannot be further reduced, or sub-divided without destroying its semantic identity. It might be argued that it could be further divided into "under" and "stand". But in so doing, we should entirely destroy its semantic entity. It is possible to add a suffix to this root, and so convert it into a noun or an adjective, viz:

"understanding".

The semantic entity of the verb is not in any way impaired by so doing.

"Understand" is, therefore, an example of a verbal root : the "irreducible element" of that particular word.

5.2.2. Apart from certain interjections, such as Ewe, hayi, hawo etc., every Xhosa word contains some structural framework.

5.2.3. In his thesis „'n Vergelykende studie van die defisiënte verbum van die Ngunitala", Louw<sup>2)</sup> discusses the distinction between the "lexical meaning of words" and the "structural framework which has a grammatical meaning", into which the words are set.

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1) 'Suffixes' include detachable suffixes, such as verbal terminatives, (cf Para: 10.1.4(iv), as well as the more permanent suffixes such as the Radical Extension, cf Para 11.0.0. etc.

2) Louw, J.A.: „'n Vergelykende..." Para 1.4.05 <sup>11.0.0.</sup> t seq.



He goes on to quote nonsensical lines from Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky", applying this principle of "framework" and its relationship to "words" in a sentence: e.g.

"All mimsy were the borogroves,  
And the mome raths outgrabe ..." 1)

He points out that the "framework" consists of the elements underlined above, while the remaining elements (not underlined) constitute the "lexical meaning of words."

5.2.4. Applying this principle to the Xhosa verb, we find that any verbal form consists of

- (i) A structural framework, which has grammatical meaning:  
 viz. Subject concord, tense forming formative, terminative  
 and
- (ii) A root carrying its essential lexical meaning.

For example, in the phrase,

(abantwana) bayafunda  
 (the children are learning)

The structural framework of the verb consists of

ba- : subject concord  
 -ya- : tense formative of present indicative  
 -a : present indicative terminative

while the root, carrying the essential semantic shape of the verb is

-FUND-

5.2.0. A root, per se, does not necessarily belong to any one particular part of speech. According to the structural framework into which a given root is fitted, the root may fulfil the function of a verb, or noun or adjective etc.

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1) Louw, J.A.: "'n Vergelykende Studie" Para: 1.4.07/08.

Nevertheless, despite this adjustment to various usages, the root itself retains its own unique semantic entity.

5.4.0. Roots which may thus be fitted into structural frameworks relating to different parts of speech are known as "multi-functional roots".

5.5.1. There are different types of verbal root in Xhosa; namely:

Mono-radical v.r. consisting of one radical.

Di-radical v.r. consisting of two radicals, fused into one root, with a single semantic entity.

5.5.2. There are also verbal roots that consist of three radicals, but they are not true tri-radical roots in the sense that the di-radical v.r. are di-radicals.

5.5.3. It will be shewn in the following chapters that certain roots with three radicals can be demonstrated to be derived from di-radical v.r., with an additional radical added thereto. Yet there is sufficient semantic relationship existing to shew that the root with three radicals can really be reduced to a di-radical (irreducible root) plus an added third radical.

Strictly speaking, therefore, in terms of our definition of the root as the "irreducible element of a word", these are not true tri-radical roots.

Such forms include, for example :

-GANGATH-<sup>1</sup>) (tread down earth): cf. -GANG-  
(be bold, impudent): REx Punctative -TH~ (3) <sup>2)</sup>

1) cf. Para. 11.5.1.

2) cf. Para. 4.8.0.

5.5.4. In the same way, it will be shewn that a number of roots with apparently three radicals are, in fact, derived from di-radical ideophonic roots, with the addition of a third radical<sup>1)</sup> to convert such roots into use as verbal roots.

Since, however, such roots can be reduced to their di-radical basis, without destroying their essential semantic entity, they cannot be regarded as true tri-radical roots.

Such forms include : e.g.

-GÓDÙK̀ (go home), -GÓDÙS̀ (take or send home)

cf. the ideophone (Zu) -thi godu (of going home).

5.5.5. Certain verbal roots in common use today appear to be tri-radical while, in fact, they are extended di-radical v.r., whose original di-radical form has fallen into disuse, leaving the extended root only<sup>2)</sup> : These are referred to as standardised extensions.

Such forms include : e.g.

-KHÀNGÉL̀ (look: look at).

The fact that the original di-radical v.r. \* -KHÂNG̀ is no longer extant does not detract from the fact that this root is really the applied extension<sup>3)</sup> -KHÀNGÉL̀.

It cannot be regarded as a tri-radical root, but must be classified as di-radical, with an extension.

#### 5.6.0. MULTI-FUNCTIONAL ROOTS.

5.6.1. Strictly speaking, there is no hard and fast demarcation between 'verbal roots', 'nominal roots' etc.<sup>4)</sup>

In this study, however, since the main interest centres in the verbal root, the term "root" will be taken as referring to verbal roots, unless otherwise indicated.

1) cf. Radical conversion extension; Para: 12.5.0.

2) cf. Standardised extensions : Para: 17.5.2.

3) cf. Extensions, Applied ... Para: 15.1.1.

4) cf. Para's: 5.3.0. and 5.4.0.

5.6.2. Examples of multi-functional roots used within the framework of the noun, verb, adjective and so on.

**-THÂND-**

Nominal:	Class 1	umTHÂNDi	(lover)
	Class 9	inTÂNDò	(will, wish)
	Class 11	uTHÂNDò	(love)
	Class 15	ukuTHÂNDà	((the act of) loving)
Verbal:		ukuTHÂNDà	(to love)

**-KHUL-**

Nominal:	Class 1	umKHULúwà	(elder brother)
	Class 5	iKHULù	(great number, 100)
	Class 9	inKHULù	(eldest son)
	Class 11	uKHULù	(the majority)
	Class 14	ubuKHULù	(greatness)
	Class 15	ukuKHULà	((the act of) growing)
Adjectival:		-KHULù	(great, large)
Verbal:		uku-KHULà	(to grow, increase).

5.7.0. ROOTS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN.

5.7.1. As in all living languages, there are certain words that have been "borrowed" from neighbouring languages. In such instances, the root of the borrowed word is incorporated into the syntactical framework of Xhosa, accepting the usual prefixes, suffixes etc.

5.7.2. These roots, however, even though adapted to Bantu usage, do not necessarily conform to the typical pattern of Bantu roots. For this reason, no conclusions regarding Bantu radicals, roots and so on, may be drawn only from such roots of foreign origin.

5.7.3. The sources of such roots are mainly from two sources:

- (i) From European languages: viz.  
English and Afrikaans (or earlier forms  
of Afrikaans)
- (ii) From the Khoisan languages: viz.  
Bushman and Hottentot .

5.8.0. THE INFLUENCE OF KHOISAN  
LANGUAGES ON NGUNI ROOTS.

5.8.1. The influence of the Khoisan languages is widespread in the Nguni languages. This is only natural, since the Khoisan peoples overlapped considerably with the Nguni-speaking Bantu territorially.

Considerable care, therefore, is necessary in assessing where Bantu forms are pure, and where they have become corrupted by borrowings from Khoisan sources.

5.8.2. It is significant that Khoisan forms are only found in the roots of Xhosa, and never occur in the structural framework of the language. This indicates that the language was well established before the Khoisan influence began to 'lend' words, or roots, or phonetic modifications to the original Bantu.

5.8.3. Under phonetic influences are included those roots where there is a substitution of, for example, a click for a typical Bantu consonant:

for example:

-NÀMáthèl` and -NCÀMáthèl`

(be attached to, stick close to).

5.9.1. I. Schapera<sup>1)</sup> mentions certain characteristics of the Khoisan languages that are relevant here.

For instance,

- (i) Like the Bantu syllable, "Generally syllables are made up of either
  - (a) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel (or diphthong)" or,
- (ii) Unlike the Bantu syllable : "or
  - (b) a consonant or consonantal combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal."

(The italics are mine).
- (iii) "Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the (Khoisan) languages."

5.9.2. From (i) above, it is obvious why certain syllables or complete roots were so easily borrowed from Khoisan and fitted into the speech pattern of Bantu.

(N.B. (ii) Can explain such forms as uXAM (monitor lizard), which is not a usual Bantu form, having no final vowel. Its inclusion into the 'personal' class 1 of nouns may also be explained by the fact that it is a borrowed word, and only allocated to a noun class at a later stage in order to make its use possible within the Bantu grammatical framework.

(iii) Suggests that wherever a 'click' is met with, it should immediately be regarded as a probable 'borrowing' from Khoisan.

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1) I. Schapera: "The Khoisan Peoples of S.A." (1930) Chapter XV, pages 422 et seq.

5.10.0. Turning to grammatical processes,

5.10.1. Schapera goes on to say that, (p.422(a) )

"The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a great extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. . . . . the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotive concept lies in the employment of suffixes."

5.10.2. Here again a common principle is shared by both Bantu and Khoisan languages, in so far as the employment of suffixes are concerned by way of extending the root. Bantu, however, differs from Khoisan in that the latter tends to mono-R roots, while Bantu prefers the di-R root.

5.10.3. The similarity in regard to the use of suffixes to extend the root must be attributed to some common factor far back in the origins of both language families, rather than to any borrowing one from the other; for suffixal extension is the most common form found in Bantu languages as a whole.

5.10.4. "Reduplication of the radical element of a word is of frequent occurrence", observes Schapera (p. 424(2)). This also is met with commonly in Bantu.

5.10.5. The points of similarity are surprisingly frequent. To refer to them in greater detail is unnecessary for the present purposes.

5.11.0. It is interesting to note, however, that, unlike Bantu, Schapera states (p. 426):

"Syntax: Parts of Speech:

"There is no formal distinction between parts of speech in any of the Bushman languages, save Naron. It is generally impossible to determine merely from the form of the word what part of speech it is, although it may be noted that clicks occur in substantives and verbs, and that pronouns, auxiliaries and words in perpetual use rarely have them."

Two considerations arise from the foregoing:

- (a) There is obviously a form of 'multi-functional' root in Bushman which, however, unlike the Bantu multi-functional roots, do not have a structural framework which differentiates the various parts of speech. (cf. para: 5.6.1.)
- (b) The fact that clicks are rarely found in "pronouns or auxiliaries" may help to account for the fact that no clicks have found their way into Bantu apart from certain roots. (cf. para: 9.7.0.)

5.12.0. A list of 111 of the more commonly used Xhosa verbal roots (of more than two syllables) was taken, and the following facts noted:

Of the total 111 roots, 49 contained the evidence of Khoisan influence in the existence of 'click' consonants - (Approximately 50%).



A further 20 have a reduplication of a radical, which is an acknowledged feature of Khoisan languages. (Approximately 18%).

The remaining 42 roots did not shew evidence of either of these characteristics.

5.13.0.        SUMMARY:

5.13.1.        Clicks are foreign to the phonetic system of Bantu languages as a whole. They appear only in the languages in the Southern area of Africa. They are borrowed from the Khoisan languages. They cannot, therefore, be regarded as typical of Bantu languages generally.

In Nguni, however, clicks have become established as a recognised feature of the languages. In Xhosa their use is very wide-spread and it is impossible at this stage in the development of the language to regard them as a "foreign" element.

5.13.2.        When dealing with the semantic force of component radicals within verbal roots, it must be recognised that, because the click consonants are not of Bantu origin, the same semantic interpretation cannot necessarily be applied to such radicals as may be applied to those of true Bantu origin.

5.13.3.        There are instances, however, where a click consonant has been substituted for an original Bantu consonant. In which case, the semantic interpretation really attaches to the original Bantu radical and is only transferred to the click-containing radical through such substitution and not by virtue of its own intrinsic form.

## CHAPTER 6.

6.0.0. MONO-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS :

6.1.1. The simplest form of the verbal root is the mono-radical, consisting of -CV.<sup>1)</sup>

6.1.2. In two instances, the original formation of the mono-R v.r., viz. CV, has been retained, the later developed terminative -a added to it, and the original radical-vowel -u- has become a semi-vowel: e.g.,

-LWà (fight) < \*-LUa < \*-LU~ < \*-lu-  
 -HLWà (bec; dark) < \*-HLUa < \*-HLU~ < \*-Ku-

6.1.3. Originally, therefore, the radical verbal root and verbal stem were identical in form: viz:

\*-THÌ, \*-TSHÒ, \*-PH~', \*-LÙ etc.

6.1.4. With the substitution of the later terminative -a in place of the radical-vowel, however, most mono-R now have distinct forms: viz:

Radical, consisting of CV or C~

e.g. -THÌ, -B~ etc.

Verbal root: consisting of C~

e.g. -B~, -DL~'

Verbal stem: consisting of Cv:

e.g. -Bà, -DLá' etc.

6.2.0. It is important to recognise that there are three distinct categories of mono-R v.r., namely:

(i) Simple mono-R v.r. e.g.: -B~ (be, become)

(ii) Mono-R v.r. with a latent initial -i-

e.g.: (-i)V~' (hear, feel)

1) cf. Description of mono-R v.r. which have retained their radical vowel: paras. 2.6.1. - 2.6.3.

- (iii) Mono-R v.r. with a non-radical  
initial vowel : e.g: -éHL̃ (descend).

6.3.0. (1) SIMPLE MONO-R VERBAL ROOTS.

6.3.1. In the following comparative list of mono-R v.r. found in Xhosa, there is also given alongside the English meaning, the probable starred form of the root. Where the same mono-R v.r. occurs in Zulu (Z) and Swazi (S), the fact is indicated in the last two columns on the right.

<u>Xhosa Mono-R v.r.</u>	<u>Original.</u>	<u>Occurring also in:</u>	
-B̃ (become, be)	*-ṽ-	Z	S
-DL̃ (eat)	*-li-	Z	S
-F̃ (die)	*-kû-	Z	S
-HLW̃ * -HLÛ (bec. dark)	*-ku-	Z	S
-KH̃ (pluck)	*-k-	Z	S
-LW̃ * -LÛ (fight)	*-lu-	Z	S
-Ñ (rain)	*-n-	Z	S
-NỸ (defoecate)	*-nî-, -nŷ-	Z	S
-PH̃ (give)	*-p-	Z	S
-S̃ (bec. light)	*-ki-	Z	S
-S̃ (take to) <sup>1)</sup>			
-TH̃ (pour in)	*-t-	Z	-
-TỸ (eat)	*-li-	-	-
-TSH̃ (burn)	*-pi-	Z.-SH̃	: S. -SH̃
-W̃ (fall)	*-yu-	Z	S
-Ỹ (go)	*-yi-	Z	S

6.3.2. The influence of the original radical vowel, /I/ and /Û/ is seen in the phonological changes in the consonants of the mono-R, -DL̃, -TỸ : < \*-li-; -F̃, < \*-ku-; -S̃, < \*-ki-; and -TSH̃, < \*-pi-. Although

1) -S̃ < \* ya > \* yisa

the original radical vowels have been assimilated, their presence in the primitive forms is evident from these consonantal modifications.

6.3.3. On the other hand, the radical vowels have survived in the form of the semi-vowel in the following instances : /-U-/ has survived as /-W-/ in -HLW̃ < \*-Ku-; and -LW̃, < \*-lu-; and the radical-vowel /î/ as /-Y-/ in -NỸ, < \*-nî- > \*-nỹ-. It is clear that the final -a terminative necessitated this change from vowel to semi-vowel to avoid the occurrence of two successive vowels.

6.3.4. In the case of -W̃, and -Ỹ, the original \*/- ɣ -/ has fallen away, and the original radical-vowels, -(ɣ)u- and -(ɣ)i- have become the semi-vowels -W~ and -Y~, respectively, when followed by final -a terminative. Here -(ɣ)U- and -(ɣ)I- become the radical.

6.3.5. The two mono-R v.r. -DL̃ and -TỸ are both from the same original form \*-li- (eat). -TỸ is probably a later development.

6.4.0. (2) MONO-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS  
WITH LATENT INITIAL -i-

6.4.1. A small group of mono-R v.r. occurs in the Nguni languages which are in some way associated with an initial -i-.

6.4.2. This initial vowel is, however, never in evidence per se. The fact that it exists, however, is apparent whenever, in the course of conjugation, the vowel -a- would normally immediately precede such v.r. When this occurs, the -a- coalesces with the latent -i- to form -e-.

6.4.3. This group of mono-R is generally recognised by Bantu linguists, and reference made to it in the standard Grammars. Doke summarises the conventional theory regarding the origin of such roots : (Doke : Zulu Grammar 1931 : page 120 para. 301): viz.,

"These stems are derived from more primitive vowel verbs, -ima, -imba, -iva-  
-iza, -izwa."

He goes further and points out that in present day Lamba, the regular forms of corresponding roots are -ima (stand), -imba (dig) and -isa (come).

6.5.1. The question arises as to the nature and function of this initial vowel. If it constituted a radical, its loss would inevitably affect the meaning of the verb. But whether its influence is apparent or not, the semantic force of the root as a whole is not affected. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the initial latent -i- is not a lost radical.

6.5.2. The origin of this latent -i- is suggested by Ziervogel in his Grammar of Swazi (p. 70-71) where he bases his argument on Meinhof's theory as set out in his "Grundzüge Einer Vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantu Sprachen" (1948), (page 60, para: 30). The theory put forward is that the non-radical initial vowels occurring in certain v.r. are the remains of a primitive infinitive prefix, namely \* $\gamma$ i-, and classified as class 23 in Meinhof's classification. If this supposition is accepted, the way is open to regard the latent -i- as derived from the infinitive prefix \* $\gamma$ i- > i-.

6.5.3. Ziervogel goes further and draws attention to Eislen's thesis, and suggests that the process does not end with a \*  $\gamma i-$  >  $i-$  transition. He suggests that this primitive infinitive prefix may have had various vowels, namely not only \*  $\gamma i-$  but also \*  $\gamma e-$ , \*  $\gamma a-$  and \*  $\gamma o-$ .

6.5.4. Once this were established, it would account for the constant alternative forms such as Xh.  $-HL^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)HL^{\sim}$  )  $-\acute{e}HL^{\sim}$  (cf. para: 6.8.1.),  $-TH^{\sim}$   $-\acute{e}TH^{\sim}$  (pour in).

6.6.1. The following mono- $\bar{R}$  v.r. occur in Xhosa with latent initial  $-i-$  : 1)

$-(\hat{i})B^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)HL^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)M^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)MB^{\sim}$ ,  
 $-(i)V^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)Z^{\sim}$

6.6.2. The probable original forms of these roots are as follows:-

$-B^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)B^{\sim}$  (steal)<sup>2)</sup> < \*  $\gamma i-v^{\sim}$ , \*  $\gamma e-v^{\sim}$   
 cf. Z.  $-eB^{\sim}$ .

$-HL^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)HL^{\sim}$ ,  $-\acute{e}HL^{\sim}$  (go down) < \*  $\gamma i-K^{\sim}$ , \*  $\gamma e-K^{\sim}$   
 cf. Z.  $-eHL^{\sim}$ .

$-M^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)M^{\sim}$  (stand) < \*  $\gamma i-m^{\sim}$

$-MB^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)MB^{\sim}$  (dig) < \*  $\gamma i-mb^{\sim}$ , \*  $\gamma e-mb^{\sim}$ .  
 cf. Z.  $-MB^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)MB^{\sim}$ ,  $-eMB^{\sim}$ .

$-V^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)V^{\sim}$  (hear) < \*  $\gamma i-v^{\sim}$ .

$-Z^{\sim}$ ,  $-(i)Z^{\sim}$  (come) < \*  $\gamma i-\gamma^{\sim}$ .

The prefix \*  $\gamma i-$ , \*  $\gamma e-$  is the primitive infinitive prefix, as described in para: 5.5.2. above.

1) cf. Table C , Para 6.3.3.

2) In the infinitive the tonal differences between  $-B^{\sim}$  (become) and  $-(i)B^{\sim}$  (steal) are clear: viz.,  
 $\acute{u}k\acute{u}B\grave{a}$  (become) and  $\acute{u}k\acute{u}B\grave{a}$  (steal).

6.7.0. (3) MONO-RADICAL VERBAL ROOT  
WITH INITIAL NON-RADICAL VOWEL:

6.7.1. In Xhosa there is one mono-R v.r. which has three alternative forms: viz.,

-HL̃, -(i)HL̃, -eHL̃ 1)

6.7.2. This v.r. illustrates the theory 2) that both initial latent -(i)- and non-radical -e- are not radicals, but variants of a lost infinitive prefix.

6.7.3. Zulu provides further examples of this non-radical -e-. 1)

6.8.0. ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF THE MONO-RADICAL  
VERBAL ROOTS:

6.8.1. When a comparison is made of the Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi mono-R v.r., it is found that in Xhosa, for example, -HL̃ has all three variants, while Zulu and Swazi prefer to retain the form with the initial non-radical -e-. There is considerable variation between these three languages in regard to the forms retained.

6.8.2. For example, as will be shewn below, when the Xhosa roots in this group are compared with the corresponding roots in other Nguni languages, it is found that while the root -B̃ /-(i)B̃ (steal) has a latent -i- in Xhosa, in Zulu it is a mono-R v.r., -eB̃, with a constant, non-radical initial vowel. A similar position obtains with regard to Xhosa -MB̃, -(i)MB̃ (dig), and Zulu -MB̃, -(i)MB̃, or -eMB̃, where all three alternatives occur.

Again, while in Xhosa there are the three alternative forms of the root, -HL̃<sup>2)</sup>, Zulu has only the one form -eHL̃, while Swazi has the forms -eHL̃, -eHLik- (s.m.) A comparative table of the Xhosa latent -i- v.r. and other Nguni parallel roots, is given in Table C hereunder.

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1) cf. Table C Para: 6.3.3.  
 2) cf. Para: 6.5.3.  
 3) cf. Para: 6.7.1.

TABLE C

Showing comparative variants of mono-R v.r. forms  
as found in Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi, respectively.

<u>Xhosa</u>		<u>Probable Original Form</u>	<u>Zulu</u>	<u>Swazi</u>
-B~, -(i)B~	steal	* $\gamma_{iv}$ -, * $\gamma_{ev}$ -	-eB~	-B~, -(i)B~, -(e)B~ (Sw)
-HL~, -(i)HL~, -eHL~	go down	* $\gamma_{ik}$ -, * $\gamma_{ek}$ -	-eHL~	-eHL~, -eHLik- (Sw)
-M~, -(i)M~	stand	* $\gamma_{im}$ -	-M~, -(i)M~	-M~, -(i)M~
-MB~, -(i)MB~	dig	* $\gamma_{imb}$ -, * $\gamma_{emb}$ -	-MB~, -(i)MB~, -eMB~	-MB~, -(i)MB~
-V~, -(i)V~	hear	* $\gamma_{iyu}$ -	-ZW~, -(i)ZW~	-V~, -(i)V~
-Z~, -(i)Z~	come	* $\gamma_{iy}$ -	-Z~, -(i)Z~	-T~, -(i)T~
			-V~, -(i)V~ <sup>1)</sup> (increase)	

1) The root -V~, -(i)V~ (increase) found also in Zulu (and Sw: -ZW~) occurs, as far as the writer can ascertain, only in the phrase 'ishumi elivayo' (ten plus), or in multiples of ten, such as, 'amashumi amathathu evayo' (thirty plus).





6.9.0. THE STABILIZER yi- WITH MONO-R v.r.

6.9.1. Bantu scholars have long since commented on the fact that a mono-radical v.r. never stands alone. In verbal roots of more than one radical, the verbal stem (i.e. root + terminative) may stand alone as a word : for instance, when used as the singular imperative without an object : e.g. HÁMBÀ! (go!) THĒTHÀ! (speak!) But the stem of a mono-R v.r. can never be used alone (as, for instance, Ma!) but must always be preceded by some particle, giving the complete word the stability of at least two syllables.

For example, the imperative of the mono-R v.r. -DL̃ (eat) takes the form yìDLá! (eat!) : the latent -i- mono-R v.r. -(i)M̃ (stand) becomes yìMá! (stand!) : and that of -HL̃, -(I)HL̃, -éHL̃ (come/go down) is yìHLá!

6.9.2. The reason for this prefixed particle is suggested by the term used by Cole in Tswana to describe it : he refers to it as a "stabilizer". It appears to be an invariable principle in Nguni, and certain other Bantu languages, that, apart from certain interjections, the use of a monosyllabic word is resisted.

6.9.3. Xhosa has a preference for di-R v.r., and where a mono-R has to be employed, as in the examples given above, this invariable 'stabilizer' is prefixed to the verbal stem in order to give it the desired stability of a two-syllable word.

6.9.4. It is significant that when the imperative is preceded by, for example, an object concord, the stabilizer is dropped : the need for it having fallen away by virtue

of the fact that the word now has two syllables already.

For example:

Whereas  $y\grave{i}PH\acute{a}!$  (give!) requires the stabilizing influence of  $y\grave{i}-$ , it is no longer required in the command  $nd\grave{i}PH\acute{e}!$  (give me!...) which now comprises two syllables.

6.9.5. The origin of this stabilizer  $y\grave{i}$  is a matter of conjecture. Its morphological form suggests that it is derived from an earlier prefix  $*\gamma\grave{i}-$ , the  $\gamma-$  of which, according to the usual Xhosa phonetic shift, has become  $y-$ .

6.9.6. In form, it is similar to the hypothetical primitive infinitive prefix (of Meinhof's class 23)<sup>1)</sup> There does not seem to be any insuperable difficulty in accepting the theory that this stabilizer prefix  $y\grave{i}-$  is from the same  $*\gamma\grave{i}-$  (class 23), which also has left its mark upon the latent  $-i-$  and initial non-Radical vowel mono-R v.r.

#### 6.10.0. MONO-R v.r. USED AS AUXILIARY-PREDICATIVES:

6.10.1. Certain mono-R v.r. are used as Auxiliary predicatives (or „hulp-predikatiewe“).<sup>2)</sup>

6.10.2. Louw has coined the term „hulp-predikatief“ to describe what hitherto had been known variously as "deficient verbs" or "auxiliary verbs."

6.10.3. It is not within the scope of this thesis to go into any detail in this connection, as it is more than adequately dealt with by Louw. It should be noted, however, that certain mono-R v.r. are used as auxiliary

1) cf. Grundzüge etc. p. 60, para 30 : Meinhof also states here that traces of this prefix are to be found in Duala and neighbouring languages.

2) cf. J.A. Louw's thesis (1963) : „'n Vergelykende studie van die defisiënte verbum van die Ngunitale.“

predicatives. Some such mono-R v.r. can be used either as a main verb, or as an auxiliary predicative. Others may be used only as auxiliary predicatives, and are not found as main verbs.

6.10.4. The semantic force of these mono-R v.r. is different depending on the use to which they are put in the particular instance under consideration. The shift in meaning is considerable in most instances.

The following paragraphs indicate these usages, and the corresponding variations in semantic force.

(i) True mono-R v.r. :

Used as a main verb:

- B<sup>~</sup> (become, be)
- DL<sup>~</sup> (eat)
- KH<sup>~</sup> (pluck)
- THI<sup>~</sup> (say, think, do etc.)
- Y<sup>~</sup> (go)

Used as an auxiliary-predicative:

- B<sup>~</sup> tense formative
- DL<sup>~</sup> habitual action.
- KH<sup>~</sup> occasional action
- THI<sup>~</sup> used with ideophones: used with gestures to indicate numbers, or action
- Y<sup>~</sup> tense formative

(ii) Mono-R v.r. with initial latent -i- :

Used as main verb:

- (i)HL<sup>~</sup> (descend)
- (i)Z<sup>~</sup> (come)

Used as auxiliary-predicative :

- (i)HL~        denoting early action  
 -(i)Z~        tense-formative.

(iii) Mono-R v.r. used only as auxiliary-predicative:

- D~            Indicating action ultimately  
                  carried out : i.e. "...until....."

N.B. This radical would appear to be semantically related to the adjectival root -Dé (long).

- NG~ . Denoting some apparent action or state  
                  of affairs, which is somewhat uncertain.  
 . Expressing a desire to do or be .....  
 . Denoting unfulfilled condition.  
 . Indicating obligation to do .....

CHAPTER 77.0.0. DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS

7.1.1. Xhosa shews a strong preference for a di-radical root. The following is evidence of this fact.

(i) It has already been shewn, when discussing the mono-R v.r., where it was stated that "a mono-R v.r. never stands alone"<sup>1)</sup> - For example, you cannot say "THI!" (say!) but such a mono-R v.r., used in the imperative, demands the use of the prefix yi- in order to stabilize the root, and give it the 'status' of a di-radical form. (Although yi- is not a radical here, it does give the balance equivalent to a di-radical form.)<sup>1)</sup>

(ii) The great majority of Xhosa verbal roots are di-radical. Statistics are unnecessary to support this statement. A glance at any dictionary will reveal this to be so.

(iii) Where there are v.r. which are apparently tri-radical or multi-radical v.r., a close examination will reveal that they originate from one of the following sources:

From a mono-R or di-R v.r., with an additional radical or radicals.<sup>2)</sup>

From a mono-R or di-R root of multi-functional (nominal or adjectival) or ideophonic origin, with an additional radical or radicals.<sup>3)</sup>

From a mono-R or di-R v.r., to which an extension has been suffixed, and the original mono-R or di-R, lost.<sup>4)</sup>

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1) cf. Para. 6.9.1.

2) cf. Radical Extensions : Chapter 11.

3) cf. Radical Conversion Extensions : Chapter 12.

4) cf. Standardised Extension Forms : Para. 17.5.2.

From foreign words, borrowed and adapted to  
Xhosa from non-Bantu languages.<sup>1)</sup>

From a combination of two or more roots.<sup>2)</sup>

7.1.2. This preference for mono-R or di-R roots is seen also in the adjectival roots.

Out of a total of 13 recognised adjectival roots in Xhosa, 7 are mono-R, 3 di-R, 2 are di-R with a diminutive suffix, and 1 is a combination of two radicals, as will be seen from the examples given in Appendix D.

#### 7.2.0. SYNTHESIS OF DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOT

7.2.1. It has already been seen that there are certain mono-R v.r. with a complete semantic significance, conveying such ideas as "becoming" (-B<sup>~</sup>), "dying" (-F<sup>~</sup>), "giving" (-PH<sup>~</sup>) etc.

Such radicals consist of a consonant plus a vowel : an indivisible combination.

The number of such radicals is necessarily very limited, even if allowance is made for different radical vowels within any given rhizeme, and variations in tone and so on.

7.2.2. Through the development of the di-R v.r., the lexical scope of the language is increased to an almost unlimited extent.

It is further increased, and given additional flexibility, by the various types of extension.

7.2.3. The di-R v.r. is the result of the fusion of two R. It is important to stress that it is a process of

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1) Compare : The Influence of Khoisan Languages : para. 5.8.0.  
2) e.g. -THÀNDÁBÚZ̀ (doubt) < -THÀND̀ (twist) and  
-BÚZ̀ (ask).

fusion that is involved, and not merely the juxtaposition of two R.

In order to demonstrate how such a process of fusion actually took place, and to give examples, would require a wide, comparative investigation based on data from several Bantu languages, and from widely separated language groups. Such an investigation is, however, outside the scope of the present study.

7.2.4. Where two R were thus fused to form a di-R v.r. the radical vowel of both R1 and R2 were liable to some form of assimilation. In a di-R v.r. in its present form, only the (probably modified) radical vowel of R1 remains. There is nothing to indicate positively whether it is in its original form (i.e. as before fusion with R2,) or whether it is in a modified form.

7.2.5. It is rather too late in the day to attempt any detailed reconstruction of modern Xhosa forms, however. This process, if indeed it did take place, must have done so far back in the history of the Bantu languages as a whole, since the di-radical root is a common feature of all Bantu languages, and not of Nguni alone. The assonic forms of certain Bantu languages today seem to indicate that some such process may have operated, at least in certain cases. For example, to quote Van Eeden<sup>1)</sup> (quoting Bleek)<sup>2)</sup>

'Thus in Herero,

suta (pay)	>	sutu
tona (bear)	>	tono
pita (go out)	>	piti
teka (dip)	>	teke

---

1) cf. B.I.C. van Eeden, 'The Terminating vowel of the Bantu verbal stem.'

2) cf. Bleek, 'Comparative Grammar of S.A. Languages'.



and in the Angola language,

tunda (go out)	>	tundu
zola (love)	>	zolo
dshiba (kill)	>	dshibi
enda (walk)	>	ende

The assonic vowel pattern in di-radical verbal roots is not uncommon in Bantu, and is important as indicating some possible process of assimilation in the fusion of the two R, in certain instances.

7.2.6. No profound study has yet been made of the morphological relationship between ideophonic roots and verbal roots. It is, however, interesting to observe the large number of roots, with identical semantic shape<sup>1)</sup>, which have an assonic vowel pattern in the ideophone while the verbal root, in Xhosa, has accepted the invariable terminatives.<sup>2)</sup>

For example :

-thi fèfè (besprinkle) cf. -FÈF- (s.m.)

7.2.7. At a later stage, the terminative vowel of the v.r. is discussed in detail. It need only be noted here, however, that the final vowel of the present-day di-R is a detachable -a, the original vowel (i.e., the radical vowel of the original R2) having been lost. The consequence is that, although the original R1 and R2 each had its own distinctive radical vowel, today the radical vowel of R2 no longer appears. It may, or may not, survive indirectly in the present radical vowel of R1.

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1) cf. Para. 12.2.4.

2) cf. Para. 10.0.0. etc.

7.2.0. TYPES OF DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS

7.2.1. Assuming that a di-R v.r. is the result of fusion of two R, there are two main groups of di-R v.r., namely:

- (i) Those where R1 and R2 were identical, and the di-R v.r. consists of a re-iteration of that R.
- (ii) Those where R1 and R2 were dissimilar R.

For example :

- (i) -BHĀBH- (flutter) and -DĀD- (swim) are obviously roots consisting of a re-iterated R, while
- (ii) -HĀMB- (go) and -THŪM- (send) are composed in each case of dissimilar R.

## 7.2.2. Roots consisting of a re-iterated R:

Some of these are an obvious re-iteration, both morphologically and semantically: indicating the repetition of an action : for example:

--BHĀBH-	(flutter)
-DĀD-	(swim)
-JIJ-	(twist)
-PHĀPH-	(flap (wings or garments))
-QHĀQH-	(tease (wool))
-XHAXH-	(chop (meat))
-ZĀZ-	(spread over, occupy widely)

7.2.3. Others, again, appear to consist of a re-iterated R, but without indicating repetitive action: for example :

- CÀC- (be clear)  
 -CHÀCH- (recover from illness)  
 -THÀTH- (take)  
 -VAV- (express thanks to a performer).

7.3.4. Again, there are di-R v.r. which appear to be mere re-iterations of R1 while, in fact, they consist of an R1 (carrying the main semantic idea of the verb) with an R2 (which has merely a kind of adverbial influence on the root, as is usual in the case of secondary radicals)<sup>1)</sup>

For example:

- THÀTH- (take) is probably composed of  
 R1 \* -THA (idea of touching)  
 R2 -TH~ (secondary radical, with  
 punctative or contactive  
 significance).

7.3.5. The majority of di-R v.r. consist of two R of entirely different R : such as

- HAMB- (go) HA:MB~  
 -THUM- (send) TH~:M~  
 -FIK- (arrive) F~:K~

It is in connection with such roots that the importance of the difference in semantic function is realised between the primary and secondary radicals.

Bourquin<sup>2)</sup> noted that the primary radical (he called it the "first syllable") of a di-R v.r. contains the characteristic meaning of a root as a whole, while the "second syllable" (called here R2) modifies the root in a certain direction. The relative significance of the Primary<sup>3)</sup> and Secondary<sup>4)</sup> radicals is discussed fully elsewhere.

1) cf. Semantic influence of Secondary Radicals: cf. para 3.1.0.  
 2) W. Bourquin: "Neue Ur-Bantu Wortstämme" ..p.191 et. seq.  
 3) cf. Primary Radicals : para. 3.1.1.  
 4) cf. Secondary Radicals : para. 4.8.0.

7.3.6. REDUPLICATED DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS

Xhosa, in common with other Bantu languages, sometimes uses the device of a re-duplicated di-radical root. The semantic implication of this reduplication is two-fold : namely,

- (i) Signifying an intensification of the action described in the di-R v.r., or
- (ii) Signifying a rather desultory carrying out of the action described in the di-R v.r.; almost a punctative effect.

The following examples illustrate the principle involved.

7.3.7. (i) Examples of re-duplicated verbal roots signifying an intensification of the action described by the di-radical root:

- DUBÁDUB- (mix up completely) ; cf.
- DUB- (mix together, mingle)
- GONGXÁGONGX- (examine very thoroughly): cf.
- GONGX- (dig deep; question deeply)
- HÉNDÁHÉND- (tempt persistently): cf.
- HÉND- (tempt to evil)
- JÉNGQÁJÉNGQ- (chop up): cf.
- JÉNGQ- (cut across, sever)
- KHÁNDÁKHÁND- (pound repeatedly): cf.
- KHÁND- (beat out, hammer, forge)
- LÍNGÁLÍNG- (test or tempt repeatedly): cf.
- LÍNG- (try, attempt, test)
- PHÁNGÁPHÁNG- (hit forcibly): cf.
- PHÁNG- (do with speed or force)
- PHÍNDÁPHÍND- (keep repeating, do over and over again): cf.
- PHÍND- (repeat : fold over)

-PHŪLÁPHŪL- (listen, hearken, attend, obey): cf.  
 (um)PHŪLÀ (3) (earwax) and cf. (im)PŪLÀ (9)  
 the hole of the ear).

-ZAMÁZAM- (move backwards and forwards : shake :  
 rock): cf.

-ZAM- (shake, strive).

(ii) Examples of reduplicated di-R v.r., indicating  
 desultory action, with an almost punctative  
 effect: e.g.

-BETHÁBETH- (beat about): cf.

-BETH- (hit, strike)

-BHIDLÁBHIDL- (double like a hare : confuse,  
 mislead): cf.

-BHIDL- (s.m.)

-CHŌLÁCHŌL- (pick up here and there): cf.

-CHŌL- (pick up: come upon suddenly).

-DŪNGÁDŪNG- (stir up, disturb, make turbid): cf.

-DŪNG- (s.m.)

-FŪNÁFŪN- (search about for): cf.

-FŪN- (want, seek)

-GŪNGQÁGŪNGQ- (twist, wriggle, writhe): cf.

-GŪNGQ- (s.m.)

-HÁMBÁHÁMB- (walk about; go to and fro): cf.

-HÁMB- (walk : go)

-KRŪTHÁKRŪTH- (strip off (bark)): pull at : worry at):cf.

-KRŪTHek- (be distracted, worried, worn out).

-PHÁTHÁPHÁTH- (feel with the hands): cf.

-PHÁTH- (touch, handle).

## CHAPTER 8.

8.0.0. VERBAL ROOTS WITH INITIAL VOWEL :

8.1.1. Comments on various types of verbal roots with an initial vowel<sup>1)</sup> are to be found in most of the earlier works on Bantu. For example, Werner<sup>2)</sup> and more recently Ziervogel<sup>3)</sup>, discuss the probable origin of such forms.

8.1.2. Doke<sup>4)</sup> has the following additional comments to add:

"There are two main types of vowel-verb in Zulu :

(1) Those of which the stem invariably commences in a vowel, this vowel being either a-, e-, or o- .

It is noteworthy that there is none commencing in either of the vowels i- or u- .

(2) Those which have two forms, either of which may be used at will : the first commencing in a vowel, usually e-, and the second form being a regular verb without any initial vowel. There is one defective verb also."

8.1.3. The above comments apply equally to Xhosa.

It must be clearly understood, however, that the two types of v.r. with initial vowel mentioned above in (1) and (2) are two distinct and separate types. In this study I have referred to (1) as "vowel-verbal roots", and those under (2) as "verbal roots with initial non-Radical vowel." These two types are discussed separately in detail in the following pages.

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1) cf. Para's. 2.2.0. et seq.

2) cf. A. Werner, 'Bantu Languages', para. 145 (1919)

3) cf. D. Ziervogel, 'Grammar of Swazi', page 67 et seq (1952)  
cf. also Para. 652/3/4.

4) cf. Doke : "Zulu Grammar" (1931) page 121, para: 303.

8.2.0. VOWEL-VERBAL-ROOTS

8.2.1. There are actually three distinct types of verbal-root involving an initial vowel. They may be classified as :

8.2.2. The first group consisting of mono-radical v.r. with a latent initial  $-(i)-$ , which have already been dealt with.<sup>1)</sup> The conclusions arrived at may be briefly summarised here, viz. that this initial  $-(i)-$  is not a radical, but probably what has survived from a primitive infinitive prefix.

This group includes such roots as:

$-(\hat{i})B\grave{\sim}$  (steal),  $-(i)V\acute{\sim}$  (hear, feel) etc.

8.2.3. A second group consists of di-radical v.r. whose R1 consists of a vowel only (the original initial consonant having been lost). In these v.r., the initial vowel (R1) is constant : that is to say, there are no alternative forms for any one v.r. Such R1 are found in A-, E- or O-. There do not appear to be instances of R1 in I-, or U-. This group includes such v.r. as,

$-\hat{A}KH\grave{\sim}$  (build),  $-\acute{E}NZ\grave{\sim}$  (make, do),  $-\acute{O}S\grave{\sim}$  (roast).

This group constitute the only true vowel-verbal roots, since their initial vowel constitutes a radical (R1).

8.2.4. A third group may be described as a form of regular di-radical v.r. having, however, a non-radical initial vowel preceding the primary radical (R1). In this group, the following features are important:

- (i) The initial vowel is not a radical, and therefore does not carry any semantic value.

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1) cf. Para. 6.4.0.

(ii) In certain instances, there may be alternative forms of the initial vowel for any given root: for example, with initial e- or o-, as in  
 -éBUL̀ or -óBUL̀ (skin, flay).

As far as I know, Xhosa has no such v.r. with initial a-, i- or u-.

(iii) In other instances, the di-radical v.r. with initial vowel may also have an alternative form in which the initial vowel is lost, and the v.r. occurs as a regular di-radical v.r. For example,  
 -éTHUK̀; -óTHUK̀ and -THUK̀

all have the identical meaning (be startled):

There are also the transitive forms,

-éTHUS̀ and -óTHUS̀ (startle).

The retention or loss of the initial vowel has no semantic effect. It is therefore not a radical.

8.2.5. Mono-Radical verbal roots with latent initial -i- have already been dealt with. Further elaboration is, therefore, unnecessary here.

### 8.3.0. TRUE VOWEL-VERBAL ROOTS

8.3.1. The regular di-R v.r. consists of a primary radical R1 (consisting of a consonant plus vowel) and a secondary radical, R2, consisting of a consonant only (the radical-vowel of R2 having been dropped in favour of the terminative -a etc.)

8.3.2. There is a comparatively small number of v.r., however, whose R1 consists today of a vowel only. These are the true vowel-verbal roots, and are derived from regular di-R forms, the initial consonant of which has



been dropped. All that remains today being the radical-vowel of the original Rl, which now itself constitutes Rl.

8.3.3. Table D gives a representative list of such v.r., as found in Xhosa, and also for comparative purposes, in Zulu and Swazi. It will be noted that while there are di-R v.r. with Rl A-, E-, O-, there are none with Rl I- or U-.

8.3.4 It is generally accepted<sup>1)</sup> that these di-R are derived from earlier starred forms (as given in the extreme right hand column of Table D), whose original consonant  $\chi$  of Rl has been lost, leaving the radical vowel only to fill the rôle of Rl.

8.3.5.

TABLE D  
VOWEL-VERBAL ROOTS

(Di-R v.r., with Rl as Vowel only:)

The following is a fairly comprehensive table of di-R vowel-verbal roots found in Xhosa. For comparative purposes, it is indicated also where these or equivalent v.r. are found in Zulu and Swazi. Reference has already been made to the fact that they are probably derived from original forms with an initial consonant, probably  $\chi$ , now lost. These are given in the extreme right-hand column:

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1) cf. Para: 8.3.5.

<u>Xhosa.</u>		<u>Also found in</u>		<u>Original forms.</u>
-AB-	distribute	Zu	Sw	* γay-
-AKH-	build	Zu	Sw	* γak-
-AL <sup>1)</sup> -	refuse	Zu	Sw	* γal-
-AND-	increase	Zu	Sw	* γand-
-ANG-	kiss	Zu	Sw	* γang-
-AZI-	know	Zu	Sw (-ATI)	* γa γ i
-EL-	winnow, flow	Zu	Sw	* γel-
-EN-	be overgrown	Zu	Sw	* γen-
-END-	marry (of woman)	Zu	Sw	* γend-
-ENZ-	make, do	Zu	Sw (-ENT-)	* tend- <sup>2)</sup>
-ETH-	hand to, bring			* γet-
-OKH-	transfer fire	Zu	Sw	* γok-
-OM-	dry; bec. hard	Zu	Sw	* γom-
-ON-	spoil, sin	Zu	Sw	* γon-
-OND-	go straight on	Zu	Sw (-ONDZ-)	* γond-
	be thin		-OND-	
-ONDL-	feed the young etc.	Zu	Sw	* γo γ a
-ONG-	use sparingly	Zu		* γong-
-OPH-	bleed, sweat profusely	Zu	Sw	* γop-
-OS-	roast	Zu	Sw	* γoka
-OTH-	bask (in sun etc.)	Zu	Sw (-OTS-)	* γot-

1) N.B. Xhosa also has -AL- (start fermenting milk in new calabash): McL. Dict. p. 2.

2) cf. Bourquin: N. Ub. W: p. 248.

8.4.0. VERBAL ROOTS WITH NON-RADICAL  
INITIAL VOWEL :

8.4.1. We now come to the group of verbal-roots with a non-radical initial vowel. These must be sub-divided into:

- (i) Mono-radical verbal-roots, preceded by non-radical initial vowel.
- (ii) Di-radical verbal roots, preceded by non-radical initial vowel.
- (iii) Di-radical verbal roots, with alternative forms of non-radical initial vowel.
- (iv) Di-radical verbal roots which may occur as a regular di-radical, or with an alternative form, being preceded by a non-radical initial vowel.

N.B. Where alternative forms occur, as in (iii) and (iv) above, the alternative forms are interchangeable, involving no semantic change.

8.4.2. Mono-radical verbal-roots, preceded by non-radical initial vowel.<sup>1)</sup>

8.4.3. Di-radical verbal-roots, preceded by non-radical initial vowel.

Such verbal-roots fall into two categories : viz.,

- (i) Those which have an alternative initial non-radical vowel. In some instances two variants may occur in Xhosa, with no semantic difference between the two forms. In other instances, the variant occurs in Zulu, but with an obviously common origin and with related semantic force.

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1) cf. Para. 6.7.0. etc.

(ii) Those which have both a form with a non-radical initial vowel, and an alternative form, without the initial vowel, with identical or related semantic force.

8.5.1. Di-radical verbal-roots with alternative variants of initial, non-radical vowel. As these alternative variants are only apparent in the related Zulu forms, these are quoted for comparative purposes. For example :

<u>Xhosa.</u>	<u>Zulu.</u>
-áLAM- get glimpse of	-eLAM- come next in birth.
-éBÜK- peel off (intr.)	
-óBÜK- " (s.m.)	
-éBÜL- peel off (tr.)	-eBUL- strip, bark
-óBÜL- " (s.m.)	-oBUL- (s.m.)
-óBUZ- " (s.m.)	
-óLUL- stretch out (tr.)	-eLUL- stretch out (Intr.)
-óLÜK- " (Intr.)	
-óYIK- fear, be afraid of	
-óYIS- overcome	-eYIS- have contempt for

8.5.2. It is reasonable to conclude that since the initial vowel may vary, without a corresponding variation in the semantic shape of the root, the initial vowel is not a radical, but has some other origin.

8.6.1. Di-radical verbal-roots with alternative forms, either with or without initial non-radical vowel, and with no corresponding semantic variation. Again, a comparison with certain Zulu forms is necessary to complete the data.

For example:

Reference has been made in the preceding paragraph to the group, -éBUL- (peel off), -óBUL-, -éBUK-, -óBUK- etc. Then there is the di-radical v.r. -BUL- (confess, admit (incest etc.)) There is a semantic shift here, but it does not amount to a fundamental semantic variant.

8.6.2. Again, reference has been made to the group -óLUL- (stretch out), -óLUK- etc. There is also the extended root -LULek- (to straighten out something that was bent). The roots are obviously \*-LUK- and \*-LUL- respectively : the initial vowel, where it occurs, being non-radical.

8.6.3. In Xhosa, the di-radical v.r. -NQAB- (bec. fixed, stuck : in perfect tense, be scarce, expensive) occurs. In Zulu this root has the non-radical initial vowel form, -eNQAB- (disallow, prohibit).

8.6.4. Finally, there is the group of roots:

-éTHUK-, -óTHUK- (be startled)  
-éTHUS-, -óTHUS- (startle).

These have corresponding di-radical variants, with no non-radical initial vowel, and no semantic variation : viz:

-THUK- (be startled)

Again, the initial vowel, where it occurs, with no apparent semantic influence, cannot be regarded as a radical.

8.7.0. The root -AMBATH- (clothe oneself), presents problems peculiar to itself. There may be other parallel instances, but they have not yet come to my notice.

The group -<sup>á</sup>MBATH̀̀ (clothe oneself): -<sup>á</sup>MBUL̀̀ (wear old, ragged clothes, etc.) (More correctly, -<sup>á</sup>MBATH̀̀ indicates adorning oneself in ceremonial clothes, and -<sup>á</sup>MBUL̀̀ disrobing, or dressing in shabby clothes) has corresponding forms in Zulu, with an initial -A- or -E-; viz., -AMBATH- or -EMBATH-. This suggests that this root is therefore to be included under those in paragraph (8.5.1.) above; and should therefore be written -<sup>á</sup>MBATH̀̀, -<sup>á</sup>MBUL̀̀ etc., the initial vowel being non-radical.

If this is so, the root would be \*-MBATH̀̀ and \*-MBUL̀̀ respectively. This may be so, or the -ATH- and -UL- may be extensions, in which case it would be more likely for the roots to be di-radical, viz. \*-AMB-.

It would appear more probable, however, that these are not roots with extensions, but related roots, with contrasting secondary radicals; with a non-radical initial vowel, viz. -<sup>á</sup>MBATH̀̀ and -<sup>á</sup>MBUL̀̀.

A further factor that should be remembered, is the apparently related ideophone thi wambù (throw on a garment, etc.)

## CHAPTER 9

9.0.0. TRI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS

9.1.0. The number of tri-radical verbal roots is comparatively low. In attempting to describe the possible origin of some of these roots, the derivation of which is obscure, a certain amount of repetition has been unavoidable, as there are more exceptions than regular forms.

9.2.0. I have referred to such verbal roots as tri-radical since they are, in effect, tri-radical now. But in almost every instance, such roots, when of pure Bantu origin, are really extensions of one kind or another of mono-R or di-R roots. These roots are variously verbal, multi-functional, nominal or ideophonic.

9.2.1. Tri-R roots which are apparently derived from di-R roots by the reduplication of R1 to form R1 and R2, R3 being the R2 of the original di-R root. For example :

-BHÚBHÚZ- (retch, vomit) : cf. -BHÚL- (thresh, beat out) : (here R3 is the Factative -Z~ (9), replacing the Effective -L~ in -BHÚL-).<sup>1)</sup>

-GÓGÓD- (scrape the bottom of a mealie pit) :  
cf. -GÓD- (dig out, excavate)

-GÚGÚD- (run along the surface) : cf. -GÚD-  
(be smooth).

9.2.2. Tri-R v.r. apparently derived from a di-R root where R1 has been re-iterated in the position of a third R,<sup>2)</sup> (in some instances, with phonetic modification):

In the following examples, I have been unable to identify the di-R roots, but the semantic shape

1) cf. Para. 4.8.1.

2) This really amounts to a di-R r. plus Radical Extension.

of R1 has been identified as occurring in other roots also : for example:

-DAKAD- (Massacre, tear to pieces) :

R1, \*-DA- (idea of tearing): cf. also

-DABUL- 1) (tear, rend)

-DABUK- 2) (be torn).

-GEBENG- (fall upon, rob) :

R1: \*-GE- (idea of violent, aggressive action): cf.

also -thi gèbhù (cut deep, cut much)

-GENG- (throw, burst a door wide open)

-GEC- (cut a way through bush etc.)

-GENGQ- (dig deep : trench)

-HLUKUHL- (slaughter, by severing the aorta):

R1, \*-HLU- (idea of separating): cf. also

-HLUTH- (take away by force : deprive of)

-HLUZ- (strain, filter)

-NDIKIND- (speak with vehemence and gesticulation):

R1, \*-NDI- (idea of pestering continually).

-NDIND- (keep soliciting to evil : keep hammering at (metaphorically)).

9.4.0. Tri-R v.r. derived from

Di-R v.r. plus radical extension : 2)

-BHABHAM- (be furious): cf. -BHABH- (flap about):

REx: Protractive -M~ (6)

-JONGOTH- (demand one's rights): cf. -JONG-

(look fierce): REx : Punctative -TH~ (2)

-KHOLÓS- (be secure, lean upon): cf. -KHÔL-

(satisfy, convince): REx : Neuter -S~ (2)

1) Or -DAB-ùl-

2) Or -DAB-ùk-

3) cf. Radical extensions :



-NYUBUL- (Laugh, shewing the gums): cf. Zu: -NYUB-  
(make fun of, make a butt of): REx :  
Effective -L~ (4).

-NGQUMK- (be blunt) and -NGQUMZ- (make blunt)  
cf. (isi)NGQUM (4) (a blunt article).  
REx: -K~ Neuter (2) and -Z" Factative (9).<sup>1)</sup>  
respectively.

-QELÉS- (be independent, be proud): cf. Zu: -QEL-  
(take one's stand, face to face, with an opponent:  
e.g. as a young man about to fight):  
REx: -S~ Neuter (2)<sup>1)</sup>

-SUKUM- (stand up, stand erect): cf. -SUK- (get up  
and go away): REx: -M~, Protractive (6) <sup>1)</sup>

-SUKUZ- (move, shift tr.): cf. -SUK- (get up and go  
away): REx: -Z~ Factative (9) <sup>1)</sup>

-TYUMZ- (bec. burst, smashed): -TYUMK- (bec. burst,  
smashed): cf. also ukuthi cum, -CUMK- (be  
broken, smashed, thro' falling):  
REx: -Z~, factative (9) and -K~ neuter (2)  
respectively. Suggests Khoisan origin,  
with final -M~.

9.5.0. Tri-R v.r. derived from :  
Di-R v.r. plus Extension: <sup>2)</sup>

-KHANGÉL- (look, look at) is undoubtedly <  
\*-KHANG- plus Applied Extension -el- (1)(a):  
-PHENDUL- (answer) cf. \*-PHEND- plus  
Reversive-actional Extension -ul- : (13)

1) cf. Semantic Significance of secondary radicals,  
para. 4.3.0.

2) cf. Extensions : Chapter 15.

-SHUMAYEL- (proclaim, preach): cf. \*-SHUM-  
 plus Extensive-stative (irregular) extension  
 -ayel- (2)(g)

9.6.0. Several Tri-R or Multi-R v.r. are evidently derived from di-R or multi-R Ideophones, plus a radical conversion extension. Those v.r. which fall into this category, and whose original ideophonic roots are still in use, are dealt with in Chapter 12.

Several others, however, have also probably been so formed, but the original ideophones from which they were derived are no longer in current use in Xhosa. For example:

( -BHURUZ- (retch, vomit): cf. \*-thi bhuru (s.m.)  
 {  
 { with factative conversion extension -Z~.  
 {  
 ( -BHOROZ- (s.m.) same derivation.

( -GUNUND- (eat bare): cf. \*-thi gunu.  
 {  
 ( -GUNUZ- (gobble up, finish) : same derivation,  
 except that the former has the Protractive  
 Conversion Ext. -ND~, while the latter has  
 the Factative Conv: extension -Z~.

( -RONGQAZ- (roam, ramble): cf. \* -thi rongqa.  
 {  
 ( -RWANGQAZ- (s.m.) : cf. \*-thi rwangqa.

( -MOKOTH- (chew, munch) : cf. \*-thi moko  
 {  
 ( -MUKUTH- (s.m.) : cf. \* -thi muku

In each case, the conversion extension is  
 the punctative -TH~.

9.7.0. There is a comparatively small number of tri-R and multi-R v.r., which do not suggest a ready solution as to their origin. It is perhaps significant that they usually possess click consonants, indicating Khoisan (and therefore non-Bantu) influence. It is possible

that these, obviously not typical Bantu forms, are in fact borrowed from Khoisan roots. (I. Schapera<sup>1)</sup> mentions that it is common in Khoisan for "two or more radical elements" to combine to form one single word.)

Examples of such roots include:

- BHAKAX<sup>2)</sup> (come upon broadside)
- BHENGÉQ<sup>2)</sup> (be arrogant, independent)
- GQÓSHONG<sup>3)</sup> (be harsh with, rebuff)
- GXÓLOXH<sup>2)</sup> (feed towards the kraal at sunset)
- NQÉNDÉV<sup>2)</sup> (be slothful, indolent)

N.B. It is interesting to note that R1  
in -NQÉNDÉV<sup>2)</sup> (be slothful, indolent)  
and R1 in -NQÉN<sup>2)</sup> (be lazy) are identical.

#### 9.8.0. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The majority of so-called Tri-radical or multi-radical verbal roots are, in fact, extensions of one kind or another of a simpler (mono- or di-radical) root. This may be a multi-functional, or ideophonic root.

These multi-radical roots are mostly formed by

- (i) The addition of a radical extension,  
e.g., -GÚDLUZ<sup>2)</sup> (shake violently)  
    < -GÚDL<sup>2)</sup> (rub, knock against):  
    REX : Factative -Z~ (9)
- (ii) By means of a radical conversion suffix  
added to an ideophonic root :  
e.g. -GÉBÉNG<sup>2)</sup> (fall upon, rob) : cf.  
    -thi gèbhù (inflict severe open wound)

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1) cf. para. 5.8.0. et seq.

2) cf. roots with tonal sequence LHL : para. 18.9.3.

3) cf. roots with tonal sequence HLL : para. 18.9.4.

- (iii) By means of an Extension added to a mono-R or di-R root, the original unextended root having fallen into disuse:

e.g. -KHÀNGÉl- (look, look at): cf.  
 \*-KHÀNG- (obsolete di-R v.r.) plus  
 applied extension -el- (1)<sup>1)</sup>

- (iv) By the combination of two roots, to form one multi-radical root :

e.g. -THÀNDÁBUZ- (doubt): cf -THÀND- (twist)  
 and -BUZ- (ask).

- (v) By the combination of roots, sometimes of borrowed (e.g. Khoisan) origin:

e.g. -KHÚMANQ- (be amazed, astonished):  
 cf. \*-KUM- and -thi nqà (be surprised).

#### 9.9.0. MISCELLANEOUS TRI-RADICAL v.r.

9.9.1. There are in addition, several tri- or multi-R v.r. which have a less obvious origin. I have suggested possible origins for some of these roots. Since they do not constitute large groups, they must of necessity be treated rather as individual and rather exceptional forms.

9.9.2 When dealing with derived multi-radical verbal roots whose origin is obscure, some light may be thrown on their origin through a study of their tonal sequence. This aspect is dealt with fully in chapter 18. For example, roots with a tonal sequence of HLL are found to be derived from a limited number of sources.<sup>2)</sup> By a process of elimination, the probable source of obscure roots may be thus deduced. The result is, however, still a matter of speculation in most cases.

1) cf. Extensions : para. 15.1.1.

2) Roots with tonal sequence HLL : cf. para. 18.9.4.

9.9.3. From unidentified di-R v.r.

-NDÍBAZ- (hesitate, be irresolute), and

-NDÍLath- (be fickle)

R1 in each case carries the idea of being unstable, undecided.

-NDÍBAZ- is probably from a di-R Id. root \*-thi ndibà (where R1 -NDÍ- indicates being undecided) with a radical conversion extension -Z~ (factative R2)

-NDÍLath- probably from a related di-R root, \*-NDÍL- and R2 neuter -L~, with the contactive extension -ath- (10).

N.B. Zulu also has -NDIND- with the meaning "rove about, wander around aimlessly."

-SÚNGÚL- (commence, inaugurate) : cf.

Zu - SUNDUZ- (push forward, push away) :

There is the possibility that R1, -SU- is the same as in -SÚK- (get up), -SÚL- (remove, wipe off), -SÚS- (remove tr.) etc.

If this is so, the next step is to establish the di-R v.r., viz: \*-SÚNG-

R1, -SU- (idea of getting up, getting moving)

R2, -NG~ (protractive R).

To this di-R root is added a radical extension -L~ (being the effective R).

N.B. In the Zulu -SUNDUZ- R2 is the protractive R2 -ND~, and the radical extension, the factative R -Z~.

9.9.4. Tri-R v.r. associated with di-R ideophonic roots, with a radical conversion extension providing the third R: e.g.

**-DÁKUMB-** (be depressed): the form suggests derivation from ideophonic root *\*-thi dákù* (not identified) possibly related to *\*-DAKU-* as found in *-DAKWa* (*-DAKUa* : Zu: be besotted, be overcome : *-U-* here being part of the R2, *-KU~*). To this di-R root is added the Radical Conversion Extension *-MB~*, which has the significance of protracted action, and supplies the third R.

9.9.5. From di-R nominal root

**-DLÓKÓV-** (plunge, buck, rear): cf. Zu.,  
 (u)DLÓKó (11) (One of a regiment found by Mpande),  
 cf. also Xh: (i)DLÓKÓ-DLÓKó (5) (an uneven heap):  
 The R in third position is a low-frequency secondary R for which I have not been able to establish a satisfactory semantic category.

**-NÍKIN-** (rub against, arouse from sleep) and  
**-NÍKIZ-** (tear to pieces; worry (as a dog a smaller animal)) : cf. (ama)NÍKí-NÍKí (6) something rubbed threadbare, sg. tattered).  
 Radical conversion extension, *-N~* (R2 Protractive) and *-Z~* (R2 factative), respectively, supply the R in third position.

9.9.6. Tri-R v.r. related to di-R nominal root  
 (still found in Zulu, tho' not in Xhosa): viz.

**-GÓNÓND-** (suck a dry udder, breast):  
 cf. Zu (in)GÓNo (9) (nipple of breast : small head at top of a calabash).

9.9.7 Tri-R v.r. related to reduplicated di-R  
nominal root (found in Zulu, tho' not in Xhosa): viz:

-HLÀFÚN- (chew) : cf. Zulu:

(ama)HLAFu-HLAFu (6) : (coarsly ground  
grain) : The radical conversion extension  
-N~is similar to the secondary radical  
-N~which carries a "protractive" significance.

-NYÓVUL- (stir up Kaffir corn in water to wash it)  
(walk heavily - labour a point)

possibly associated with Zulu

(i)NYOVu-NYOVU (5) a person who muddles things,  
causing confusion : with which compare Xh:

(u)NYÓVù (11) (a mixture of Kaffir corn and  
broth). To this di-R root is added the  
RCE -L~ (R2 Effective).

cf. -thi nyòvù (of shifting something heavy)

9.9.8 From mono-R Ideophonic root (Xhosa)  
with extension

-NYÚBèl- (slink, skulk) cf. mono-R ideophonic root  
-thi nyúú (slink, skulk). The derivation  
is in two stages. First, the addition of  
RCE -B~ (R2 operative), secondly the  
addition of the applied extension -el- (1).

9.9.9 From di-R Zulu ideophonic root

-MÓKÓTH- (chew, munch) : cf. Zu. -thi moklo  
(of breaking a bone) : with RCE -TH~  
(R2 punctative).

-MÚKÚTH- (same meaning as -MÓKÓTH-) : possible  
variant of -thi moklo.

-SHUMPUL- (pinch, twist the skin) cf. the Zulu ideophonic root, -thi shumpu (get broken off, in a tearing manner), to which is added the RCE -L- (effective R).

## 9.9.10.

-VABul- (walk aimlessly about):

-VATSHul- (s.m.) and -VENTSHul- (s.m.)

cf. Zulu ideophonic root - thi vaba

(do things generally in an untidy, disorderly aimless manner):

The ideophonic root is adapted to verbal root by the loss of the final vowel > \*-VAB- to which is then added the abundant actional extension -ul- (7)(a)

> -VABul-

N.B. -VATSHul- and -VENTSHul- are probably later corruptions of -VABul-.

N.B. -VENTSHul- possibly influenced by the Afrikaans verb "vent" (carry about for sale, hawk, peddle).

N.B. The fact that these are later corruptions could also account for their being pronounced with a different tonal sequence.

9.9.11. From hypothetical di-R ideophonic root (unidentified : no such root having been found in either Xhosa or Zulu as far as I know):  
A radical conversion extension supplies the third R in each case.



-BHÁVUM̀ (growl, snarl): cf. hypothetical ideophone  
\*-thi bhavu, with RCE -M~ (R2, with protractive  
significance).<sup>1)</sup>

-GUNÚZ̀ (gobble up, finish): cf. -GUNÚND̀ (eat  
bare) : suggests origin from \*-thi gunu,  
with RCE -Z~ (R2, with factative significance):  
and -ND~ (R2, with protractive force)  
respectively.

-TSHÁWUL̀ (sing (of water on the boil) : The form  
suggests hyp. ideophonic origin: \*-thi tshawu :  
RCE, -L~ (R2 effective) as R in third position.

-TYWÁSHUMB̀ (be flat) and -TYWÁSHÜB̀ (beat, hammer at):  
suggest ideophonic origin : \*-thi tywashu  
in each case : RCE being -MB~ (R2 protractive  
operative) and -B~ (R2 operative) respectively,  
as R in third position.

N.B. Primary radical \*-TYWÁ- is found in the  
Ideophonic root, -thi tywá (be flat on the  
ground).

-TYHÍSHIL̀ (depart hastily): suggests hyp. ideophonic  
origin, \*-thi tyhishi with RCE, -L~ (R2  
effective) as R in third position.

N.B. The primary radical \*-TYHI- occurs also  
in the ideophonic root -thi tyhi (go  
straight forward, proceed etc.)

-ZÓNGOM̀ (resound): suggests hyp. ideophonic origin,  
\*-thi zongo with RCE -M~ (R2 Protractive)  
as R in third position.

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1) cf. Also Zu: (isi)BHAVu-BHAVu (wild, fierce person) (7)

CHAPTER 10

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10.0.0.        THE VERBAL TERMINATIVE.

10.1.0.        In his article "The Terminating Vowel of the Bantu Verbal Stem"<sup>1)</sup> Van Eeden refers in detail to the comments made by Bleek, Hahn and Meinhof, in this connection.     In summarising their findings, Van Eeden draws attention to certain factors which he considers of particular importance.

10.1.1.        After observing that the earliest Bantu linguists encountered insoluble difficulties in regard to the terminating vowel, he states that the purpose of his treatise is to throw more light on the problem by indicating that:

"The terminating vowel of the Bantu verbal stem was originally not -a, and that in polysyllabic stems it was determined by assimilation to the stem vowel : in other words, that -a is a later addition which replaces the assimilated vowel."

10.1.2.        In the light of the evidence available, it does not seem necessary to question the assumption that -a is a later development, replacing some other original terminating vowel.

                However, I suggest that, originally, it need not necessarily have been a matter of the final vowel being assimilated to the "stem vowel."     I suggest that, in the fusion of two radicals, in the formation of a di-radical v.r., the radical vowels of both R1 and R2 may

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1) B.I.C. van Eeden: Bantu Studies : Vol. VIII : No. 4., December, 1934.

have been involved in assimilation in certain cases.

10.1.3. In commenting on the assimilated forms, Van Eeden quotes<sup>1)</sup> Bleek's examples of verbal stems found in Herero, and in Angola. Bleek speaks of the stems with final -a being "commuted to" assimilated stems.

For example : in Herero :

suta (pay) > sutu; tona (beat) > tono

and in Angola :

zola (love) > zolo; dshiba (kill) > dshibi

and so on.

But Van Eeden strongly supports Hahn's contention, and I quote:<sup>2)</sup>

"I must refer again to Hahn who has been previously mentioned .... He was ... the first person to maintain that the assimilated "are the radical forms of such verbs" - which is in complete accordance with the view I am defending."

#### 10.1.4. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS:

- (i) Di-radical v.r. were originally composed of two radicals, each consisting of a consonant plus vowel; these radicals being 'fused' (not merely in juxtaposition).
- (ii) Originally, therefore, verbal roots could have had a final vowel consisting of any one of the vowels -A, -E, -I, -O, -U.
- (iii) As discussed fully by Van Eeden, a later development led to the dropping of the final vowel of the assimilated forms, and the substitution of a detachable, invariable final -a.

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1) V. Eeden : p. 368.

2) " 368.

(iv) This 'invariable final -a' only occurred in certain tenses and moods. Other terminatives, indicating mood and tense, positive and negative etc., also developed.

(v) The terminative may now take any one of the following forms, according to the sense required : viz.

-a, -e, -i, -ile, -anga.

These are now classified and their usage described.

#### 10.2.0. FUNCTION OF VERBAL TERMINATIVE:

10.2.1. The terminatives fulfil the following functions:

- (i) Tense formatives : indicating not only time (present, past, future etc.), but include the ideas of possibility, continuity, completion of action and so on.
- (ii) Positive and negative aspects.
- (iii) Infinitive, Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive moods.

These terminatives are used in the conjugation of the verb, and occur in every verbal form, since one or other of them is needed in order to complete any verbal form. They may be suffixed to the basic verbal root (mono-radical, di-radical or multi-radical) or to any extended root.

10.2.2. It is not the purpose of this study to go into detail regarding the various forms the verbal terminative may take. It is sufficient for me to state that I follow Doke<sup>1)</sup> in his treatment of the conjugation

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1) Doke, C.M. Text Book of Zulu Grammar (1931)  
para. 387 - 455.

of the verb, since the principles involved are the same in both Zulu and Xhosa, with minor divergencies which do not concern us here.

10.3.0.       What is of significance in the present context is the fact that the final radical vowel of a verbal root is no longer the original, undetachable radical vowel of the final radical, but is now a detachable terminative, invariable within a given context.

CHAPTER 11

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11.0.0.     RADICAL EXTENSIONS : GENERAL.

11.1.0.     There are several instances of di-radical roots being extended by means of an additional radical. This extension may be effected in various ways. The result is a tri-radical root. For example:

- (i)       Where a di-radical root is extended by the suffixing of a radical extension:
- (ii)      Where the radical extension is inserted between the R1 and R2 of the original di-radical root.
- (iii)     Where the extension is effected by means of re-iterating the R1 of the original di-radical root. Sometimes this is a simple reduplication: Sometimes there is a modification of the consonant in the reduplicated radical.
- (iv)      Miscellaneous, irregular instances of the addition of a radical extension.

11.2.0.     A feature of such extended roots is that the root-vowel of the original di-radical verbal root is retained in any subsequent syllable formed as a result of the radical extension.<sup>1)</sup>

11.3.0.     Verbal roots may often be formed by the addition of a radical of an existing (or extinct) ideophonic root.

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1) i.e. There is an assonic vowel pattern.

11.4.0. An adjectival root (such as mono-Radical -ncí (small) may be converted into a verbal root by the radical extension -PH~ (i.e. -NCÍPH~ (become small)).

N.B. In the last two instances, the radical extension is referred to as a 'conversion' extension : it is only one adaptation, however, of the radical extension.

11.5.0. Examples of a radical extension suffixed to a di-radical v.r., e.g.

11.5.1.

-CĒKĒC~ (loath, fear): cf. -CĒKĪS~ (s.m.) :

REx : R1 repeated as R2.

-CHWĪLĪSH~ (cut to mincemeat): cf. -CHWĪL~ (cut small) : REx : Factative -SH~ (9)

-FĀXĀNG~ (press out) : cf. -FĀX~ (wring out) :

REx : Protractive -NG~ (6) cf. also

-XĀFĀNG~ (s.m.)

-GĀNGĀTH~ (tread down (earth)): cf. -GĀNG~ (be bold, impudent): REx : Punctative -TH~ (3)

-TŌTŌB~ (hobble, totter along): cf. -THŌTH~ (draw back, be irresolute)

-GŌNGŌTH~ (beat away) : cf. \*-GŌNG~ (?) : REx :

Punctative -TH~ (2)

-GQWĒTHĒSH~ (do rapidly, do with energy): cf.

-GQWĒTH~ (turn upside down): REx :

Factative -SH~ (9)

-GŪDLŪZ~ (shake violently): cf. -GŪDL~ (rub, knock against : allude to spitefully): REx

Factative -Z~ (9)

-GŪNGŪZ~ (jolt, rattle): cf. -GŪNQ~ (twist, wriggle):

REx : Factative -Z~ (9)

- HĒLEM̂ (keep aloof from): cf. -HĒL̂ (put aside):  
REx : Protractive -M~ (6)
- HLŪBŪL̂ (strip off): cf. -HLŪB̂ (moult, discard):  
REx : Effective -L~ (4)
- HLŪNGŪL̂ (shake, sift) : cf. -HLŪNĜ (s.m.) :  
REx : Effective -L~ (4)
- KHŌLŌŜ (be secure, lean upon, confide in): cf.  
-KHŌL̂ (satisfy, convince): REx:  
Neuter -S~ (2)
- KRĒQĒẐ (make a sawing noise): cf. -KRĒQ̂ (hack  
off, saw off): REx : Factative -Z~ (9)
- NCWĒBĒSĤ (ask for snuff): cf. -NCWĒB̂ (take snuff):  
REx: Factative -SH~ (9)
- NTLĀNTLĀTĤ (chew at, munch at): cf. -NTLĀNTL̂  
(disagree, quarrel): REx: Punctative -TH~ (3)
- NXULŪM̂ (stand alongside): cf. -NXUL̂ (lead a  
horse alongside, riding another): REx:  
Positional -M~ (5)
- QHŪBŪTŶ (elbow one's way): cf. -QHŪB̂ (drive, push,  
press): REx: -TY~ (low-frequency,  
unstandardised: possibly cf. Factative -SH~ (9))
- QĪNGQĪTĤ (try again and again): cf. -QĪNGQ̂ (stand,  
stop, halt): REx: Punctative -TH~ (3)
- QŪLŪŜ (bend down and turn the back): cf. -QŪL̂  
(shy away, start): REx: Neuter -S~ (2)
- QWĒBED̂ (push forward, struggle): cf. -QWĒB̂  
(accumulate): REx: Operative -D~ (1)
- RABĀŜ (speak idly, chatter): cf. Zulu -RAB- (stand  
about in scattered formation): REx: Neuter  
-S~ (2) : cf. also Xhosa di-R root in  
-RABAX- (adj. : coarse, rough).
- RŪQUẐ (drag, trail along): cf. -RŪQ̂ (trail on  
the ground : intr): REx: Factative -Z~ (9)



- RWĒBĒSH̄- (get by deception or bribery): cf. -RWĒB̄-  
(peddle, sell, trade): REX: Factative -SH~ (9)
- SĪNGĪL̄- (collect painfully : e.g. food, money etc.):  
cf. -SĪNḠ- (make towards; look steadily after):  
REX : Effective -L~ (4)
- SŪKŪM̄- (stand up, stand erect): cf. -SŪK̄- (rise  
get up): cf. REX : Positional -M~ (5)
- SŪKŪZ̄- (move, shift): cf. -SŪK̄- (rise up, get up):  
REX : Factative -Z~ (9)
- SŪLŪNḠ- (make clean and tidy): cf. -SŪL̄- (wipe):  
REX : Protractive -NG~ (6)
- THĀNDĀZ̄- (entreat, pray, beseech): cf. -THĀND̄-  
(twist) : REX : Factative -Z~ (9)
- THĪNTĪTH̄- (stammer, stutter): cf. -THĪNT̄- (intercept,  
hinder : keep back (a cough)): REX :  
Punctative -TH~ (3)
- THŪKŪM̄- (throb, pulsate): cf. -THŪK̄- (start, be  
startled): REX: Protractive -M~ (6)
- THŪTHŪL̄- (carry off, wholly): cf. -THŪTH̄- (take  
away, convey away): REX : reduplication  
of R1 as R1 and R2 in tri-R v.r.
- 11.5.2.       Where the original di-radical  
                  root was reduplicated : e.g.,
- BĀTHĀZ̄- (walk gingerly): cf. -BĀTHĀ̄-BĀTH̄- (s.m.):  
REX: Factative -Z~ (9)
- RĀSHĀZ̄- (rustle): cf. -RĀSHĀ̄-RĀSH̄- (s.m.)  
REX : Factative -Z~ (9)
- KRĀBĀZ̄- (walk on a surface that gives way): cf.  
-KRĀBĀ̄-KRĀB̄- (creak): REX: Factative. -Z~ (9)

11.5.3. Examples of Radical Extension inserted between R1 and R2 of the original di-radical root : e.g:

-NDÍKIND̀ (speak with vehemence and gesticulation):  
 cf. -NDÍND̀ (keep hammering at, keep soliciting):  
 REx : Effective -K~ (4) : cf. also  
 mono-R ideophone -thi ndí (make a noise, rumble)  
 -THÁBATH̀ (take): cf. -THÁTH̀ (s.m.) : REx:  
 Operative -B~ (1)

11.5.4. Examples of Radical extension by means of the re-iteration of R1 of the original di-radical root : e.g:

(i)

-GÓGOD̀ (scrape the bottom of mealie pit): cf.  
 -GOD̀ (excavate) :  
 -KHÁNKANỲ (refer to, mention): cf. -KHÁNỲ (be  
 light, give light).  
 -TYÍTYIMB̀ (quiver (as an assegai being thrown)):  
 cf. -TYIB̀ (throw etc.)  
 -TYITYIB- (cast metal, found): cf. -TYIB- (throw etc).

(ii)

Where the original di-radical root was re-duplicated : e.g.,

-LÓLÓNG̀ (look at in detail): cf. -LÓNGá-LÓNG̀ (s.m.)

(iii)

Where the R1 of the original di-radical root undergoes modification in the process of re-duplication : e.g.,

-NGCÚNGCUTH̀ (waste away, lose condition): cf.  
 -CUTH̀ (narrow, reduce in size).

11.6.0. From the foregoing examples of radical Extensions, two factors stand out clearly:

- (i) That although there is often considerable semantic shift from the di-radical root to the extended root, there is sufficient semantic resemblance to establish the relationship.
- (ii) That when a di-radical root accepts a radical extension, there is vowel assonance throughout the Extended root.

11.7.0. In addition to the types of radical extension forms already given, there is a wide variety of forms met with only very rarely. Such include the following:

11.7.1. Di-radical root (found in nominal form) with radical conversion extension,<sup>1)</sup> resulting in verbal root : e.g.,

-KRAWUK- (be stung (by nettle)): cf. (i)KRAWU (5)  
(nettle): REx: Neuter -K~ (2)

-NGXWELER- (wound tr.): cf. (i)NXEBÀ (5) (wound):  
REx : Factative -SH~ (9) : cf. also  
iNGXWFLER (5) (injury)

-QOLONG- (cut out meat between the bones): cf.  
(u)QOLO (11) (narrow ridge with steep sides):  
REx : Protractive -NG~ (6)

11.7.2. Reduplicated di-radical (nominal) root, where one di-radical segment accepts a radical extension, resulting in a verbal root : e.g.,

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1) cf. Chapter 12.

-DLÓKÓV- (plunge, buck, rear): cf.

(i)DLÓKÓ-DLÓKò (5) : (ragged heap) : REx:

-V~ (Unstandardised, low-frequency)

11.8.0. Di-radical verbal root (still extant in Zulu tho' not in Xhosa), with radical extension: e.g:

-GWÉGWÉD- (take indirect route): cf. Zu. -GWEGW- (form into a hook (e.g. piece of wire)): REx. :

Effective -D~ (4)

-KHÓKHÓB- (go bent with age, or begging): cf. Zu.

uKHOKHo (1) (ancestor) : REx. : Neuter -B~ (2)

11.9.0. Di-radical (nominal) root, still extant in Zulu tho' lost in Xhosa, with radical extension, resulting in verbal root : e.g.

-GÓNOND- (suck a dry udder or breast): cf. Zu:

(in)GONò (9) (nipple, small head at top of calabash): REx : Protractive -ND~ (6)

-QÓLOS- (walk, or behave arrogantly): cf. Zu.

i(li)QOLO (5) (bunch of ostrich feathers worn by young man on the head: "ukuthwala iqolo" (to be conceited): REx: Neuter -S~ (2)

11.10.0. Reduplicated di-radical (nominal) root, still extant in Zulu tho' lost in Xhosa, with radical extension, resulting in verbal root : e.g.,

-HLAFÚN- (chew) : cf. Zu. (ama)HLAFu-HLAFu (6)

(grain broken up or coarsly ground):

REx. Protractive -N~ (6)

Tri-radical (nominal) root, extant in Zulu, not found in Xhosa, where R1R2 (the di-radical base) has radical extension, resulting in verbal root : viz.,

-NGCÍKIV- (reproach): cf. Zu. (i)NGCIKINGCi (5) (any contemptuous, dirty thing): REx:  
unstandardised -V~

11.11.0. There are instances of roots with a di-radical origin, where the di-radical root has accepted a radical extension and, in the process, the R1 has undergone phonetic change : e.g.,

-SHUKUM- (shake, move, stir): cf. -SUK- (arise, get up): REx: Protractive -M~ (6)

-MBANDÁZ- (speak awkwardly): cf. -BÁND- (congeal, be cold): REx : Factative -Z~ (9)

-NKWÍNIZ- (squeal, squeak): cf. -NCWÍN- (whine, moan):  
REx : Factative -Z~ (9)

-TYÉKÉZ- (throw up milk (as an infant)): cf. -TSHÉK- (purge): REx : Factative -Z~ (9)

11.12.0. Roots with di-radical origin where the original R1 is reduplicated (and in the process become aspirated) and a radical extension is accepted : e.g.,

-QHWÁQHWAZ- (clap the hands): cf. -QWAB- (s.m.)  
REx : Factative -Z~ (9)

11.13.0. Verbal roots from di-radical v.r. with both verbal and ideophonic roots found in Zulu, where a radical extension has been accepted : e.g.,

- BHIBHIDL- (blow out the mouth (as a teething child)):  
cf. Zu: -thi bhidli (pucker up the face, as  
a child about to cry) and cf. Zu: -BHIHL- (s.m.)
- CHANAB- (expose (to heat)): expose (to public gaze):  
cf. Zu: -thi caba (be flat, level, smooth (as  
a plain or hut floor)): cf. also Zu: -CHAB-  
(chop away bushes (as when clearing an area  
of bush)).

N.B. In the first example, the radical extension is  
a re-iteration of R1, in the latter it is the  
Effective -N~ (4), which is introduced between  
R1 and R2.

#### 11.14.0. RADICAL CONVERSION EXTENSIONS.

11.14.1. Radical conversion extensions are radical  
extensions accepted by non-verbal roots (e.g. ideophonic,  
adjectival, nominal roots) to convert them for use as  
verbal roots.

11.14.2. For the sake of clarity, I have dealt with the  
conversion of non-verbal roots to verbal roots under the  
following headings:

(i) Verbal roots associated with Ideophonic roots:

N.B. These fall into two sub-groups:

(a) Those ideophonic roots from which the  
final vowel alone is dropped in favour  
of the verbal terminative -a.

(b) Those ideophonic roots which accept a  
radical conversion extension.

(ii) Verbal roots associated with Nominal roots:

(iii) Verbal roots associated with Adjectival roots:

CHAPTER 12

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12.0.0.      RADICAL CONVERSION EXTENSION  
IN RELATION TO IDEOPHONIC ROOTS

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12.1.0.      A detailed study of Zulu ideophones was made by D. Fivaz.<sup>1)</sup> It is his expressed opinion that many verbal roots are derived from ideophone and not vice versa.<sup>2)</sup>

12.1.1.      Fivaz shews that in "disyllabic" ideophones, the vowel sequence is assonic (i.e. with identical vowels in first and second syllable) in approximately 55% of the ideophones examined. In the remaining 45%, the vowels are dissimilar from one another.

12.2.1.      Verbal roots may be derived from ideophonic roots in one of three ways ; namely :

- (i)      Loss of the final vowel of the ideophonic root, and substitution of the verbal terminative (-a etc.):
- (ii)     Loss of the final vowel (as in (i)) and the addition of an extension, followed by the verbal terminative :
- (iii)    By the addition of a radical conversion extension (RCE), (-C~), followed by the verbal terminative.

These processes are fully illustrated in the following paragraphs.

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1) D. Fivaz: "... the Ideophone in Zulu".  
2) ditto: page 107. "There are in turn ... verb radicals .... derived from these ideophones. That (they) are derived from the ideophone and not vice-versa is seen from the derivative suffixes added to the ideophones."

- 12.2.2. Conversion of ideophonic roots to verbal roots through the loss of the final vowel in favour of the terminative -a (etc).
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Reference has already been made to the fact that certain di-radical roots may be regarded as 'multi-functional' roots. For example -FÚND̀ may be regarded as a verbal or nominal root according to the syntactical framework into which it is fitted; as bayaFÚNDà (they learn) it functions as a verbal root; as umFÚNDì (a scholar) it functions as a nominal root.

- 12.2.3. In a similar manner, certain ideophonic roots may be regarded as 'multi-functional'. The ideophonic root often resembles assimilated verbal roots.<sup>1)</sup> By dropping the final vowel of the ideophonic root, and suffixing a verbal terminative (-a etc.), the root functions as a verbal root.

Examples of this principle are given below.

- 12.2.4. Di-R ideophonic root, converted to verbal root through the loss of the final vowel, in favour of the terminative -a (etc.): e.g.,

From ideophonic roots, with final -a:

- thi khìthà (get loose and fall): cf. -KHÌTH̀ (cut)
- thi ngùngá (gather, congregate): cf. -NGÛNG̀ (s.m.)
- thi qùbà (come upon, overtake etc.): cf. -QÛB̀ (s.m.)
- thi wùthà (decrease, reduce, withdraw): cf. -WÛTH̀  
(abate, subside)
- thi thùphà (bud: lay finger on, call attention to):  
cf. -THÛPH̀ (s.m.)

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1) cf. Para: 7.2.5.



From di-radical ideophonic roots with final -e:

- thi bhenqè (turn over (ground)): cf. -BHÈNQ- (s.m.)
- thi diphé (sink (as foot in mud)): cf. -DIPH- (s.m.)
- thi dukè (fly off, disperse): cf. -DÜK- (wander away)
- thi fèfè (besprinkle, rain gently): cf. -FÈF- (s.m.)
- thi fòhlè (be depressed, sink down): cf. -FÒHL-  
(break down : trans.)
- thi gèqé (throw out, jerk out): cf. -GÈQ- (s.m.)
- thi gòxè (intr. : retreat, withdraw): cf. \*-GÒX- (s.m.)  
(also the form -RÒX- (s.m.))
- thi ròxè (draw back, withdraw): cf. -RÒX- (s.m.)
- thi krwècè (touch, nudge): cf. -KRWÈC- (touch, nudge,  
tickle)
- thi jacè (break, expire): cf. -JÀC- (break in two, waste)
- thi jizè (tie/put, round (the head)): cf. -JÌZ- (s.m.)
- thi ndindè (be rounded off : in perfect order): cf.  
-NDIND- (s.m.)
- thi ngwèvè (bec: grey (with mildew, cobwebs etc.))  
cf. -NGWÈV- (s.m.)
- thi nkàlè (maul, beat, bruise): cf. -NKÀL- (s.m.)
- thi qhàqhè (tear/cut open): cf. -QHÀQH- (s.m.)
- thi qhòlè (anoint, flatter, pay tribute): cf. -QHÒL- (s.m.)
- thi qhwèthé (take out a thorn : give hint to):  
cf. -QHWÈTH- (s.m.)
- thi shwàqé (break clean off): cf. -SHWÀQ- (s.m.)
- thi tsheqè (cut/tear, off): cf. -TSHEQ- (s.m.)
- thi tshizè (strew, sprinkle, bespatter): cf. -TSHIZ- (s.m.)
- thi tywiné (glue, seal, cement): cf. -TYWIN- (s.m.)
- thi valè (enclose, shut in, surround): cf. -VÀL-  
(shut, close)
- thi vingcí (close up, stop up, fasten): cf. -VÌNGC- (s.m.)
- thi viví (cut/break up, small): cf. -VÌV- (s.m.)

- thi gxògè (throw at/into : kick at): cf. -GXÒG̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi zòlè (bec: calm, subside): cf. -ZÒL̀ (s.m.)

From di-R ideophonic roots with final -i:

- thi cìmí (put out, extinguish): cf. -CÌM̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi cìmbí (fall/disappear, one by one): cf. -CÌMB̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi fìxì (punch repeatedly): cf. -FÌX̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi khányí (glimmer, blink): cf. -KHANỲ (shine, be clear)  
 -thi ntsilí (thrash out, hammer out): cf. -NTSIL̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi nyhìlì (burst in, flood in): cf. -NYHIL̀ (push away)  
 -thi gqìbì (tr.: finish, complete, end): cf. -GQÌB̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi xhìmfì (punish, box) : cf. -XHÌMF̀ (s.m.)

From di-R ideophonic roots with final -o :

- thi ndyòkrò (push/kick away): cf. -NDYÒKR̀ (s.m.)

From di-R ideophonic roots with final -u :

- thi bhùcù (mix, knead, together tr.): cf. -BHUC̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi cùthù (half-close the eyes): cf. -CUTH̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi mpùntshù (jump out): cf. -MPUNTSH̀ (s.m.)  
 -thi nkàthù (take handfuls of): cf. -NKATH̀ (s.m.)

12.3.0. It may happen that a mono-radical ideophonic root may surrender its final vowel to the later terminative (-a etc.), and in addition, the root may be extended through the re-iteration of R1 : For example :

- thi bhé (bleat, like a sheep : be abandoned etc.) :  
 cf. -BHEBH̀ (bleat, like a goat).

12.4.0. Conversion of Ideophonic root to a verbal root where the ideophonic root passes through two stages: namely:

- (i) The ideophonic root loses its final vowel in favour of the later terminative (-a etc.)
- (ii) To this root is now attached an extension.

N.B. In the instances given below, the intermediate stage (i) above, has fallen into disuse, and only the extended form is now in use.

For example :

- (i) -thi hlàsì (snatch, seize, grab) is converted to use as a verbal root by the loss of the final vowel -i, in favour of the verbal terminative -a.
- (ii) To this root \*-HLÀS- is added the extension -el-, to form -HLÀSèl- (s.m.), the extension becoming virtually fixed in the position of R3.

Further examples of this principle are given below.

12.4.1. By the addition of an Extension to ideophonic roots with final -a :

With Neuter-Stativ Extension -ek-.

- thi khahlà (come down with crash): cf. -KHAHLèk- (s.m.)
- thi màtshà (be downcast): cf. -MÁTSHèk- (s.m.)
- thi shwàcà (be sullen, morose): cf. -SHWÁCèk- (be doleful)

With persistiv-Actional Extension -ek- :

- thi thwaxà (do repeatedly): cf. -THWAXèk- (s.m.)
- thi tyabà (be flat): cf. -TYÁBèk- (plaster (a wall)).
- thi nàmá (fix upon, adhere to): cf. -NÁMèk- (glue up, seal up).

With Applied Extension -el :

- thi khahlà (come down with a crash): cf. -KHAHLèl- (throw down with a crash).

-thi krwàqà (glance, look back at): cf.<sup>1)</sup> -RWÀQéì-

(be on one's guard : draw in the legs).

-thi gädla (throw down, pour out): cf. -GÄDLèì- (s.m.)

-thi gqàgqà (be pitted with, trimmed with): cf.

-GQÀGQéì- (trim a garment (e.g. with buttons)).

-thi ríntyà (catch in noose, ensnare): cf. -RÍNTYèì- (s.m.)

With Reciprocal Extension -an- :

thi- gágà (surprise, attack suddenly): cf.

-GÁGán- (attack each other).

To ideophonic roots with final -e :

With Neuter (Stative) Extension -ek- :

-thi qhèkè (crack, break off): cf. -QHÉKèk- (s.m.)

-thi qwèngè (be scattered (of a flock)): cf. -QWÉNGèk- (s.m.)

Persistive-Actional Extension -ek- :

-thi qhùshè (cover, conceal, hide): cf. -QHÚSHèk- (s.m.)

With Causative Extension -is- :

-thi ríncè (catch with noose) : cf. -RÍNCìs- (s.m.)

To ideophonic roots with final -i :

With Applied Extension -el- :

-thi hlàsí (snatch, seize, grab): cf. -HLÁSèl- (s.m.)

With Associative Extension -an- :

-thi shìnyí (be close, thick, luxurious): cf.

-SHÍNYán- (be dense, on top of one another)

To ideophonic roots with final -u :

With Positional (protractive) Extension -am- :

-thi fùkù (rise or swell a little): cf. -FUKám-

(brood, sit : digest (of a python)).

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1) Note: Modification of consonant in primary radical.

12.5.0. Conversion of Ideophonic root to verbal root by means of a radical conversion extension:

12.5.1. Verbal roots are frequently formed from ideophonic roots by means of the addition of a radical conversion extension.

For example:

From mono-radical ideophonic root -thi chó (pick up, find suddenly) is formed the di-radical verbal root -CHÓL- (s.m.) by means of the addition of the radical conversion extension -L~ : being the Effective R (4).

From the di-radical ideophonic root -thi phàzi (wink, blink) is formed the tri-radical verbal root -PHÁZIM- (s.m.) : by means of the addition of the radical conversion extension -M~:being the Protractive R (6).

12.5.2. Earlier writers have referred to this suffix as a "verbalising suffix", e.g., -la, -za, -ka etc: I do not dispute that this term describes the function of these extensions. I have, however, elected to refer to them as "radical conversion extensions" for three reasons : namely :

- (i) 'Radical', because the extension does, in fact, consist of a radical which can be identified as similar to the standardised, high-frequency secondary radicals : similar both in form and semantic force :
- (ii) 'Conversion', since these suffixes are used to convert non-verbal to verbal roots :
- (iii) 'Extensions', because they are such, being added to the root from which they are derived.

12.5.3. Examples of di-radical verbal roots being derived from a mono-radical ideophonic root to which is added a radical conversion extension:

To ideophonic roots with final -a :

- thi jâ (stare, bristle : stand on end (hair)): cf.  
 -JÂL (stare (from poverty)): (bristle (with anger)):  
 RCE : Effective -L~ (4)
- thi ngxà (drop, flow (of tears)): cf. -NGXAZ (s.m.)  
 RCE : Factative -Z~ (9)

To ideophonic root with final -e :

- thi dwè (extend in line : stand in file): cf.  
 -DWEL (stand in line (e.g. for identification))  
 RCE : Effective -L~ (4)
- thi twè (be wide open, be comprehensive):  
 cf. -TWEL (talk right on)  
 RCE : Effective -L~ (4)

To ideophonic root with final -i :

- thi rwii (move swiftly or straight): cf. -RWIC (work straight, plough straight):  
 RCE : Unstandardised -C~
- thi jwii (fall off/out : intr: throw, hurl : tr):  
 cf. -JWIL (throw, hurl): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi ntywi (dive/plunge (into water)): cf. -NTYWIL (plunge etc. tr.): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi tswii (squeak, speak falsetto): cf. -TSWIN (s.m.)  
 RCE: Neuter -N~ (2)
- thi nyi (proceed a little : go out of sight): cf.  
 -NYIKa-NYIK (handle, shift, a dead body):  
 RCE : Effective -K~ (4)

To ideophonic roots with final -o :

- thi chó (pick up/find suddenly): cf. -CHÓL (s.m.)  
 RCE : Effective -L~ (4).

-thi mbò (fall with a thud): cf. -MBOL- (throw down with a thud): RCE ; Effective -L~ (4)

To ideophonic roots with final -u :

-thi nkú (strike, thresh): cf. -NKUL- (s.m.)

RCE ; Effective -L~ (4)

-thi shú (suck all the milk): cf. -SHUB- (s.m.)

RCE ; Operative -B~ (1)

-thi phù (pant) ; cf. -PHUSÁ-PHUS- (tease, irritate)

RCE ; Causative -S~ (8)

12.5.4. Examples of tri-radical verbal roots being derived from a di-radical ideophonic root to which is added a radical conversion extension:

To ideophonic roots with final -a :

-thi mǎngǎ (be startled, astonished): cf. -MǎNGǎL- (s.m.)

RCE ; Effective -L~ (4)

-thi mpǎkǎ (slap with the hand): cf. -MPǎKǎZ- (s.m.)

RCE ; Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi ncwǎbǎ (become drowsy, nod): cf. -NCWǎBAZ- (s.m.)

RCE ; Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi ntlǎkǎ (do roughly): cf. -NTLǎKǎZ- (s.m.)

RCE ; Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi thǎthǎ (hop, jump etc.): cf. -THǎTHǎMB- (s.m.)

RCE ; Protractive-operative -MB~ (6)

-thi thǎngǎ (be perplexed): cf. -THǎNGǎZ- (s.m.)

RCE ; Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi tywǎbǎ (knock against): cf. -TYWǎBAZ- (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi tshǐphǎ (of a rustling sound, e.g. rain on thatch):

cf. -TSHǐPHǐZ- (drizzle): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi xhǎrǎ (misfire): cf. -XHǎRAZ- (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

To ideophonic root with final -e :

-thi dükè (wander away): cf. -DÚKUD̀ (move about, intr.)

RCE: Neuter -D~ (2)

-thi fèhlè (walk unsteadily): cf. -FÉHLÈZ̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi mènnyè (shine, reflect light): cf. -MÉNYÈZ̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi nkenté (ring, tinkle, jingle): cf. -NKENTÈZ̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi qàbé (reach to the top): cf. -QÀBÈL̀ (s.m.)

RCE : Effective -L~ (4)

-thi vithè (break into pieces): cf. -VITÉK̀ (be

brittle): RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

To ideophonic roots with final -i :

-thi fixì (push repeatedly : be angry) : cf. -FÍXIZ̀ (s.m.)

RCE : Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi giji (run): cf. -GÍJIM̀ (s.m.)

RCE : Protractive -M~ (6)

-thi gwilì (Zu: be disloyal): cf. -GWÍLIK̀ (Xh: s.m.)

RCE : Neuter -K~ (2)

-thi gìngxí (drop/fall suddenly): cf. -GÍNIXIZ̀ (s.m.)

RCE : Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi gqwizì (graze, glance off): cf. -GQWÍZIL̀ (s.m.)

RCE : Effective -L~ (4)

-thi nyíkí (throb, of a wound): cf. -NYÍKIM̀ (quake,

tremble): RCE: Protractive -M~ (6)

-thi nyíkí (throb, of a wound): cf. -NYÍKIZ̀ (grate,

as two ends of a broken bone): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi phàzì (wink, blink): cf. -PHÁZIM̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Protractive -M~ (6)

-thi phìcì (press/crush down, with the finger or toe):

cf. -PHÍCIK̀ (s.m.): RCE: Effective -K~ (4)



-thi shìcì (press, impress): cf. -SHÍCÍL- (s.m.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi tshikí (turn round : turn the back): cf. -TSHIKÍL-

(s.m.) RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi tshìthì (speak weakly): cf. -TSHÍTHÍZ- (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi tyíkí (be black with mud): cf. -TYÍKÍL- (drag  
through the mud): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi xhìmfì (punch, box): cf. -XHÍMFÍZ- (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

To ideophonic roots with final -o :

-thi fòthò (be dented): cf. -FÓTHÒK- (s.m.)

RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

-thi fóngqò (bend upwards, curve): cf. -FÓNGQÒZ-

(walk bent): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi gxòkò (thrust, e.g. hand into a sack): cf. -GXÓKÒZ-

(do roughly): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi ròqò (do often, do continually): cf. -RÓQÒL- (be  
doubled up in pain): RCE: Neuter -L~ (2)

-thi mònxò (slap): cf. -MÓNXÒZ- (s.m.): RCE: Factative  
-Z~ (9)

-thi nkcónkcó (trickle : fall in drops): cf. -NKCONKCOZ-

(chirp, as a bird): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi phòlò (blab, blurt out): cf. -PHÓLÒZ- (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

To ideophonic roots with final -u :

-thi bòfù (pierce): cf. -BÓFUL- (strive to get through:  
walk heavily etc.): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi khàdlù (pierce through a hollow object with blunt  
instrument): cf.

- BHÁDLUL- (s.m.<sup>1</sup>) RCE : Effective -L~ (4)
- BHÁDLUZ- (s.m.)<sup>1</sup>) RCE : Factative -Z~ (9)
- thi bhòvù (gore, stab, wound): cf. -BHÓVUL- (s.m.)  
RCE : Effective -L~ (4)
- thi càkù (touch lightly : treat with respect): cf.  
-CÁKUL- (s.m.) : RCE : Effective -L~ (4)
- thi cíphú (be cut into, chipped): cf. -CÍPHUL- (cut  
into, chip): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi cùbù (feel lazy): cf. -CÚBUK- (bec: drowsy,  
lethargic): RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi chùkú (touch lightly): cf. -CHÚKUM- (go off at  
a touch, be quick-tempered): RCE: Protractive -M~ (6)
- thi dlábhù (tear, pierce, wound severely): cf. -DLÁBHUK-  
(open (of an ulcer)): RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi dwàngù (spread out (wings or clothes)): cf.  
-DWÁNGUZ- (s.m.): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)
- thi fùkù (rise/swell a little): cf. -FÚKUK- (s.m.)  
RCE : Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi gábù (part, break, clear away (of clouds)): cf.  
-GÁBUK- (s.m.): RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi gùngxú (tumble down): cf. -GÚNGXUK- (s.m.)  
RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi gqábhù (burst): cf. -GQÁBHUK- (s.m.)  
RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi gqúphú (of something falling with a thud): cf.  
-GQÚPHUZ- (throw a stone into water (in ritual)):  
RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)
- thi gqúzù (come/break off): cf. -GQÚZUK- (s.m.)  
RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi gùngxú (tumble down): cf. -GÚNGXUK- (s.m.)  
RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

1) "Same meaning" in English, though in Xhosa there is a subtle difference. The Effective -L~ emphasizes the action, and the Factative -Z~ the result of the action.

-thi jàdù (have eruption of the skin): cf. -JÁDUK̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

-thi jàjù (jump back, back out): cf. -JÁJUL̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi khámfù (catch, grasp): cf. -KHÁMFUL̀ (walk heavily)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi khèfù (sit down and regain one's breath): cf.

-KHÉFUZ̀ (breathe quickly): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi kràdù (kick up the heels): cf. -KRÁDUL̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi kriphú (tear, rip open): cf. -KRIPHUL̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi krwàqù (glance back at): cf. -KRWAQUL̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi hlùzù (come/peel off): cf. -HLUZUK̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

cf. -HLUZUL̀ (peel off: trans): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi nàmbù (creep, crawl): cf. -NÁMBUZ̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi nàwù (open the beak for food (small birds)): cf.

-NAWUZ̀ (commit fornication).

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi ngcùmbù (go on persevering): cf. -NGCUMBÙZ̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi nqàkù (catch, snap at, receive): cf. -NQÁKUL̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi phèthù (be light-headed, thoughtless): cf. -PHÉTHUK̀

(be upset, overturned): RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

-PHÉTHUL̀ (ward off: turn aside tr.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi phùcù (slip off : bec: smooth, chafed): cf.

-PHUCUK̀ (s.m.): RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

-PHUCUL̀ (rub off, chafe): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

- thi qàbù (clear away (mist)): recover (from swoon): cf.  
 -QÁBÙK̀ (clear away, recover, revive):  
 RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)  
 -QÁBÙL̀ (dispel, disperse, assuage):  
 RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi qhàphù (be seen/found suddenly): cf. -QHÁPHÙK̀  
 (s.m.) RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi qhàwù (break off, snap shut): cf. -QHÀWÙL̀ (s.m.)  
 RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi qhíphù (break/part, of clouds): cf. -QHÍPHÙK̀  
 (s.m.) : RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi qhíwù (be torn off, separated): cf. -QHÍWÙK̀ (s.m.)  
 RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi shùnqù (be cut, broken off short): cf. -SHÚNQÙK̀  
 (s.m.) : RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)
- thi tyhùthù (cut, tear off, snatch away): cf. -TYHÚTHÙL̀  
 (s.m.) : RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi tyùmbù (rush, plunge into, molest): cf. -TYUMBÙZ̀  
 (flounder about): RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)
- thi xhèzù (pull, tear, jerk): cf. -XHEZÙL̀ (tear off,  
 tear away): RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi xhíphù (fasten/seize upon): cf. -XHÍPHÙL̀ (s.m.)  
 RCE: Effective -L~ (4)
- thi xhàmfulù (catch sg. thrown): cf. -XHÁMFÙL̀ (s.m.)  
 RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

12.5.5. A mono-radical ideophone may be reiterated  
 and then accept a radical conversion extension:  
 for example:

- thi bhùù (buzz (like bees)): cf. -BHÚBHÙZ̀ (s.m.)
- thi nwè (of spreading out (as the dawn)): cf. -NWÉNWEZ̀
- thi khù (poke, jab at): cf. -KHÙKHÙZ̀ (nibble)
- thi qhó (do persistently): cf. -QHÓQHÓZ̀ (drip, drop)

-thi sàà (become scattered); cf. -SÁSAZ̄- (scatter about)

N.B. Each of the above has RCE: Factative -Z~

-thi ntlá (knock about); cf. -NTLANTLÁTH̄- (chew at, munch at, crush, crumble).

RCE: Punctative -TH~ (2)

12.5.6. A mono-radical ideophone may be reiterated, (and in the process, R2 may undergo nasalisation) and accept a radical conversion extension:

for example:

-thi khú (of poking, jabbing); cf. -KHUNKÚTH̄- (beat, thrash severely)

-thi qhò (do persistently): cf. -QHÓNGQÒTH̄- (knock with the knuckles)

and a similar formation, where, however, the primary radical becomes the simple consonant, the secondary remaining nasalised: e.g.

-thi ndò (look in, visit occasionally): cf. -DÓNDÓTH̄- (reiterate, repeat exactly):

-thi ngqù (tap the ground with a staff): cf. -QÚNGQÚTH̄- (thresh out (grain)).

N.B. In each of these the RCE is Punctative -TH~ (2)

12.5.7. A mono-radical ideophone may undergo extension in two stages : viz.

(i) To a di-radical verbal root, by the addition of a radical conversion extension, and later

(ii) To a tri-radical v.r. by the addition of a radical extension:

For example:

(i) -thi nkò (hold on to (with the teeth)): cf. \*-NKÒB̄-  
RCE: -B~ (operative) (1)

(ii) -NKÒBÒZ̄- (follow persistently): REX Factative -Z~ (9)

Further examples of this process include the following:

-thi chù (do a little, and then stop):

RCE: Protractive-Operative -MB~ (6)

REX: Causative -S~ (8)

Extended root: -CHÚMBUS̀ (do bit by bit: bore the ear)

-thi fè (feel emotion)

RCE: Effective -K~ (4)

REX: Punctative -TH~ (3)

Extended root: -FÈKETH̀ (trifle with, sport, play)

-thi nca (be close to)

RCE: Contactive -TH~ (10)

REX: Protractive -M~ (6)

Extended root: -NCATHAM̀ (hide, shelter oneself)

-thi nyá (get steeped in water)

RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

REX: Protractive -M~ (6)

Extended root -NYÁKAM̀ (get moist, damp)

-thi sàà (become scattered, dispersed)

RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

REX: Causative -S~ (8)

Extended root: -SÁKÁS̀ (do on a large scale)

12.6.0. A mono-radical ideophone may be converted to a di-radical verbal root by the addition of a conversion extension, and in addition, accept an extension, giving the appearance of a tri-radical root. For example:

-thi gáá (reach to) :

- (i) The mono-radical ideophonic root is converted to a di-radical verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension: > \*-GAǸ, the radical conversion suffix being Effective -N~ (4),

- (ii) The di-radical verbal root then accepts an extension (in this case the neuter-stative -ek- (2)) > -GÁNèk̀ (make evident; illustrate, demonstrate.)

-thi ngcò (pour out gently):

- (i) The mono-radical ideophonic root is converted to a di-radical verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension, > \*NGCÒZ̀ (which root is lost), the radical conversion extension being Factative -Z~ (9)

- (ii) The di-radical verbal root then accepts an extension > -NGCÓZìs̀ (pour out a little).

(In this case, the extension is the causative -is- (5)).

12.7.0. A mono-R ideophone may undergo an extension in three stages: viz: (i) addition of RCE; (ii) addition of a REx, (iii) acceptance of an extension: the resulting root having the appearance of a multi-radical root:

For example:

-thi zaá (be despised, be destroyed)

- (i) The mono-radical ideophonic root is converted into a di-radical verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension; > \*-ZAK̀ : the radical conversion suffix being the neuter -K~ (2)
- (ii) This di-radical root is further extended by the addition of a radical extension; > -ZAKAZ̀ : the Radical Extension being the Factative -Z~ (9)
- (iii) This extended root may further take the Neuter-Stative extension -ek- (2), i.e. -ZAKAZèk̀ (be frayed, worn out).

12.8.0. A mono-radical ideophone may undergo an extension in two stages, namely : first, conversion to a di-radical verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion suffix, and secondly, by a further extension by means of a two-segment extension; for example:

-thi nqà (be surprised).

- (i) The mono-radical ideophone is converted to a di-radical verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension, > \*-NQAD-. The radical conversion extension is Neuter -D~ (2)
- (ii) The resulting di-radical root is then further extended by the addition of a two-segment extension > -NQADáal- (be surprised). The extension being the Neuter Stative Actual (Extensive) -alal- (15.2.5.)

The final extended root has the appearance of being a multi-radical root.

12.9.0. A mono-radical ideophone may undergo conversion to a di-radical verbal root, accept a radical extension, and again accept a one-segment extension suffix: e.g.

-thi nca (stick to, adhere to)

- (i) Undergo conversion to a di-radical verbal root by accepting conversion \*-NCAM- (distinct from the di-radical verbal root -NCAM- (despair).

Radical Conversion Extension, Positional -M~ (5).

- (ii) The resulting di-radical verbal root then accepts a radical extension, being in this case, the Contactive -TH~ (10).
- (iii) The extended root further accepts an extension, in this case the Applied -el- (1)
- Extended root: -NCAMÁTHel- (stick close to).



12.10.0. A mono-radical, reduplicated, ideophone, converted to a di-radical verbal root followed by a 'fixed' extension; e.g.

-thi gqá-gqá (be pitted, be dotted (with beads etc.)):  
 cf. -GQÁGQÉl- (trim a garment (with beads etc.)):  
 Extension being the Applied -el- (1)

A mono-radical ideophonic root may be reduplicated and converted, in two stages, to a di-radical verbal root, with a 'fixed' extension ; e.g:

-thi tshù (be anxious, restless, eager (to go)):

(i) Mono-radical ideophonic root, reduplicated and the final vowel dropped and replaced by the invariable terminative -a.

i.e. \*-TSHÚTSH-

(ii) This di-radical verbal root now extended by the addition of the Causative (5) extension -is- > -TSHÚTSHis- (persecute, make restless).

-thi tyú (put on, throw on, jump up suddenly):

(i) Mono-radical ideophonic root reduplicated, and final vowel dropped in favour of terminative -a

> \*-TYÚTY-

(ii) This di-radical verbal root now extended by the addition of the Causative extension -is- (5) > -TYÚTYis- (damage, through careless handling).

12.11.0. Di-radical verbal root, related to di-radical ideophonic root ; where R2 in the ideophonic root is replaced by a different R2 in the di-radical verbal root : e.g.,  
 -thi cwàkà (be silent): cf. -CWÁL- (sit still, remain quiet before launching an attack):

In -thi cwàkà, R2 is Neuter -K~ (2)

In -CWÁL~, R2 is Effective -L~ (4)

N.B. The basic idea of the two roots is contained in R1, viz. \*-CWÁ- (idea of being silent).

12.12.0. An apparently tri-radical verbal root, associated with a di-radical ideophonic root, where the ideophonic root is converted to a verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension, and, at a later stage, R2 and R3 are transposed. (N.B. This is evident, despite the form of the respective roots, since the semantic force of each is identical) viz:

-thi nchwazì (become dark ; fall (of dusk)):

(i) The di-radical ideophonic root is converted to a verbal root, by the loss of the final vowel in favour of the terminative -a >  
\*-NCHWÁZ~.

(ii) A radical extension : viz. Effective -L~ (4) is added to this root : >\*-NCHWÁZÁL~

(iii) R2 and R3 are transposed:

-NCHWÁLÁZ~ (s.m.)

12.13.0. A di-radical ideophonic root converted to a verbal root with four radicals in three stages: viz. (i) The loss of final vowel in favour of invariable terminative -a : (ii), (iii) Addition of two radical extensions, in series: e.g.,

-thi krabí (jump over); cf. -KRÁBALÁZ~ (rush, hurry)

(i) \*-KRAB-

(ii) \*-KRABAL- : REx, Effective -L~ (4)

(iii) -KRÁBALÁZ~ : REx, factative -Z~ (9)

12.14.0. A di-radical ideophonic root, converted to a verbal root in two stages : viz: (i) the addition of a

radical conversion extension, (ii) the addition of a radical extension : e.g.,

-thi pholo (blurt out, reveal): cf.

-PHÓLÓLÒZ̀ (s.m.)

- (i) \*-PHOLOL- : RCE, Effective -L~ (4)
- (ii) -PHÓLÓLÒZ̀ : REx, Factative -Z~ (9)

12.15.0 A di-radical ideophonic root, converted to a verbal root in two stages : viz, (i) the addition of a radical conversion extension, (ii) the acceptance of an extension : e.g.,

-thi òngù (scatter, fly away): cf.

-DÚNGÚDèl̀ (abandon home, wander about):

- (i) \*-DUNGUD- : RCE, Operative -D~ (1)
- (ii) -DÚNGÚDèl̀ : Ex, Applied -el- (1)

-thi dyúphú (plop in, plunge into): cf.

-DYÚPHÚLèk̀ (be plunged into confusion).

- (i) \*-DYUPHUL- : RCE, Effective -L~ (4)
- (ii) -DYÚPHÚLèk̀ Ex, Neuter (Stative) -ek- (2)

-thi gùbù (be overcast): cf.

-GÚBÚNGèl̀ (cover)

- (i) \*-GUBUNG- : RCE, Protractive -NG~ (6)
- (ii) -GÚBÚNGèl̀ : Ex, Applied -el- (1)

12.16.0. A di-radical ideophonic root, converted to a verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension with, however, a phonetic modification of the consonant in the R1 and/or R2 of the resulting verbal root: e.g.,

-thi krùthù (draw a weapon): cf.

-RÚTHÚL̀ (s.m.)

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

-thi nqónqó (in knocking at a door (with the knuckles)):

cf. -QÓNGQÒTH- (knock with the knuckles)

RCE: Punctative -TH~ (3)

-thi hlèphù (be torn off): cf.

-SÍPHUL-

(tear out by the roots):

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

12.17.0. A reduplicated di-radical ideophonic root, where one di-radical segment is converted to a verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension: e.g.,

-thi chàphù-chàphù (feel sick, nauseous: be annoyed):

cf. -CHÁPHUK- (s.m.)

RCE: Neuter -K~ (2)

-thi còbò-còbò (of being broken up):

cf. -CÓBÒZ- (grind up):

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi mpàkù-mpàkù (blow, brag, puff):

cf. -MPÁKUZ- (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi vùngà-vùngà (make a low, continuous murmuring sound):

cf. -VUNGAM- (growl, snarl)

RCE: Protractive -M~ (6)

12.18.0. A di-radical ideophonic root, where the primary radical alone is re-iterated to form a di-radical verbal root, and this is again extended by the addition of a radical extension: e.g.,

-thi mpàkà (slap with the hand): cf.

-MPÁMPAZ- (grope in the dark):

REx : Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi nxhàlè (stuff, cram into): cf.

-NXHANXHÁS- (interpose between opponents)

REx : Causative -S~ (8)

12.19.0. A di-radical ideophonic root, the primary radical alone of which is retained, and R2 replaced by a different radical, the whole being further extended by a radical extension : e.g.,

-thi gèbù (gash): cf. -GÈLÉSH- (plough, and leave fallow):

R2 becoming Effective -L~ (4)

REx being Factative -SH~ (9)

-thi ngcìphù (perch on a point : balance on an edge):

cf. -NGCÌLÍZ- (hop on one leg):

R2 becoming Effective -L~ (4)

REx being Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi wèbù (move away quickly): cf. -WÈXÚL- (sweep along (of a torrent)):

R2 becoming Effective -X~ (4)

REx being Effective -L~ (4)

12.20.0. A tri-radical ideophonic root, of which the primary and secondary radicals only are retained and the resulting di-radical root being converted into a verbal root by the addition of a radical conversion extension: e.g.,

-thi fìnini (draw together (of the body), distort (of the face)): cf.

-FÌNIZ- (s.m.)

-RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi fìthithì (ooze out): cf. -FÌTHIZ- (put forth a little, gradually):

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-thi qùkùlù (bend down, crouch down)

cf. -QÙKUMB- (be turned in, be rounded off):

RCE: Protractive -MB~ (6)

12.21.0. A tri-radical ideophonic root, of which the primary and secondary radicals go to form R1 and R2 of a di-radical (reduplicated) verbal root: e.g.,

-thi q̣ikilí (turn a somersault): cf.

-Q̣IKá·Q̣IḲ- (roll over; roll about).

12.22.0. An ideophonic root with five radicals, of which R1 and R2 only are retained, and to which a radical conversion extension is added: e.g.,

-thi ṛox̣ox̣ox̣ox̣o (creak, like a wagon):

cf. -ṚOX̣OẒ- (s.m.)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

12.23.0. Di-radical ideophonic roots, found now in Zulu, but not in Xhosa, converted to a verbal root by means of a radical conversion extension: e.g.,

-thi godu (of going home): cf. -G̣ODUḲ- (go home),

RCE: Effective -K~ (4) : cf. -G̣ODUṢ- (take or send home): RCE : Causative -S~ (8)

-thi kḥazí (shine, be bright): cf. -KḤAZÍMḶ- (s.m.):

(cf. also -CḤATÍMḶ- (s.m.))

RCE: Protractive -M~ (6)

N.B. The Zulu equivalent retains a -u- between -M- and -L- : viz: -KḤAZIMUL-

-ul- is actually an extension: viz. -ul-

abundant-actional, and this extended root should really be represented as -KḤAZIMul- and

-CḤATIMul- respectively.

-thi g̣ebè (inflict big open wound (with kerrie etc.)):

cf. -G̣EBENG̣- (fall upon, rob):

RCE: Protractive -NG~ (6)

-thi ṇikí (be all about in all directions etc.):

cf. -ṆIKIẒ- (tear to pieces, worry)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

(cf. also (ama)ṆIKÍ-ṆIKÍ (G) (tatters): Zu.)

cf. -ṆIKIṆ- (knock, rub against)

RCE: Effective -N~ (4)

-thi nyùkù (tug to and fro (so as to loosen a post in the ground)): cf. -NYUKÚTYH̀ (push, thrust forward)

RCE: Unstandardised, low-frequency -TYH~

cf. also Zu: -NYUKUZ- and -NYIKIZ- (s.m.)

-thi phìcì (talk or act in a crafty manner, dodging first here, then there): cf. -PHIKÍC̀

(investigate thoroughly into):

RCE: Effective -K~

Note, two stages: viz.

(i) -PÌCÌK̀

(ii) -PÌKÍC̀ (R2 and R3 being transposed).

N.B. Zulu has the form -PHICIK- (s.m.)

-thi shùmpù (break off, in a tearing manner):

cf. -SHUMPÙL̀ (pinch, twist the skin):

RCE: Effective -L~ (4)

12.24.0. Reduplicated di-radical Zulu ideophonic root where corresponding Xhosa conversion to verbal root occurs, by means of radical conversion extension added to one di-radical segment : for example:

-thi chunu-chunu (eat just a little, and stop):

cf. -CHUNUB̀ (keep at arm's length)

RCE: Operative -B~ (1)

-thi dliki-dliki (pull about in a rough manner : rub against (as a goat against a hut wall) : worry, (as a dog a smaller animal)):

cf. -DLÍKIDL̀ (shake well, worry (as a dog)):

RCE: Reiteration of R1 in R2 position.

CHAPTER 13

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13.0.0.      VERBAL ROOTS RELATED TO NOMINAL/ADJECTIVAL ROOTS:

13.1.0.      There are two main groups of verbal roots which are related to nominal roots ; namely:

- (a)      Multi-functional roots<sup>1)</sup> which are only distinguishable as nominal or verbal roots when seen in their context.
- (b)      Verbal roots which are obviously related to nominal roots.      These again, fall into a number of sub-divisions, according to their form.      Examples of these varieties are given below.

13.2.0.      DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS

13.2.1.      Di-radical Verbal Roots with corresponding di-radical nominal roots.<sup>2)</sup>

There are many multi-functional roots which may be used either as verbal, or nominal, or adjectival or adverbial roots, according to their context, and according to the prefixes and suffixes with which they are used:  
For example:

Multi-functional Root -THĀND̄- (idea of liking or loving): e.g.

Used as a Verbal root :

Infinitive -ukuTHĀND̄a (to love)

Present Indic.    bayaTHĀND̄a (they love)

1) cf. para. 5.3.0., 5.4.0., 5.6.2.

2) Or Adjectival or Adverbial roots.



13.2.2. From Multi-functional roots:

A large number of di-radical verbal roots are found to have the identical root to that of nominal roots, for the reasons stated above. It is impossible, in these cases, to say dogmatically whether they were first used as verbs or as nouns. It is equally impracticable to give anything like a full list of such verbal roots in this survey: they are too numerous, and too well known to any student of the language: they are of the type:

- BAMB̀ (hold):            -FUND̀ (learn, read)  
 -HAMB̀ (walk, go):       -KHUL̀ (grow)  
 -THAND̀ (love, like):   -THETH̀ (speak)

13.2.3. Di-radical verbal roots with corresponding nominal roots (with common multi-functional root origin).<sup>1)</sup>

e.g:

- BENG̀ (cut into long strips): cf. umBENG̀ (3)  
 (long slice of meat : a foretaste of meat  
 being roasted at a feast).  
 -BIND̀ (choke with emotion): cf. isiBIND̀ (7)  
 (liver, courage).  
 -BHAC̀ (cut out and make the isiBHAC̀): cf.  
 isiBHAC̀ (7) (part of a skin Kaross).  
 -GID̀ (contribute provisions to wedding feast): cf.  
 umGID̀ (2) (marriage feast)  
 -GWAD̀ (take snuff): cf. iGWAD̀ (5) (snuff)  
 -GWAL̀ (behave in cowardly manner): cf.  
 iGWAL̀ (5) (coward)

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1) cf. Para. 5.2.0., 5.4.0.

- GQUR- (exorcise, by burning medicines):  
cf. iGQIRA (5) (witchdoctor), iGQWIRA (s.m. with  
more sinister significance)
- HLAZ- (expose : bring disgrace upon): cf. iHLAZo (5)  
(disgrace).
- \*-HLON-<sup>1)</sup> (be bashful): cf. uHLONi (11) (modesty) (shame)

13.2.4. Di-radical verbal root with corresponding  
di-radical nominal root, where, however, the  
secondary radicals differ : e.g.,

- TSHETH- (chip off (e.g. pumpkin rind)): Secondary  
radical, Punctative -TH~ (2) cf. isiTSHETSHe  
(knife) (7), Secondary radical, reiteration  
of primary radical.

13.2.5. Di-radical verbal root, with corresponding  
re-duplicated di-radical nominal root,  
where, however, the secondary radicals  
differ : e.g.,

- DIZ- (blab: set out secrets): secondary radical,  
Factative -Z~ (9) cf. iDIBi-DIBi (5) (blundering  
speaker): Secondary radical Operative -B~ (1)

13.3.1. Di-radical verbal root, with corresponding  
mono-Radical Nominal root, now extinct in  
Xhosa, but surviving in Zulu: e.g.,

- ZWAZ- (plait, weave): cf. umuZWA (3) (small, fibrous  
root : threadlike shoot):  
Secondary radical : Factative -Z~ (9)

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1) This di-radical root is no longer 'live' but survives  
in the applied-extension form -HLONel- (shew respect to).

13.3.2. Related to Mono-Radical Nominal Root: e.g.,

There are three such roots, all related to the same nominal root: viz. iliNYÁ (5) (stress, pressure): but differing in their secondary radical and extension: namely:

-NYÁNZÉl- (constrain, compel (someone to do something):

R1 : \*-NYA- (idea of pressure)

R2 : -NZ~ (modified -Z~ factative (9))

Extension Applied -el- (1)

-NYÁTHel- (tread upon)

R1 : \*-NYA- (idea of pressure)

R2 : -TH~ (Contactive (10))

Extension Applied -el- (1)

-NYÁTSHAZ- (strut about proudly)

R1 : \*-NYA- (idea of pressure)

R2 : Unstandardised -TSH~

Radical Extension : Factative -Z~ (9)

13.3.3. Related to Repetative Mono-Radical nominal root, with radical conversion extension : e.g.,

-NQUNQÚL- (make a clean sweep (of anything within reach)):

cf. ama-NQÚ-NQÚ-NQÚ (5) (repeated blows (upon the head)):

N.B. The secondary radical reverts to the simple consonant).

Radical conversion extension : Effective -L~ (4)

13.4.0. Related to di-radical nominal roots, with radical conversion extension: -PH~, de-nominative (12).

13.4.1. There are three nominal roots, describing abstract qualities (of human character), which are converted into verbal roots by the use of the de-nominative R -PH~ (12): e.g.,

- HLÒNÍPH- (pay or shew respect): cf. uHLÒNì (11)  
(modesty, reverence, shame).
- KHÁLÍPH- (be active, energetic, brave): cf.  
ubuKHÁLì (14) (sharpness, acuteness, energy),
- NÁNDÍPH- (have a pleasant taste in the mouth):  
cf. ubuMNANDi (14) (fine, smooth, sweet,  
pleasant).
- VÍLAPH- (play the sluggard): cf. ubuVÍLa (14)  
(sloth, laziness).

Note on RCE -PH~:

- (i) I have classified -PH~ as a Radical Conversion extension and not as an Extension (in terms of this thesis) for the following reasons :
- (a) RCE -PH~ must be distinguished from other R2 with the form -PH~ : e.g., as found in di-R v.r. as -KHUPH- (take out).
- (b) When occurring as a RCE, it is found only in connection with nominal or adjectival roots, and used to convert them to use as verbal roots.
- (c) When used in this way, it consists of the form -CV or C~, (as do other radical extensions), whereas the Extensions consist of the form -cv-. (cf. para's 14.3.0., 14.4.0., 14.5.0.)
- (ii) So far I have not come across in Xhosa the alternative form -PHAL~, as found in Zulu in such forms as -KHULUPHAL- (grow fat, fill out etc. : < -KHULu (great, etc.))

13.4.2. Related to di-radical nominal root, with radical conversion extension, -PH~ (de-nominative (12), followed by neuter-stative extension -al- (3) :

-FÍPHá\ (become dim): cf. uFÍFí (11) (an indistinct view)

R1 : \*-FI- (idea of becoming dim, dark):

RCE: radical extension, denominative -PH~

Ex : -al- neuter-stative -al- (2)(d)

### 13.5.0. <NOMINAL ROOTS, AND CLASSIFIED

(a) According to the related noun class:

(b) According to the extension employed:

e.g.,

#### 13.5.1. Class 3 Nouns.

With radical conversion extension : Effective -K~ (4)

-BANÉK\ (lighten): cf. um ANÉ (lightening)

With radical conversion extension : Punctative -TH~ (3)

-CÉMÉTH\ (talk incessantly: enumerate details):

cf. umCIMBi (matter under discussion).

With extension Persistentive-Actional -ek- (4).

-BALÉk\ (flee, run): cf. umBALÁ (a shin bone).

N.B. Analogous to the idiom ucela kuxhongo.

literally "he asks from the shin-bone"

(uxhongo, "shin-bone",) meaning "he takes to his heels."

#### 13.5.2. Class 5 Nouns.

With radical conversion extension : Effective -L~ (4)

-BUBUL\ (hum, growl, mutter): cf. iBUBu (swarm of bees)

-BHADUL\ (rove about): cf. iBHADU-BHADu (wanderer)

also isiBHADU-BHADu (s.m.)

-DUBUL\ (shoot, come into ear): cf. iDUBU-DUBu (something swollen).

-HAWUL<sup>1)</sup> (be greedy, rapacious): cf. iRAWu (an ardent, hot-tempered man).

1) Note primary radical consonant differences : radical velar and radical glottal fricatives.

-RIWUL- (pounce upon): cf. iRAWú (ardent, hot-tempered man).

With radical conversion extension : Factative -SH~ (9)

-CEBESH- (be indolent: trust to luck): cf. iCEBú  
(chance, luck)

-QOQOSH- (cut short, draw in, gather up): cf. iQOQò  
(private consultation of counsellors)

With radical conversion extension: Causative -S~ (8):

-TALÁS- (straddle, strut: be proud): cf. iTHÁLà  
(exposed rock, rocky ground).

With radical conversion extension: Factative -Z~ (9)

-BHÁDAZ- (walk gingerly : speak hesitatingly):

cf. iBHÁDì (springbok: species of butterfly)

-GÓLOZ- (squat on haunches): cf. iGÓLÓ (lower part of  
rectum).

-GRWÁMBUZ- (be noisy in eating): cf. iGRWÁMBÚ-GRWÁMBÙ  
(a greedy, voracious eater).

-KHÉNKCÉZ- (ring, tinkle): cf. iKHÉNKCÈ-KHÉNKCè (a  
tinkling bell): cf. also -KHÉNQÉZ- (ring,  
rattle) and -KHÓNKCÓZ- (tinkle, ring).

-KHÉPHUZ- (foam at the mouth): cf. iKHÉPHù (snow).

-KHÓHLOZ- (cut down in quantity): cf. iKHÓHLE-KHÓHLE  
(a stabbing left and right)

-NYÁNGAZ- (murder: lie in wait to ambush): cf.  
amaNYÁNGè (pl: ancestors). Probably because,  
when a man dies, his spirit joins those of  
his ancestors.)

With Extension : Applied -el-.

-BALèl- (shine, clear: be hot, scorching): cf. iBALà  
(desert place, open, clear space)

-JÓZèl- (make for (a place where an ox has been slaughtered):  
cf. iJÓZì (large slaughtering assegai).

- KHWEZÉl- (stoke up a fire: make it burn brightly): cf.  
 -KHWEZì (Venus : the morning star).<sup>1)</sup>  
 -THUBèl- (creep through an opening): cf. iTHUBà (an  
 opening, opportunity).

With Extension : Persistive-Actional -ek-.

- SINèk- (grin: have the gums shewing): cf.  
 amaSINí (the gums: pl).

### 13.5.3. Class 7 Nouns.

With radical conversion extension: Effective -L~ (4):

- DLWENGUL- (treat with violence): cf. isiDLWENGU  
 (a violent man).

With radical conversion extension: Positional -M~ (5)

- PHONGOM- (be on hands and knees): cf. isiPHONGò  
 (projecting knoll)

With radical conversion extension: Factative -SH~(9):

- QHOBOSH- (hobble, knee-halter, fasten): cf. isiQÔBo  
 (a bar, fastening a door)<sup>2)</sup>

With radical conversion extension: Factative -Z~ (9):

- KHWATHAZ- (glean, pick up): cf. isiKHWABà (mealie  
 stalk without fruit): (N.B. In the verbal root,  
 the secondary radical is the punctative -TH~ (3),  
 while in the nominal root, it is the Operative  
 -B~ (1)

### 13.5.4. Class 9 Nouns.

With radical conversion extension: Causative -S~ (8)

- DULUS- (stick out, project): cf. inDULì (hill, projection).  
 -NYANIS- (speak the truth; act correctly): cf. -iNYANí  
 (truth, reality)

1) The idea could either be that of brightness, or the fact that, on waking at dawn, a fire was usually made up in the centre of the hut in the iZIKò (hearth).

2) Note the consonant of the primary radical becomes aspirated in the verbal root.

With radical conversion extension: Factative -SH~ (9)  
 -NKĒNKĒSH~ (lead water, irrigate): cf. iNKĒNKĒ  
 (corrugated iron).

With radical conversion extension: Punctative -TH~ (3)  
 -NTSOMPŌTH~ (speak mysteriously): cf. iNTSŌMĪ (fable  
 fabrication).

With radical conversion extension: Factative -Z~ (9):  
 -KHONDLOZ~ (harp on a subject): cf. iNKONDLO (a kind  
 of dance).

-MPULUZ~ (slip out (of words)): cf. iMPULÁ-MPULÁ  
 (a slippery thing). N.B. Zulu has thi phulu  
 (of something passing or being ejected smoothly).

-NYÁKAZ~ (do on a large scale): cf. iNYÁKÁ (crowd,  
 swarm: great quantity): cf. also -NYHIKIZ~  
 (do to excess)

-YÁNTAZ~ (ramble about, saunter around): cf. iYÁMBÁNE  
 (something disorderly). (In the verbal root,  
 the secondary radical is the unstandardised,  
 low-frequency -NT~, while in the nominal root,  
 it is the protractive-operative -MB~ (6).

With extension: Applied -el- :

-PHÍSEL~ (burn charms): cf. iMPÍSA (a plant whose root  
 is used in medicine given to a pregnant woman  
 or to children.)

#### 13.5.5. Class 11 Nouns.

With radical conversion extension: Effective -L~ (4):  
 -NQHEZUL~ (butt, hit hard): cf. uNQHEZÚ-NQHEZÚ  
 (the sound of rams butting)

With radical conversion extension: Causative -S~ (8):  
 -DÁDÁS~ (spread out, so as to keep away an unwanted  
 newcomer or unwelcome visitor): cf. uDÁDÁ  
 (dense bush, thicket).



-DŪNKŪS̀ (move in dense forest; grope one's way),  
cf. uDŪNKŪNKŪ̀ (anything widespread or dense).

With radical conversion extension: Factative -Z~ (9):

-DIMBÁZ̀ (take grain out of a pit): cf. uDĪMBÀ̀  
(large number)

-WAYÁZ̀ (keep going and coming): cf. uWAYÀ̀ (a long,  
endless thing).

With extension : Persistive-Abundant Actional -uk- :

-KHANŪK̀ (long for greatly): cf. uKHĀNĀNÀ̀ (greediness,  
lengthy speaking etc.)

### 13.5.6. Class 15 Nouns.

All infinitive forms of the Verb are, in fact,  
also nouns of the 15th. class.<sup>1)</sup>

A classic parallel in English is to be found in  
the couplet: "To err is human, to forgive, divine," or,  
in other words, Error is human, forgiveness is divine.

It would serve no useful purpose to give  
examples here. The above covers the subject, and  
further illustration is unnecessary.

### 13.6.0. VERBAL ROOTS RELATED TO ADJECTIVAL ROOTS

13.6.1. The number of true adjectival roots is very  
limited. Bennie<sup>2)</sup> and Louw<sup>3)</sup> give the number as  
eighteen, though Bennie includes -ní? (whatever: indefinite

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1) For example:

ukuFUNDà is the Infinitive of the verbal root -FUND̀  
(read, learn); but may also be regarded as the noun  
ukuFUNDà (learning, reading)

2) W.G. Bennie (1939) Grammar of Xhosa for Xhosa-Speaking:  
p. 88.

3) J.A. Louw (1963) "Handboek van Xhosa", page 58, para 11.4.

adjective), which Louw omits; and Louw includes -ncíncí (small,) (alternative form), which Bennie omits. McLaren<sup>1)</sup> includes an obsolete form -ncí (small), and its reduplicated form -ncíncí (very small).

13.6.2. It follows, therefore, that the number of verbal roots related to these adjectival roots (and possibly derived from them in certain cases) is also small.

13.6.3. It must be remembered that, while we refer to such verbal roots being related to adjectival roots, most of the adjectival roots are also related to nominal and/or adverbial forms, derived from them. It seems obvious, however, that the adjectival root is that from which such nominal or adverbial forms are derived.

13.7.0. The following examples illustrate the ways in which verbal roots are related to corresponding adjectival forms.

13.7.1. Di-radical verbal roots related to true adjectival roots : e.g.

-DÁJ- (create): cf. -DÁLá<sup>2)</sup> (old, ancient).

(The common semantic factor is the idea of going back, towards the origin of things.)

-KHUL- (grow, increase): cf. -KHULu<sup>2)</sup> (great, big).

13.7.2. Di-radical verbal root, related to an (obsolete form of) true adjectival root, R2 being the radical conversion extension, de-adjectival -PH~ (12). e.g.

-NCÍPH- (decrease, become less): cf. -NCí (obsolete form of -NCÍNCí (small)).

1) J. McLaren - Xhosa-English Vocabulary (1936) also gives the form -ncí as an obsolete form.

2) Note also the nominal forms derived from these adjectival roots: e.g.,  
 umDÁLì (creator) : ubuDÁLá (age) etc.  
 uKHULá (weeds) : ubuKHULù (greatness) etc.

13.7.3. Verbal root, related to mono-R adjectival root with diminutive extension; the radical conversion extension being the Punctative -TH~ (3) e.g.,

-NCÍNÍTH~ (break into pieces): cf. -NCÍNÁNè (small).

In the verbal root, the RCE is the punctative -TH~ (replacing the diminutive extension in the adjectival root).

13.7.4. Verbal root, related to reduplicated di-radical adjectival - nominal root, by addition of a radical conversion extension: viz:

-PHÓTHÓZ~ (act nimbly, quickly): cf.

ubuPHÓTHÓ-PHÓTHÓ (14) (nimble, agile)

RCE: Factative -Z~ (9)

-VÉTYÉK~ (be snub-nosed): cf. ubuVÉTYÉ-VÉTYÉ (14)

(flexibility):

RCE: Neuter -K~ (2):

cf. also -BHÉTY~ (bend back)

-thi bhétyè and -thi bhétyè-bhétyè

(be bent with weakness):

ubuBHÉTYÉ-BHÉTYÉ (14) (flexibility):

-BHÉTYÉ-BHÉTYÉ (used adjectivally): flexible.

13.7.5. Verbal root, related to di-radical adjectival/nominal root, the primary radical being reiterated, followed by a radical conversion extension: viz.

-NGWÉNGWEM~ (stand aloof - due to a sense of guilt):

cf. ubuGWÉNX.a (14) (crookedness):

-GWÉNX.a (used adjectivally: crooked, wrong, perverse)

RCE: Protractive -M~ (6).

13.7.6. Verbal roots, related to di-radical  
adjectival/nominal roots, with  
addition of an extension: e.g.,

-HLŪNG<sup>ˆ</sup>is<sup>ˆ</sup>- (cause to be painful): cf. ubuHLŪNG<sup>ˆ</sup>u (14)  
 (pain : also used adjectivally: (painful)).

Extension : Causative -is- (5)

-HLAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>iy<sup>ˆ</sup>- (make fresh, renew): cf. uHLAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>a (11)

(fresh green grass):

-luHLAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>a<sup>ˆ</sup> (used adjectivally: green, blue):

ubuHLAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>a<sup>ˆ</sup> (14) (greenness)

Extension : Causative (Stative) -iy- (7).

CHAPTER 14EXTENSIONS : INTRODUCTION14.0.0. EXTENSION

This term is used hereafter to describe the particular type of extension to the verbal root which consists of a vowel plus consonant phoneme which constitute an indivisible unit, represented by the symbols -vc-<sup>1)</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, 'Extension', without further elaboration, refers to this type of extension.

14.1.0. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RADICAL EXTENSIONS  
AND EXTENSIONS

14.1.1. Unlike the Radical Extensions, all of which consist of the form -C~, the Extension consists of -vc- (or multiples thereof): e.g., -el-, -is-, -isis- .

For example, the di-R v.r. -KHÔL<sup>^</sup> (satisfy, content, convince), may take either a radical extension, or an extension. e.g.,

(a) Radical extension : -S~, causative (8) :

-KHÔL<sup>^</sup> > -KHÔLÔS<sup>^</sup> (confide in, be secure etc.)

It will be noted that the REx is -S~ (or -C~)

(b) Extension : When, however, this di-R v.r. -KHÔL<sup>^</sup> takes an extension, such as the applied -el-<sup>2)</sup> or the causative -is-<sup>3)</sup>, the extension in each case consists of a vowel plus consonant, (or -vc- ) : e.g.,

- 
- 1) Small letters are here used, viz. -vc-, to emphasize that this type of extension is, generally speaking, not of a 'permanent' nature, but is liable to be used only at the discretion of the speaker when the occasion so demands, e.g. : -BÔN<sup>^</sup> (see) > -BÔNis<sup>^</sup> (cause to see, show): cf. para. 15.5.1.
- 2) cf. para. 15.1.0.
- 3) cf. para. 15.5.0.

- KHÔL<sup>^</sup>- (satisfy, content etc.)  
 > -KHÔLé<sup>l</sup>- (have pleasure in, like)  
 > -KHÔLis<sup>l</sup>- (give satisfaction, please)

14.1.2. Not infrequently the extensions (Ex) are more loosely connected with the di-R v.r. than the radical extensions (REx), in that they do not have as profound a semantic influence upon the simple root. Further, the extensions may usually be used or discarded by the speaker, which is not the case with roots extended by means of a radical extension.

14.2.0. BACKGROUND

14.2.1. Most writers in Bantu have devoted a certain amount of space to the description of what they have usually termed 'derivative verbs'. Torrend<sup>1)</sup>, for instance, refers to 'applicative verbs', 'causative verbs', 'intensive verbs', 'reversive and expansive verbs' and 'reciprocal verbs'. He made an early assessment of these species with considerable accuracy. We should, however, refer to these species as extended forms of the verbal root. Though he did not use this term, Torrend implied this by virtue of the fact that he recognised that they owe their distinctive form and significance to their suffixes.

Later<sup>2)</sup>, he has this interesting comment to add, concerning the difference in function between these extensions and the auxiliary verbs employed to modify the sense of the main verb.

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1) Torrend: Comparative Grammar of the S.A. Bantu Languages: p. 275 para. 1064 (1891)

2) As above, but p: 280 para. 1085.

He says:

"There is unmistakably an essential difference between the general notion implied by verbal suffixes, and that implied by auxiliaries. But until we have somewhat more abundant data to go by, it is no easy task to define this difference exactly. If, however, I am not mistaken, auxiliaries generally imply a notion of time. Respectively they imply that an action is taking place now, or took place before, lasts a long time or a short time, was never done, or was done once, still lasts, or is already accomplished etc., all of them notions which come under that of difference of time. Verbal suffixes, on the contrary, are rather either relational or include relation, and cannot be said to contain the notion of either time or duration. Passive verbs, for instance, suppose an agent and a patient: applicative verbs suppose an efficient cause, acting upon a subordinate agent: intensive verbs being superlative, imply comparison with what is usual and common: expansive and reversive verbs bring back the mind to a contrary action: reciprocal verbs suppose at least two agents acting one upon another: all of them notions which come under the head of relation."

14.2.2. Bryant<sup>1)</sup> had this to say concerning the derivative species of the verb:

"There are several kinds of derivative verbs, i.e. secondary forms constructed out of the primitive root by some modification or change thereof. They are of at least 25 different kinds, as follows:-"

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1) A.T. Bryant: "Zulu-English Dictionary" : 1905  
p. 103 (Introduction).

He describes the "modification or change thereof", in terms of "changing the final a of the primitive root into -ela or -isa etc.," according to the species concerned.

The fact that the final -a in the simple verbal stem is not a part of the root, but a detachable terminative vowel, had not yet been appreciated.

In the "25 derivative verbs" listed by Bryant, are included

- (1) Objective (now known as the applied)
- (2) Causative
- (3) Reciprocal
- (4) Stative-passive or Neuter-passive  
(now known as Stative or Neuter).

In addition he lists 20 reduplicated or compound forms. Under "derivative verbs" he includes the reflexive construction,<sup>1)</sup> (which is not a verbal species), but he makes no mention of the Passive species (with characteristic extension -w-, -iw-).

14.2.3. Subsequent writers have all made mention of the "derivatives", including Werner<sup>2)</sup>, who calls them "Derived forms" and McLaren<sup>3)</sup>, who uses the same term. McLaren<sup>4)</sup> introduces the recognition of the 'reversive' suffixes characterised by the vowel -u- (with the consonant of the extension or as root vowel). Doke<sup>5)</sup> and Bennie<sup>6)</sup> took the matter further.

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- 1) Where the reflexive (Objective) concord -zi- is introduced before the verbal root. This is not strictly a verbal species at all, but depends for its distinctive character on the objective (reflexive) concord.
  - 2) The Bantu Languages. A. Werner (1919) p. 146.
  - 3) McLaren: "A Xhosa Grammar": (1936) p. 109.
  - 4) McLaren: "A Xhosa Grammar": (1936) p. 118.
  - 5) Doke: "Zulu Grammar" (1921) p. 126.
  - 6) Bennie: "Grammar of Xhosa for Xhosa Speaking" (1939) p. 123.



14.2.4. Bennie follows Bryant in including the 'reflexive' as a derivative species of the verb, but does not treat the subject in any detail. Doke, with his usual thoroughness, goes far deeper than his predecessors had done. He also recognises the Passive as being a derivative species of the verb. Even Doke appears to include the terminative -a in the extensions.

14.2.5. Louw<sup>1)</sup>, carries the investigation a step further in Xhosa, in recognising such extensions as the 'contactive' and 'positional' species<sup>2)</sup>, which had escaped being named previously in works on Xhosa.

#### 14.3.0. ACCEPTANCE OF CERTAIN EXTENSIONS

14.3.1. Sharman<sup>3)</sup> has recently done considerable research on the Extensions in Bemba. His treatment and description of the Bemba Extensions deserves mention here, as what he says applies in general terms to the Extensions generally in Bantu. He says<sup>4)</sup>,

"Both morphologically and semantically, these belong to a clearly identifiable series : they are elements occurring after the verb radicals<sup>5)</sup> and modifying their basic meaning (that is, a given extension normally modifies meanings of radicals<sup>5)</sup> in a certain direction,) Not all radicals<sup>5)</sup> can be associated with all extensions : many associations are naturally precluded on semantic grounds, and still others are phonologically determined. But there are always many cases in which there is no apparent reason why a given radical<sup>5)</sup> should not be found in association with a given extension, and yet is not."

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- 1) J.A. Louw: "Handboek van Xhosa" (1962) p. 150.  
 2) This punctative -tha is actually a Radical Fx: -TH~, and also, protractive -ma, viz. -M~; though protractive stative -am- is an extension.  
 3) J.C. Sharman: "Morphology etc. in the Single Verb Forms in Bemba" : Definitions : page 9.  
 4) J.C. Sharman (as above): page 46, para 2 and 5.  
 5) Or "verbal roots" in my terminology.

14.3.2. With regard to the resistance of certain verbal roots to certain extensions, I am fully in agreement with Sharman. In writing on Tsonga, Junod<sup>1)</sup> speaks with enthusiasm about the rich flexibility of the Bantu languages, due to the many species of extension. "All these various derivations can combine," he says, "according to given laws, each adding its own meaning to the others." And he goes on to say, "An endless number of combinations is thus rendered possible." While agreeing that there is great flexibility and a wide range of combinations, there are also strict limitations, as indicated above.

14.3.3. As far as my observation goes, it would appear that while the more common extensions are 'live' (that is, capable of being added to verbal roots with considerable freedom), the majority are no longer so.

14.3.4. Having inquired from several Xhosa-speakers, why certain roots are resistant to certain extensions which appear to be open to use with them, the invariable answer is to the effect that, "We Xhosa's do not say that." It is, apparently a matter of usage, rather than any intrinsic incompatibility.

14.3.5. Certain of the extensions enjoy very wide acceptance by verbal roots. Such include the Applied (1) -el-, Neuter Stative (2) -ek-, Causative (5) -is- and the Connective -an- (6). Others, on the other hand, have a restricted use, only occurring with a comparatively small number of verbal roots.

14.4.0. Doke<sup>2)</sup> states, "Though the S.E. Bantu languages

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1) H.A. Junod: "Life of a S. African Tribe" : Vol. II. page 141.

2) Doke, C.M. "The Bantu Speaking Tribes of S.A." (I. Schapera) (1937) page 327.

"are not so rich as the central in verbal derivative forms, they still employ the most typical and have occasional examples of a number of others."

14.5.1. Later, Doke<sup>1)</sup> gives a comprehensive list of the main S. Bantu derivative verbal species. He goes on to say, "The primary semantic characteristic of a suffix appears to be in its consonant, and the vowel or vowels, which are often evolved independently, and sometimes may not belong to the suffix proper at all, appears to be a secondary characteristic, though they do play some semantic part."

14.5.2. Here I must reluctantly disagree with this view. In terms of this thesis, the vowel of the extension is as much an integral part of the extension as the radical vowel is of its radical.

14.6.0. In conclusion, it may be said that although there is a surprisingly large number of different verbal extensions in Xhosa, it is really only a few that are 'live', and have a high frequency of incidence. For the rest, the incidence is low and restricted.

#### 14.7.0. THE EXTENSION, ITS FORM AND FUNCTION

14.7.1. An Extension is, in effect, a suffix which may be added to a verbal root, thereby modifying the effect of the action described more in respect of its application rather than its essential nature. It is followed by the usual verbal terminatives.

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1) Doke, C.M. "The Southern Bantu Languages" (1954) p. 66.

14.7.2. In explanation of the above, an example may clarify the position. If we take the verbal root  $\text{-B\hat{O}N\`}$  (see), whatever extension is added to this root, the basic idea will always be retained: viz., the idea of "seeing". When the applied extension is added, the idea of "seeing" is extended to the idea of "seeing for" someone etc. With the causative extension the idea of "seeing" is extended to that of "causing someone else to see", thus to "show". Again, where the reciprocal extension is added, the idea of "seeing" is now extended to the idea of "seeing one another". The basic idea of "seeing" is unchanged, but the scope of the verb is extended to include other factors modifying its relationship to those factors.

14.7.3. "LIVE" EXTENSIONS:

This term is used in connection with those extensions which may be fairly freely used with verbal roots which are semantically open to such usage. The number of such "live" extensions is, however, strictly limited. The fact must always be borne in mind also, that certain verbal roots, apparently capable of accepting such suffixes, still resist them. As one informant expressed it, "Yes, you could say that, but to a Xhosa it would not make sense." Such is the power of usage in the acceptance or rejection of certain forms of speech.

14.7.4. INACTIVE EXTENSIONS:

By 'inactive' extensions, is meant those extensions which can no longer be used freely with verbal roots, or discarded at the whim of the speaker. There are certain such extensions which occur only very rarely and only with a strictly limited number of roots.

14.8.1. ONE-SEGMENT EXTENSIONS:

Several extensions consist of one segment, with the form -cv- : e.g., the Applied -el- (1), as in -BÒNÉl̀ (see on behalf of, etc.)

14.8.2. TWO- AND THREE-SEGMENT EXTENSIONS

Others again may consist of two and rarely three segments, with the form -cvcv-, -cvcvcv-, respectively. When these occur, with a single semantic significance, they are due to a process of re-iteration, indicating the intensification of the extension. Infrequently the re-iteration is not so obvious due to the substitution of a variant<sup>1)</sup> in place of one of the segments.

e.g. : -QÒNDÍsis̀ (explain fully) (Ex 5(d)).  
-VÍsis̀ (speak out distinctly) (Ex 5(d)).

and with a variant in one segment :

e.g. : -HLÁMBúluk̀ (peel off, come off intr.)  
 cf. -HLÁMBúlù (cleanse thoroughly).

14.8.3. ONE-SEGMENT EXTENSIONS IN SERIES

It may happen that two one-segment extensions may follow one another in series, resulting in a form which, apart from the context, might be mistaken for a two-segment extension. Where there are two one-segment extensions in series, however, the fact will be made clear by the semantic shape of the extended root.

e.g. : -LÍNDÉl:ék̀ (be expected)  
 < -LÍND̀ (wait) followed by the applied and neuter stative (actual) extensions in series.<sup>2)</sup>

1) cf. Ex 7(c) : para. 15.7.3.

2) cf. Para. 16.2.2.

14.8.4. On the other hand, we may find a two-segment extension, with a single semantic force.

e.g. : -GÀNDélel- (stamp hard into):  
 < -GÀND- (stamp, tramp) followed by the  
 applied (intensive) extension.<sup>1)</sup>

14.9.1. THE VOWEL IN THE EXTENSION

While agreeing fully that the consonantal element of the extension carries the main semantic force, the vowel is by no means without semantic significance.

14.9.2. I am unable to accept Van der Merwe's<sup>2)</sup> term "connecting vowel" for the vowel of the extension, as this suggests that it is merely a link between the verbal root and the extension. This vowel is, in fact, as much an intrinsic part of the extension as the radical vowel is an undetachable part of the radical.

14.9.3. The vowel and the consonant of the extension segment together form an indivisible unit, and each carries its share of semantic force.

14.9.4. In the case of the consonantal element, we are able to find semantic parallels with those of the secondary radicals, but in the case of the vowel elements, definite semantic classification has not been found possible, except to a very limited extent.

14.10.0. Semantic significance of the vowel  
 element in the extension segment

14.10.1. Without claiming to explain why it should be so, the fact may be recorded that the vowel -i- occurs in

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1) cf. Para. 15.1.2.

2) cf. D.F. van der Merwe: "Morphology and Semasiology of the Sotho Verbal Stem....." etc: Chapter 4.

the extensions which carry either a 'causative' or a 'factative' force (sometimes -i- is assimilated to -e-).

For example:-

The extension-vowel is -i- in the following extensions:

Causative-stative	-iy-	(5(h))
Causative	-is-	(5(a)-(c))
Causative-Stative	-es-, -ez-	(5(f)(g))
Causative-Intensive	-isis-, -isisis-	(5(d) and (e))

14.10.2. When the extension-vowel is -u- it is found either with a 'reversive' significance,

e.g.,

Reversive Actional	-al-, -uk-	(8(c)(b))
Reversive Neuter Stative	-uk-	(8)(a) etc.

or with an 'abundant' significance,

e.g.,

Abundant Stative (Completive)	-uluk-	(7(c))
Abundant Actional	-ul-, -ulul-	(7(a) and (b))

14.11.0. SEMANTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONSONANTAL  
ELEMENT IN THE EXTENSION SEGMENT:

14.11.1. There is an underlying connection between the semantic shape of certain consonants, whether they occur in radicals or extensions. The following parallels will illustrate this:

<u>R2: Ex.</u>	<u>In Radical (R2) and Radical Extension (REx) and Radical Conversion Ext. (RCE).</u>	<u>In Extension (Ex).</u>
-L~, -el-	Effective (4)	Applied (1)
-K~, -ek-	Neuter (2)	Neuter-Stativ (2)(a)
-K~, -ek-	Effective (4)	Persistentive-Actional (3)
-M~, -am-	Positional (5)	Protractive-Stativ (9)
-N~, -an-	Associative (11)	Associative 6(c)
-S~, -is-	Causative (8)	Causative (5)
-TH~, -ath-	Contactive (10)	Contactive (10)

14.11.2. While obvious parallels are not possible in the case of all secondary radicals and extensions with a common consonantal element, the above examples at least suggest a possible semantic relationship, and common origin.

14.12.0. The general question of the derivation of many of the extensions is covered by Meinhof<sup>1)</sup>. It is not necessary to refer in detail to his conclusions. The object of the present study is rather to describe the extensions as they exist today in Xhosa, rather than to discuss their origin.

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1) cf. C. Meinhof and N.J. van Warmelo,  
'Introduction to Phonology of Bantu Languages'. (1932)  
Page 107 et seq.



## CHAPTER 15

15.0.0. EXTENSIONS : INDIVIDUAL

The following Extensions are found in Xhosa:

- |    |                              |          |         |
|----|------------------------------|----------|---------|
| 1. | Applied.                     |          | 15.1.0. |
|    | (a) Applied                  | -el-     | 15.1.1. |
|    | (b) Completive (Applied)     | -el-el-  | 15.1.2. |
| 2. | Neuter Stative:              |          | 15.2.0. |
|    | (a) Actual                   | -ek-     | 15.2.1. |
|    | (b) Potential                | -ek-     | 15.2.2. |
|    | (c) Actual (Completive)      | -ekek-   | 15.2.3. |
|    | (d) Actual                   | -al-     | 15.2.4. |
|    | (e) Actual Extensive         | -alal-   | 15.2.5. |
|    | (f) Extensive                | -akal-   | 15.2.6. |
|    | (g) Extensive<br>(Irregular) | -ayel-   | 15.2.7. |
| 3. | Persistive Actional          | -ek-     | 15.3.0. |
| 4. | Completive Applied-Stative   | -elek-   | 15.4.0. |
| 5. | Causative:                   |          | 15.5.0. |
|    | (a) Actual                   | -is-     | 15.5.1. |
|    | (b) Assistive                | -is-     | 15.5.2. |
|    | (c) Imitative                | -is-     | 15.5.3. |
|    | (d) Causative (Intensive)    | -isis-   |         |
|    |                              | -isisis- | 15.5.4. |
|    | (e) Intensive (Causative)    | -isis-   | 15.5.5. |
|    | (f) Causative (Stative)      | -es-     | 15.5.6. |
|    | (g) Causative (Stative)      | -ez-     | 15.5.7. |
|    | (h) Causative (Stative)      | -iy-     | 15.5.8. |

6.	Connective:		15.6.0.
	(a) Reciprocal	-an-	15.6.1.
	(b) Reciprocal (Completive)	-anan-	15.6.2.
	(c) Associative	-an-	15.6.3.
7.	Abundant:		15.7.0.
	(a) Abundant Actional	-ul-	15.7.1.
	(b) Abundant Actional (Completive)	-ulul-	15.7.2.
	(c) Abundant Stative (Completive)	-uluk-	15.7.3.
8.	Reversive:		15.8.0.
	(a) Neuter Stative	-uk-	15.8.1.
	(b) Persistentive Actional	-uk-	15.8.2.
	(c) Actional	-ul-	15.8.3.
	(d) Causative	-us-	15.8.4.
	(e) Actional (Completive)	-uluk-	15.8.5.
9.	Protractive Stative	-am-	15.9.0.
10.	Contactive	-ath-	15.10.0.
11.	Passive	-w-, -iw-	15.11.0.

15.1.0.

APPLIED EXTENSION:15.1.1. 1(a) APPLIED EXTENSION: -el-

The Applied extension is highly active, in that it can be used in conjunction with a large number of verbal roots. It can virtually be accepted by any root where the meaning permits its use.

It is not intended to give multiple examples of the incidence of this extension, for to do so would merely be to repeat information which is available in the standard dictionaries.

Background:

Investigators from early times have not failed to note and comment on this extension. Reference has already been made to Torrend's comments<sup>1)</sup> concerning its semantic significance. He does not, of course, differentiate between the verbal root and the extension, but speaks of them as one entity, 'applicative verbs'. He makes it clear, however, that the 'applicative' element is due to the Extension. In describing the function of this species, he says that they 'suppose an efficient cause, acting upon a subordinate agent.'

Bryant<sup>2)</sup> makes a brief reference to 'derivative verbs' and mentions 'Objective verbs, formed by changing the final a of the primitive root into ela, and signifying 'for, to, on behalf of, against' etc. Werner<sup>3)</sup> speaks of 'Derived forms of the verb', and uses the terms 'Applied' (or 'Relative' or 'Prepositional') in describing this species. She points out that this species 'gives rise to numerous idioms, some of which have no exact European equivalent', and goes on to say:

"The most general rule that can be laid down for its use implies that the action is done with reference to some person or thing other than the direct object of the verb."

Werner proceeds to point out also that,

"If the verb is intransitive, and therefore has no direct object, this form makes it transitive, and enables it to take one."

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- 1) Torrend, J.: Comparative Grammar of S.A. Bantu Languages (1891) page 275, para 1064.  
 2) Bryant, A.T. (1905) Zulu-English Dictionary: page 102.  
 3) A. Werner: "The Bantu Languages". (1919) p. 148.

The description is taken considerably further by Doke<sup>1)</sup>. He standardises the term 'Applied' for this species and gives a clear and full analysis of the conditions under which the extension is used, and its semantic force in those usages. Doke still, however, refers to 'derivative verbs' and 'the applied form of the verb'. In his description, however, he adds little to what has already been said by Werner, but comments,

"The sense of the applied form is supplied in English by the use of such prepositions as 'for', 'towards', 'on behalf of', 'to the detriment of.'"

McLaren<sup>2)</sup> brings the discussion into the particular field of Xhosa, and reverts to the terms, 'Derivative Forms' of the verb, and 'The Directive Form' in particular in referring to this extension. He gives alternative terms again (following Werner) viz. 'Relative' or 'Applied'. In the main, he covers more or less the same ground as Doke (as quoted above).

Bennie<sup>3)</sup> follows McLaren's terminology, viz. 'Directive Form', but his treatment, though brief, is in line with Doke. Ziervogel<sup>4)</sup> speaks of the 'Applicative' or 'Directive' verbal suffix, according to their respective contexts. Here the recognition of the species in terms of a suffix is first mentioned as such. Van der Merwe<sup>5)</sup> refers to 'Derivative suffixes' in general and variations of the 'Applicative' when dealing with this species in Sotho.

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1) C.M. Doke: "Zulu Grammar", (1931) p. 131, para 331-341.

2) J. McLaren: "Xhosa Grammar" (1936) : page 109.

3) W.G. Bennie: "Xhosa for Xhosa Speaking" p. 124 (1939)

4) D. Ziervogel: "Grammar of Swazi" (1952) para 77.

5) D.F. van der Merwe: "On the Morphology ..... Sotho Verbal Stem ...." (1941) Chp. 5, p. 84.

It is left to Sharman<sup>1)</sup> to emphasize the true nature of these derivative species, when he refers to them as 'Extensions'. He reverts to Torrend's original term, 'Applicative'. He does not, however, add any original contribution to the basic descriptions of the species given by his predecessors.

To sum up: This extension seems to have collected more variations of name than any other of its kind, but the actual extension itself is invariable in Xhosa. The reason for the multiplicity of names is probably due to the fact that this particular Extension can be used to express so many shades of meaning.<sup>2)</sup> These shades of meaning and types of usage may be summarised as follows:<sup>3)</sup>

Note : The term 'Applied' has now been generally adopted, and I find no reason to disagree with it.

The uses of the Applied Extension may be illustrated by the following examples:

(i) The applied extension is often used where the same meaning is supplied in European languages by means of a preposition. The actual nature of the prepositional idea thus expressed is often determined by the meaning of the simple verbal root : for instance,

-FÍKèl` (arrive <u>at</u> )	cf.	-FÍK` (arrive) :
-LÚNGèl` (suit, be right <u>for</u> )	cf.	-LÚNG` (be right, fit) :
-HÁMBèl` (go <u>to</u> ; visit)	cf.	-HÁMB` (go, travel) :

1) J.C. Sharman. 1964 ,Chapter 5. "Verb forms in Bemba."

2) Applied Species: Known variously as: Applicative, Objective, Applied, Relative, Prepositional, Directive.

3) Only a single example is given, as the usages are regular, and repetition would add nothing of significance to our survey.

-LAND <sup>l</sup> el <sup>l</sup> - (follow <u>after</u> )	cf. -LAND <sup>l</sup> - (follow, pursue) :
-JIK <sup>l</sup> el <sup>l</sup> - (turn <u>towards</u> )	cf. -JIK <sup>l</sup> - (turn (intr.) :
-SUK <sup>l</sup> el <sup>l</sup> - (rise up <u>against</u> , attack)	cf. -SUK <sup>l</sup> - (rise up) :
-GCIN <sup>l</sup> el <sup>l</sup> - (keep <u>for, on</u> <u>behalf of</u> )	cf. -GCIN <sup>l</sup> - (keep, preserve) :

(ii) The applied extension is used, in connection with the locative, to indicate motion 'towards' :  
e.g.,

ukuBUYela ekhaya	:	(to return to one's home)
baBALEKela phina?	:	(where are they running to?)
DLULela phambili	:	(pass on towards the front)
BALEKela nganeno	:	(run towards this side)
HAMBela ngasentabeni	:	(travel towards the mountain)
yaFIKela entungo	:	(it reached to the inside of the roof)

(iii) The applied extension is used to indicate the locality where something takes place : e.g.,

Impi yasiFIKela apho	:	(The army came upon us there)
Inkabi yaWela emgodini, yaFela khona:		
		(The ox fell into a hole and died there)
WaFela eRautini:		(He died at Johannesburg)

(iv) When followed by the interrogative suffix -ni?, the applied extension may express the question 'Why?' : e.g.,

NiHLALelani?	(What are you waiting for? Why are you waiting?)
NiKHALelani?	(What are you crying about? Why do you complain?)
NiSEBENZelani?	(Why are you working?)

(v) When the applied extension is added to a verbal root which, in its simple form is intransitive, it may take an object and thus, in effect, become transitive: e.g.,

-LÁMB- (become hungry) : -LÁMBel- (hunger for)

NdiLÁMBela isonka. (I am hungry for bread)

-LÍL- (cry, shed tears): -LÍLel- (mourn for)

Mus'ukuLÍLela umntwana : (Do not mourn for the child).

(vi) When the applied extension is added to a transitive verb, it may take two objects; the one being the object of the simple verbal root, and the other the object of the applied idea. The latter is the real object of the applied extension idea, and takes precedence in word-order over the former, while its concord only may precede the verbal root : e.g.,

Intombi imTHUNGele unina ingubo:

(The girl has sewn a dress for her mother)

NdiwaBOPHele amahashe:

(inspan the horses for me).

(vii) When the applied extension is followed in series by the passive extension -w-, certain idiomatic forms are met with, but still retaining the idea of action 'in respect of' : e.g.,

NdAKHelwa indlu : (A house was built for me:

Lit: I was built-for, in regard to a house)

SaHLELwa yingozi : (We were descended-upon, it was danger. Danger came upon us).

Umntwana waFelwa ngunina: (The child was bereaved of its mother. Lit: The child was died-on by his mother. This is in line with an old English usage where a man might say, "My Father has died on me.")

BaTSHONelwa lilanga besesendleleni: (They were benighted while still on the road. Lit: They were gone-down-upon, it is the sun ..... etc.)

N.B. It will be noted that in each case, with the exception of the first example, the agent of the passive is in the copulative form.

(viii) The applied extension may be used in the infinitive form to indicate purpose. (N.B. Some refer to this usage as indicating 'locality', but the idea of 'purpose' seems predominant): e.g.,

Indlu yokuDLela : (A room to eat in: or, a dining-room)

Indawo yokuBUTHela : (A place to gather in: or, a meeting place.)

Isitya sokuDLela : (A dish to eat from: or, an eating-dish).

(ix) When the applied extension is used in conjunction with the reflexive objective concord -zi-, it has the force of "doing something in relation to oneself," or "doing by oneself," or "doing of one's own accord:" e.g.,

UkuziHLALela : (To remain by oneself,  
To remain on one's own)

NdaziFUNDela : (I learned on my own).

Ukhula luyaziMILEla: (Weeds grow up of their own accord).



(x) There are several verbal roots in existence in Xhosa today which clearly have an applied extension, but whose simple verbal root has ceased to be used.<sup>1)</sup> The applied extension has thus become standardised as part of the verbal root. This process accounts for several verbal roots of apparently three radicals. For example:

-FULéì- (thatch a roof : roof in a hut):  
 -KHÀNGéì- (look at): -MÀMéì- (listen to, harken):  
 -SÓNDéì- (draw near).

15.1.2.

(1)(b) COMPLETIVE (APPLIED) EXTENSION : -el- :

Doke<sup>2)</sup> gives the name 'Perfective' to this extension. He says,

"In many Bantu languages this or a phonetically cognate suffix indicates an action carried to perfection or completion. In Zulu this force is evident in several examples, but not in all."

I have decided to adopt here the term 'Completive (Applied)',<sup>3)</sup> for this extension. Obviously the emphasis lies on 'Completive', since the action described by the verb is carried out to its conclusion, or completely done : '(applied)', since it is, in form, a re-iteration of the applied extension.

As Doke points out,<sup>2)</sup> some of these extended roots definitely indicate intensive action, but others have no such emphatic emphasis.

1) cf. para 17.5.2.

2) C.M. Doke : Zulu Grammar (1931) para 367 etc.

3) cf. D. Ziervogel : Handbook of the Zulu Language : page 133, para. 585., uses term 'Completive'.

Examples where the extension carries an obviously completive intensive semantic shape.

- F<sup>̀</sup>INC<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (decant, exhaust): cf. -F<sup>̀</sup>INC<sup>̀</sup>- (drain, drink out).
- G<sup>̀</sup>AND<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (stamp hard into): cf. -G<sup>̀</sup>AND<sup>̀</sup>- (stamp, tramp)
- L<sup>̀</sup>UNG<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (be equal, be even, be parallel):  
cf. -L<sup>̀</sup>UNG<sup>̀</sup>- (be right, be suitable)
- M<sup>̀</sup>INY<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (drain out completely, exhaust completely):  
cf. -M<sup>̀</sup>INY<sup>̀</sup>- (swallow, drain, exhaust)
- NGX<sup>̀</sup>ENG<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (mix thoroughly, adulterate thoroughly, corrupt utterly): cf. -NGX<sup>̀</sup>ENG<sup>̀</sup>- (corrupt, mix)
- O<sup>̀</sup>ME<sup>́</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (become very dry, very hard, very firm):  
cf. -O<sup>̀</sup>M<sup>̀</sup>- (become dry, hard, paralysed).

Examples where the completive significance of the extension is not obvious :

- D<sup>̀</sup>IB<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (fill up with earth : bury underground):  
cf. -D<sup>̀</sup>IB<sup>̀</sup>- (fill a hole, mix together)
- N<sup>̀</sup>ON<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (shew respect to, shew friendship for):  
cf. -N<sup>̀</sup>ON<sup>̀</sup>- (become prosperous, be respected)
- NX<sup>̀</sup>IB<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (tie up to, fasten to): cf. -NX<sup>̀</sup>IB<sup>̀</sup>-  
(put on (clothes)): fasten (belt)).
- TY<sup>̀</sup>EL<sup>́</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>é<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- (pay a visit to): cf. -TY<sup>̀</sup>EL<sup>̀</sup>- (tell, inform)

#### 15.2.0. (2) NEUTER STATIVE EXTENSIONS.

There are seven sub-categories of this extension : namely,

- |  |        |
|--|--------|
| (a) Neuter Stative (Actual)              | -ek-   |
| (b) Neuter Stative (Potential)           | -ek-   |
| (c) Neuter Stative (Actual) (Completive) | -ekek- |
| (d) Neuter Stative (Actual)              | -al-   |
| (e) Neuter Stative (Actual) Extensive    | -alal- |
| (f) Neuter Stative (Extensive)           | -akal- |
| (g) Neuter Stative (Extensive)           | -ayel- |
| Irregular                                |        |

Neuter Stative (a) and (b) Extensions : -ek-

The Neuter Stative (Actual) -ek- and the Neuter Stative (Potential) -ek- extensions are really one extension which has developed a two-stream semantic shift. Both of them indicate "being" in the state or condition described by the verb; in the case of the 'Actual', the state is already attained, in the case of the 'Potential' it is regarded only as being a possibility. Both are 'live' extensions, though the Neuter Stative (Actual) is more commonly found than the Potential species.

15.2.1. 2(a) NEUTER-STATIVE (ACTUAL) EXTENSION -ek-

Background: Torrend<sup>1)</sup>, strangely enough, does not mention this species when discussing the 'derivative verbs'. He only lists the five : viz.: "Applicative, Causative, Intensive, Reversive and Reciprocal." Bryant<sup>2)</sup> refers to this group as 'Static-passive' or 'Neuter passive' verbs, "signifying a continuous condition of the passive state, most conveniently expressed in English by the word 'get'". Werner<sup>3)</sup> uses the term 'Neuter-Passive' and adds, "distinguished from the passive by expressing a state, or the possibility of being subjected to an action, rather than the actual undergoing of the action on some definite occasion." When she refers to "or the possibility," Werner is here confusing the Neuter Stative (Actual) suffix with the Neuter Stative (Potential)<sup>4)</sup>. She does, however, put her finger on the basic idea, namely, that this extension describes being in a 'state' or 'condition'

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- 1) J. Torrend; (1891) "Comparative Grammar of S.A. Bantu Languages", para 1064.  
 2) A.T. Bryant; (1905) "Zulu Dictionary", p. 103.  
 3) A. Werner: "The Bantu Languages." p. 147.  
 4) See Extension para 15.2.2.

described by the simple verbal root. Doke<sup>1)</sup>, under the general heading of 'Neuter' says,

"The Neuter, Middle or Quasi-passive form in Zulu<sup>2)</sup> indicates an intransitive state or condition without any special reference to an agent determining that condition."

"There is a clear distinction between the passive and the neuter forms in their significance ..... In many cases, the force of the English suffix *-able* or *-ible* expresses this neuter form : in others, the idea of 'get' or 'become', as opposed to the passive use of 'be', seems to be the nearest equivalent."

Doke does not clearly differentiate between what I refer to as the 'Neuter Stative (Actual)' (2)(a) and 'Neuter Stative (Potential)' (2)(b) species, respectively. The equivalent of the English 'get' or 'become' are 'Neuter Stative (Actual)', while those equivalent to the English suffix *-able* or *-ible* belong to the 'Neuter Stative (Potential)' species.

Later<sup>3)</sup>, Doke refers to the two Extensions *-eka* and *-akala* and comments,

"There seems to be no distinction in meaning or significance between the two forms."

There is, however, a distinction: for while *-ek-* is the Neuter Stative (Actual) Extension, *-akal-*<sup>4)</sup> is the Neuter Stative (Extensive) extension.

Doke continues, in this same section<sup>5)</sup> to speak of "Neuter forms of a specialised character (which) occur

---

1) C.M. Doke: "Zulu Grammar" (1931) para. 328.  
 2) These comments in general principle, apply equally to Xhosa.  
 3) C.M. Doke : para. 329. "Zulu Grammar" (1931)  
 4) See under Extension 15.2.6.  
 5) Doke, (1931) "Zulu Grammar", para: 230.

"in connection with many verbs formed from radical descriptives.<sup>1)</sup> These are what are referred to in this thesis as radical conversion extensions (RCE).<sup>2)</sup>

14.6.3. McLaren<sup>3)</sup> uses the terms "stative" (or "Subjunctive" or "Neuter" Form) for this species.

He defines its significance as follows:

"This form expresses the state of being, resulting from subjection to the action of the simple verb. In meaning, therefore, it nearly approaches to the passive voice, but differs from the latter in not referring the action to any particular agent."

This description is very much to the point; the words underlined emphasize the essential significance of the species.

McLaren raises a further point. He says that "the stative form makes intransitive verbs out of transitive<sup>4)</sup>, and quotes such examples as:

Iigusha zam ziLAHLekile (my sheep are lost :  
from -LAHL- (lose : trans;))

But McLaren also fails to differentiate between the Neuter Stative (Actual) and the Neuter Stative (Potential). He does, however, recognise that the suffix -akal- is an intensive form of the 'Stative' species, though he does not go so far as to record it as a separate entity.<sup>5)</sup>

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1) Herein referred to as "Ideophones".

2) See Chapter 12.

3) J. McLaren (1936): "Xhosa Grammar" p. 114, para 78.

4) In contrast to the 'Applied' species which makes transitive of intransitive verbs.

5) Herein referred to as Neuter Stative Extensive.

Typical examples of the Neuter Stative (Actual)

Extension are:

-AZÉk-	(become known)	from	-ÁZÍ	(know)
-BHÉNGÉZÉk-	(be exposed)	from	-BHÉNGÉZ-	(expose, lay out)
-CÁNDÉk-	(be split)	from	-CÁND-	(split : tr.)
-DÁBÚLÉk-	(be parted)	from	-DÁBÚL-	(part, sunder)
-FÁKÉk-	(be put into)	from	-FÁK-	(put in, put on)

### 15.2.2. (2)(b) NEUTER STATIVE (POTENTIAL)

EXTENSION : -ek-

As pointed out already, this is actually the same extension as the Neuter Stative (Actual) extension, but with a semantic shift.

When used in the 'potential' sense, this extension indicates the possibility of the subject entering into the state or condition described by the verbal root. But it is only a possibility : the potential is there, but not as yet reached. It is equivalent to the idea conveyed by the English suffix -able, -ible etc., indicating a capacity for rather than an accomplished state.

Typical examples of the Neuter Stative (Potential) extension are found in:

-AMKÉlék-	(be acceptable)	: from	-AMKÉl <sup>1)</sup>	receive welcome.
-BINQÉk-	(be fit for tying etc.)	: from	-BHĪNQ-	(tie round the waist)
-CELÉk-	(be fit to be requested, desirable)	: from	-CÉL-	(ask, request)
-OYÍKÉk-	(have the quality of exciting-fear)	: from	-OYÍK-	(fear, be afraid of).
-PHEFÚMLÉk-	(be fit for breathing (air))	: from	-PHEFÚML-	(breathe)

1) -AMKÉl- already has an applied extension before accepting the neuter stative (potential) extension.

15.2.3. (2)(c) NEUTER STATIVE ACTUAL  
(COMPLETIVE) : -ekek-

So far, I have only come across one example of this reiterated form of the neuter stative actual extension, -ekek-, namely,

-QUSHÉkék- (be completely covered, be quite hidden):  
 cf. -QUSH- (beat down (undergrowth)), efface,  
 remove marks).

There may be several other instances. It is not, however, a common extension nor a 'live' one.

15.2.4. (2)(d) NEUTER STATIVE (ACTUAL) -al-

There appears to be no semantic difference between this extension and the neuter stative (actual) extension -ek- : both indicate "being" in a state or condition described by the verbal root. *See entry*

It appears to be no longer a live extension, and as far as I can ascertain, occurs in only a very few instances. For example:

-FUDUMál- (be warm): cf. -thi fùthù

(be overheated, out of breath, excited).

-KHUKHUMál- (rise, swell, expand):

cf. -KHÛL- (grow, increase): (R1 -KHU-

carries the idea of 'getting larger': it is re-iterated as R1 and R2, R3 is the Protractive secondary R -M~ (6).

-LIMál- (get hurt, injured, crippled): cf.

isiLÌMà (7) (cripple, deformed person).

15.2.5. (2)(e) NEUTER STATIVE (ACTUAL)EXTENSIVE : -alal- :

This extension is basically identical with the Neuter stative (actual) extension in -al- (2(c)). The only difference is that the extension is here re-iterated to indicate that the condition described by the verbal root obtains in a marked degree. It is no longer a live extension in the sense that it cannot be added to any root at will.

Examples:

-FUMBÁlál\` (lie in heaps, crouch together):

cf. -FUMB\` (heap up tr.)

-GÓVÁlál\` (be idle, be indifferent):

cf. -GÓV\` (sit idly, be indifferent)

-MBà-MBÁlál\` (be buried with pomp):

cf. -MB\` (dig)

-NGXÁBÁlál\` (stand with legs astride : sit astride) :

cf. -NGXÁB\` (spread out the legs)

-PHÁTHÁlál\` (fall on the hands, fall helpless):

cf. -PHÁTH\` (touch, handle)

-TSAKÁlál\` (be thoroughly tame, be fully trained):

cf. -TSAK\` (be tame)

15.2.6. (2)(f) NEUTER STATIVE (EXTENSIVE):-akal-

Semantically there does not appear to be any great difference between the significance of this extension, and the preceding species, -ek-, -ek-, -al- :

For example:

-BHENGÉZék\` (be exposed) and

-FIHLakál\` (be hidden, mysterious)



both have a straightforward neuter stative force. On the other hand, it could be argued that while the extension -ek- in -BHÈNGÉZÈk\ suggests becoming exposed at a certain time, the extension -akal- in -FÌHLÁkál\ carries the idea of a drawn-out process or condition.

Or again,

-LÌMál\ (get hurt, injured, crippled)

-ÒNÁkál\ (suffer injury, suffer loss):

One might suggest that -LÌMál\ indicates the actual receiving of an injury, while -ÒNÁkál\ carries the sense of the condition of being injured persisting. The distinction, if it exists at all, is very slight.

On the other hand, certain roots do not accept one extension, while they are invariably used in conjunction with another. For example: the form -BÒNÁkál\ (be obvious, be visible) is invariably used and, as far as I know, one never comes across the form \*-BÒNÉk\.

It seems possible that the form -akal- is a combination of -ek- with -al- : the effect, semantically, of two statives in series, giving rise to an extensive stative force.

For example:

-BÒNÁkál\ (be visible : be obvious)

could well be derived from \*-BÒNÉk:ál\, the series -ek:al- becoming, by assimilation -akal-. (The principle of reiteration resulting in an intensive form is found, for example, in the Causative-Intensive extension -isis-, and in the Applied-~~S~~ompletive -elel- etc.) The only difference here being that two dissimilar one-segment extensions, with similar semantic force, are used to form the reiterated extension instead of two identical segments.

Examples:

- BÒNákàl- (be obvious): cf. -BÒN- (see)
- ÈNZákàl- (be done to : be hurt : be injured):  
cf. -ÈNZ- : (do, make)
- FÌHLákàl- (be hidden, be mysterious):  
cf. -FÌHL- (hide, conceal)
- GCÌNákàl- (be preserved): cf. -GCÌN- (keep,  
preserve)
- KHÒHLákàl- (be habitually at a loss: be evil:  
be cruel):  
cf. -KHÓHL- (embarass: escape one's  
memory)
- NCÈDákàl- (be helped; be assisted): cf. -NCÈD-  
(help)
- ÒNákàl- (suffer injury : suffer loss):  
cf. -ÒN- (injure, wrong (tr.))
- ÒYÌSákàl- (be convinced : be persuaded):  
cf. -ÒYÌS- (persuade : overcome)

15.2.7 NEUTER STATIVE (EXTENSIVE): -ayel- (IRREGULAR)  
(2)(g)

Semantically this extension appears to be similar to the regular Neuter Stative (Extensive) extension, -akal- :

There is only one example that I have come across of a di-R v.r. taking this extension, viz.,

- XUB- (mix up things or people, of  
(different kinds): cf.  
-XUBáyèl-<sup>1)</sup> (be confused, complicated)

The alternative form quoted in McLaren's dictionary, \*-XUBáyal-, is not substantiated by my informants.

1) Appears to be a parallel form to -SHÙMáyèl- : (tr.)  
cf. Meinhof gives \*-ay- as a durative extension;  
M. and v. W., "Intro. to phonology ..." p.42 para  
21(5).

15.3.0. PERSISTIVE ACTIONAL EXTENSION : -ek-  
 (3)

Morphologically this extension is identical with the Neuter Stative (Actual) and (Potential), but semantically there appears to be little relationship. On the other hand, since the Neuter Stative (Actual) describes "being" in a certain state or condition, it does contain the "persistence" idea. It could be argued, therefore, that when carrying a stative significance, this extension is the Neuter Stative (Actual) -ek- extension, and that when carrying an operative significance, it is the persistence-actional -ek-. If this should be the case, then, again, this is part of the same extension as found in 2(a) and (b) above, with yet another semantic shift.

The persistence actional extension indicates that the action described by the verbal root is extended or continuous or is of comparatively long duration. I was only successful in identifying four examples of this extension. There are, no doubt, others as well, though it is one of the rarely used extensions.

For example:

- BHÚLék- (thresh well): cf. -BHÚL- (beat out, thresh)
- JÁKÁTYék- (walk with antics and capers): cf.
- JÁKÁTY- (leap (like a monkey): fling about)
- KHÚLék- (tether) : cf. \*-KHŪL- (tie)
- LÚLék- (straighten out): cf. -óLUL- (draw out, stretch out, extend).<sup>1)</sup>

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1) cf. Para: 8.5.1.

15.4.0. COMPLETIVE APPLIED-STATIVE EXTENSION: -elek-

(4)

This term calls for some explanation -

Obviously there are two component factors in this extension: an applied factor -el- and a neuter stative factor -ek-. It might be assumed at first sight that this is an instance of two, one-segment extensions in series.

Against this, however, is the fact that we have such pairs of extended roots as: e.g.,

-OMélel- (become very dry, very hard, very firm) and

-OMélek- (be very firm, strong, zealous);

cf. -OM- (become dry)

and

-THENDélel- (wobble) and -THENDélek- (be wobbly)

cf. -THEND- (turn round, revolve).

These are obviously closely related intensive forms, the Applied completive extension -elel- signifying the process by which the condition is reached as described by the verbal root, and the Applied-Stative, -elek- signifying the condition attained as described therein. In the latter it would appear that the force of an intensified, re-iterated form is not lost, the neuter stative element -ek- being substituted in lieu of the re-iterated applied element -el-.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, this Applied-Stative extension is far less frequently used than the applied-completive extension. It is not a live extension today.

Care must be exercised not to confuse this extension, -elek- with an applied plus neuter stative in series. This combination is frequently met with in such extended roots

as:

- NQWĒN̂- (have a strong desire, lust, covet) L. and ?  
 -NQWĒN̂él- (have a desire for, lust after)  
 -NQWĒN̂élék- (be desirable)

Here -el- is the one-segment Applied extension, and  
 -ek- is the one-segment Neuter Stative Potential  
 extension.

15.5.0. CAUSATIVE EXTENSIONS:

(5)

There are eight sub-categories of Causative  
 extensions, namely,

- |     |                       |          |
|-----|-----------------------|----------|
| (a) | Causative (actual)    | -is-     |
| (b) | Causative (assistive) | -is-     |
| (c) | Causative (imitative) | -is-     |
| (d) | Causative (intensive) |          |
|     | Two-segment           | -isis-   |
|     | Three-segment         | -isisis- |
| (e) | Intensive (Causative) | -isis-   |
| (f) | Causative (Stative)   | -es-     |
| (g) | Causative (Stative)   | -ez-     |
| (h) | Causative (Stative)   | -iy-     |

Sub-categories (a) to (e) inclusive, are all  
 essentially the same extension. In the causative (actual),  
 (assistive) and (imitative), there is a three-fold semantic  
 shift pattern. In the (intensive) forms, under sub-  
 category (d) we find an intensification of the causative  
 (actual) extension brought about by re-iteration of the  
 one-segment extension.

Sub-categories (f) to (h) are distinct species, and are  
 dealt with under their respective headings.

15.5.1. CAUSATIVE (ACTUAL) EXTENSION: -is-  
(5)(a)

The Causative extension -is- is one which has been recognised from the outset of Bantu study. Torrend<sup>1)</sup> speaks of 'Causative Verbs', and says, 'Causative verbs are properly expressive of the efficient cause that determines an act.'

Bryant<sup>2)</sup> merely mentions 'causative verbs' and gives the example of tand-isa, giving the two meanings, 'cause, make or help to love'.

In common with most writers to date he does not refer to the 'actual' and 'assistive' shifts of meaning, although there is considerable difference between 'making' someone do something and 'helping' them to do it. At this stage we are only concerned with what I have called the Causative (Actual) semantic species, "cause (to do)", "make (to do)".

McLaren<sup>3)</sup> enlarges on the function of this extension by saying,

"This form indicates the extension of the action of the verb to a second agent .... It turns intransitive verbs into transitive,<sup>4)</sup> in which condition they may take two objects."<sup>5)</sup>

The frequency of incidence of this extension is high.

Examples of the Causative (Actual) extension:

- BON<sup>is</sup>- (shew): cf. -BON- (see)
- CAC<sup>is</sup>- (explain, make clear): cf. -CAC- (be clear)
- CEB<sup>is</sup>- (give advice, counsel): cf. -CEB- (scheme)
- DUMB<sup>is</sup>- (cause to swell): cf. -DUMB- (swell)
- GUD<sup>is</sup>- (smooth, iron tr.): cf. -GUD- (be smooth, sleek)
- HLUTH<sup>is</sup>- (satisfy with food): cf. -HLUTH- (bec; satisfied)

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1) J. Torrend: "Comparative Grammar etc." para 1073. ll.  
 2) A.T. Bryant: "Zulu-Eng; Dictionary" (1905) p. 103  
 3) J. McLaren: Xhosa Grammar (1926) page 111, para 76.  
 4) e.g. -BUY- (return, intr.) -BUY<sup>is</sup>- (bring back, tr.) etc.  
 5) e.g. ndabaBONisa indlela (I shewed them the way).

15.5.2. CAUSATIVE (ASSISTIVE) EXTENSION -is-  
(5)(b)

Whereas the Causative (Actual) extension indicates 'to cause' or 'to make' to act in the way described by the verbal root, this extension has acquired the semantic shift of 'to help' to act in the manner described by the verbal root.

I give rather more examples of this extension since it has not previously been acknowledged as a separate sub-species: e.g.,

- HLÁBis- (help to stab; help to slaughter) :  
cf. -HLÁB- (stab)
- HLÁKÚlis<sup>2)</sup> (help to hoe); cf. -HLÁKÚL- (hoe)
- HLÍNZis- (help to slaughter; help to flay or skin):  
cf. -HLÍNZ- (slaughter, skin)
- LÍMis- (help to plough); cf. -LÍM- (plough)
- PHEKis- (help to cook); cf. -PHEK- (cook)
- PHUM-el-el-is<sup>1)</sup> (help to succeed); cf. -PHUM- (come out, go out)
- QÁBis- (help to smear the body with red ochre):  
cf. -QÁB- (smear the body)
- QHÚBis- (help to drive); cf. -QHÚB- (drive)
- QÍQis- (help to comprehend); cf. -QÍQ- (comprehend)
- QÓNDis- (help to understand); cf. -QÓND- (understand)
- THWÁlis- (help to carry); cf. -THWÁL- (carry)

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1) Hyphens have only been used here to isolate the causative extension from the preceding intensive applied extension.

2) or possibly -HLÁKúlis- < -HLÁKúl-

15.5.3. CAUSATIVE (IMITATIVE) EXTENSION : -is-  
 (5)(c)

This is, strictly speaking, merely the causative (actual) extension, but used in a specialised construction.

Doke<sup>1)</sup> describes this construction very concisely,

"The Causative form, followed by a qualificative pronoun derived from a possessive with class 8 concord is used indicating 'to act like'."

This applies equally to Xhosa.

For example,

Umntwana uHAMBisa okukaYise:

Literally: The child causes to walk that (way of walking) of his father.

Or : The child walks like his father.

In the same way, we would find such examples as,

BaHLEKisa okwabantwana:

They are laughing like children.

UFUNDisa okomLungu:

He reads like a European.

15.5.4. CAUSATIVE (INTENSIVE) EXTENSION:  
 (5)(d) -isis- -isisis-

This extension is the Causative (Actual) extension, converted into the intensive form by means of re-iteration.

In most cases, the intensive form is of the two-segment variety. Very rarely, it consists of three-segments.

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1) C.M. Doke: Zulu Grammar (1931) page 138, para 252.



For example:-

- KHANY<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (enlighten fully): cf. -KHANY<sup>ˆ</sup>- (be clear, give out light)
- QIN<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (establish firmly): cf. -QIN<sup>ˆ</sup>- (be fixed, firm, tight)
- QOND<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (explain fully): cf. -QOND<sup>ˆ</sup>- (understand)
- VIS<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (explain fully) and -VIS<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (speak out distinctly): cf. -V<sup>ˆ</sup>- (hear, feel)
- WIS<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (throw down violently : cause to fall heavily): cf. -W<sup>ˆ</sup>- (fall).

15.5.5. INTENSIVE (CAUSATIVE) EXTENSION: -isis-  
(5)(e)

The re-iterated form of the Causative (Actual) extension may, on the other hand, also be used with certain verbal roots, without conveying any strictly 'causative' idea. When it so occurs, it merely intensifies the action described by the verbal root. For example, we find:

- CHAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (comb out finely : explain thoroughly)  
cf. -CHAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>- (straighten out, explain)
- FUN<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (search thoroughly): cf. -FUN<sup>ˆ</sup>- (seek, wish)
- GAND<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (tramp thoroughly, stamp well): cf.  
-GAND<sup>ˆ</sup>- (tramp, stamp)
- NGQIN<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (assert positively): cf. -NGQIN<sup>ˆ</sup>-  
(testify, bear witness to)
- TYEL<sup>ˆ</sup>ISIS<sup>ˆ</sup>- (narrate explicitly: narrate in detail):  
cf. -TYEL<sup>ˆ</sup>- (tell, inform)

15.5.6. CAUSATIVE STATIVE EXTENSION: -es-  
(5)(f)

This extension is very rare. It indicates bringing about a state or condition described by the verbal root. It is not a live extension.

Example:

-AMBes- (clothe officially - adorn)

The di-R v.r. \*-AMB- is no longer extant, but through comparison with other extensions of this root<sup>1)</sup> it is obvious that it must have existed.

The possibility of it having a connection with the ideophonic root -thi wambù (throw on a garment) cannot be overlooked.

The root -THWES- (put on the head, crown with) could be a regular di-radical v.r. On the other hand it might also be a variant of -THWAL- (carry (on the head)). If the latter is the case, then both these roots would be extensions of a mono-R v.r. -THU, with the stative extension -al- > -THWal- and the Causative Stative extension -es > -THWés-, respectively.

It would be unwise to be over dogmatic on this point.

15.5.7. CAUSATIVE STATIVE EXTENSION: -ez-  
(5)(g)

This extension must be classified under the 'Causative' extensions, but with the proviso that it differs semantically from the preceding causatives. I have used the term 'Causative Stative' to describe it, because this extension indicates bringing about a state or condition similar to that described by the verbal root. It is interesting to note that its consonantal element is -z-, similar to the factative secondary radical -Z~, which has a similar semantic influence, viz: "the factative radical indicates action that brings about a certain state or condition ....."<sup>2)</sup>

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1) e.g. -AMBath- (contactive extension); -AMBùl- (Reversive actional extension). cf. para 8.7.0.

2) cf. Semantic significance of Secondary radicals:  
See para 4.8.0.

Examples:-

- HLÁMBéz- (purify): cf. -HLÁMB- (wash)  
 -KHÁNYéz- (contradict): cf. -KHÁNY- (deny, be clear of)  
 -KHÁWULéz- (make haste): cf. -KHÁWUL- (reach to, be bounded by)  
 -LÉNYéz- (dart out the tongue): cf. -LÉNY- (lick, dart (as a flame))  
 -NQÁMLéz- (lay crosswise): cf. -NQÁML- (cut off, cut short)  
 -NQÚMLéz- (put across): cf. -NQÚML- (cut off)  
 -PHEPHéz- (blow): cf. -PHEPH- (avoid, be nimble)  
 -PHÚMéz- (bring out, bring over): cf. -PHÚM- (come out, go out)  
 -WóZ- (take over, ferry across): cf. -W- (fall)  
 -YÁLéz- (give an order, commission): cf. -YÁL- (instruct, command)

Compare also -

- FÚDUMéz- (cause to become warm): cf. -thi fúthù (be over-heated, out of breath) and \*-FÚDUM-, -M~ being the protractive radical conversion extension.  
 KHUKHUMéz- (cause to expand, rise): cf. \*-KHUKHUM- (swell)

15.5.8. CAUSATIVE (STATIVE) EXTENSION: -iy-  
 (5)(h)

This is an extension very rarely met with. In fact there are only two examples that I can quote with any degree of certainty.

As with other extensions, earlier writers have sometimes tended to fail to differentiate between Radical Extensions, of the form -C~, and Extensions, of the form -yc-, with which we are dealing in this chapter.

Both Werner<sup>1)</sup> and Doke<sup>2)</sup> refer to a Causative in -ya, but in each case, it is a radical extension to which they refer, and not an extension per se.

Werner writes<sup>1)</sup> in this connection:

"It has not been thought necessary to take any notice here of the causative in -za and other variations arising from the presence of certain consonants in the stem. The causative in -ya is a distinct form, sometimes found side by side with the others."

While Doke<sup>2)</sup> states :

"Of the two types of (causative) suffix shewn, -isa is the commoner in all the languages, and is still a living suffix, while -ya is no longer living. This -ya is, however, the primary and basic causative suffix, while -isa is secondary and composite..."

The two examples of the Causative (stative) extension

-iy- are :

-HLAZiy- (make fresh, revive, renew):

cf. uHLAZa (11) (fresh, green grass: spring)

(-HLAZ- is obviously a multi-functional root with the idea of reviving, being fresh etc.)

-THiy- (from -THI:iy-) (give a name): literally  
(cause to say (a name))

(Note, when a child is given a name, the phrase is

"ukuTHiya igama." McLaren<sup>3)</sup> also holds this view of the origin of -THiy-).

1) A. Werner, "Bantu Languages" (1919) p. 148

2) C.M. Doke, "The Southern Bantu Languages" (1954) p. 68

3) cf. J. McLaren: Xhosa Grammar: (1926): p. 210, para 147.

15.6.0.

CONNECTIVE EXTENSION: -an-

(6)

This extension has in the past usually been referred to as the 'reciprocal' extension. My reason for selecting the term 'connective' is given below. Before doing so, however, the background on this extension is briefly reviewed.

Background:

Torrend<sup>1)</sup> does little more than refer to 'Reciprocal Verbs', stating that they take "the suffix -ana."

Bryant<sup>2)</sup> also merely mentions them. Werner<sup>3)</sup> adds, "The reciprocal in -ana implies, as may be gathered from the name, an act done by two or more people to each other."

Doke<sup>4)</sup> adds that,

"Certain reciprocals have a slightly different significance<sup>5)</sup> from the plain idea of reciprocal action, in that they are intransitive or neuter in force, carrying also the idea of association. It is noteworthy that, in certain Central Bantu languages, such as Lamba, a definite Associative suffix -ankana or -akana is still in use."

This is another extension that has developed two semantic streams. Hitherto this has been referred to as the 'reciprocal' extension. This term, however, only takes into account one of the two semantic shapes. I have therefore decided to accept the general term 'connective', since this implies that more than one agent is involved in the action described by the verbal root.

- 
- 1) J. Torrend (1891) 'Comparative Grammar of S.A. Bantu Languages', page 280, para. 1084.
  - 2) A.T. Bryant: 'Zulu-Eng. Dictionary' (1905) p. 103.
  - 3) A. Werner (1919) 'Bantu Languages' p. 151.
  - 4) C.M. Doke (1931) 'Zulu Grammar' para. 343
  - 5) Different, that is, from the sense of 'by one another' etc.

Then there are the two different relationships which give rise to the sub-categories; namely:

- (a) Connective reciprocal extension,
- (b) Connective reciprocal completive extension,
- (c) Connective associative extension.

15.6.1. CONNECTIVE RECIPROCAL EXTENSION ; -an-  
(6)(a)

The connective reciprocal extension indicates that there are two agents (or more) involved in the action described by the verbal root, and that they carry out this action in relation to one another, according to the sense of the verb. The significance of this extension is, therefore, equivalent to the English "each other", or "to each other" or "for each other" etc.

For example:

- BON<sup>ˆ</sup>an<sup>ˆ</sup>- (see each other) from -BON<sup>ˆ</sup>- (see)
- BAM<sup>ˆ</sup>Ban<sup>ˆ</sup>- (seize each other : contend with one another)  
from -BAM<sup>ˆ</sup>- (hold, seize)
- CEL<sup>ˆ</sup>an<sup>ˆ</sup>- (request each other): from -CEL<sup>ˆ</sup>- (ask, request)
- NC<sup>ˆ</sup>EDan<sup>ˆ</sup>- (help one another): from -NC<sup>ˆ</sup>ED<sup>ˆ</sup>- (help)
- GCIN<sup>ˆ</sup>an<sup>ˆ</sup>- (take care of one another: from  
-GCIN<sup>ˆ</sup>- (keep, preserve)
- DLUL<sup>ˆ</sup>an<sup>ˆ</sup>- (pass each other by): surpass each other)  
from -DLUL<sup>ˆ</sup>- (pass)
- FOHL<sup>ˆ</sup>an<sup>ˆ</sup>- (break each other's heads): from -FOHL<sup>ˆ</sup>-  
(break down, break in)
- KHAN<sup>ˆ</sup>Dan<sup>ˆ</sup>- (knock against each other): from  
-KHAN<sup>ˆ</sup>D<sup>ˆ</sup>- (beat out, hammer)

This is a very active extension, and may be used with most verbal roots where the sense allows.

15.6.2. RECIPROCAL (COMPLETIVE) EXTENSION: -anan-  
(6)(b)

As far as I know there is only one example of this completive extension. Basically it indicates that the action described by the verbal root is carried out by two or more agents, in relation to one another. Morphologically it is a re-iteration of the one-segment, Reciprocal extension -an-. Semantically it is identical with the one-segment species, but it indicates more complete action. The one example I have to offer is:

-Vánàn\ (understand each other perfectly:  
be on very friendly terms with one another).

15.6.3. CONNECTIVE ASSOCIATIVE EXTENSION: -an-  
(6)(c)

When used as the connective associative extension, the semantic significance is that two or more agents acted in the manner described by the verbal root "together". Sometimes the extended verb is used as it stands, as in

SaBONana ngeCawa -

We met (together) on Sunday.

At other times, this extension is followed by the second agent, and connected with the preposition na- (with), as in

SaHLANGana nabo ekhaya -

We met (together) with them at home.

This is a far less active usage of the extension than the reciprocal usage.

Examples of the connective associative extension include:

-DĪBān\ (meet together (with)): cf. -DĪB-  
(fill up a hole, mingle, mix).

-FUM-án- (obtain): the di-R v.r. \*-FUM- is no longer in use.

-HLANGan- (meet with): the simple verbal root \*-HLANG- is no longer in use; but the multi-functional root -HLANG- is found in the nominal form uHLANGa (11) (stem, tribe, race, etc.) with the idea of 'togetherness' etc.

-XUBan- (mix up together): (tr.) cf. -XUB- (mix up).

15.7.0.

ABUNDANT EXTENSIONS

(7)

WITH Ex VOWEL -u- :

Extensions containing the vowel -u- have either an 'abundant' or a 'reversive' significance. Torrend<sup>1)</sup> was one of the earliest writers to draw attention to this fact when he said,

"Reversive and Expansive verbs agree in taking identical suffixes."

He would probably have been more accurate had he said that the vowel -u- in extensions may carry either a 'reversive' or 'expansive' semantic force.<sup>2)</sup>

Some writers, including Doke<sup>3)</sup>, strangely enough, refer to -ulul- as a reversive extension. He quotes, for instance, the roots -VIMB- (cover) and -VUMBulul- (uncover) in support of this. However, although there is a reversive factor involved in these two roots, it lies in the radical vowel of R1, rather than in the extension. R1 -VI- in -VIMB- is replaced by R1 -VU- in -VUMBulul-. -VI- and -VU- in this case belonging to the same rhizeme,

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1) J. Torrend: (1891): "Comparative Grammar of S.A. Bantu Languages": page 279, para 1080.

2) The 'reversive' semantic force of -U- as a radical vowel is seen in the R1 of -THATH- (take) and -THUTH- (convey away) respectively.

3) C.M.Doke: "Zulu Grammar" (1931) para 370.



but with -VŪ- as the reversive of -VĪ-. The extension -ulul- merely acts as an 'abundant' extension to -VUMB- (uncover).

McLaren<sup>1)</sup> also speaks of -HLAMBulul- as the reversive of -HLAMB- (wash), whereas it is so patently an abundant extension, giving the meaning 'wash thoroughly'.

15.7.1. ABUNDANT ACTIONAL EXTENSION: -ul-  
(7)(a)

This extension indicates that the action described by the verbal root is carried out thoroughly. It may occur with certain roots as a one-segment extension, -ul-.

In others it takes the reduplicated form, obviously indicating a doubly thorough action, -ulul- (see under 7(b)).

Examples of the one-segment extension include:-

- HLŪBul- (strip off): cf. -HLŪB- (moult, discard)
- HLŪNGul- (shake, shift): cf. -HLŪNG- (shake, shift)
- THŪTHul- (carry off wholly): cf. -THŪTH- (take or convey away)

15.7.2. ABUNDANT ACTIONAL EXTENSION: -ulul-  
(7)(b)

This two-segment extension is really identical with the one-segment extension mentioned in (7)(a) above. The only difference is that it is here re-iterated, making it more 'abundant'. It seems, however, that certain roots accept the one-segment extension, and others the two-segment form. The forms are not interchangeable. As far as I can ascertain, this is not a very live

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1) J. McLaren: 'Xhosa Grammar' (1936) p. 122.

extension.

Examples include:

-HLÁMBú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> (cleanse thoroughly): cf. -HLÁMB<sup>̀</sup> (wash)

-HLÁZú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> (spread out, expose utterly, squander)

cf. -HLÁZ<sup>̀</sup> (expose, disgrace)

-HLÚBú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> (strip off completely): cf. -HLÚB<sup>̀</sup>

(moult, discard)

-KHÓTHú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> (finish the lot, scrape out):

cf. -KHÓTH<sup>̀</sup> (lick)

-MBú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> (search out): cf. -MB<sup>̀</sup> (dig)

-NABú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> (stretch out completely):

cf. -NAB<sup>̀</sup> (stretch oneself out)

-THUNTú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> (walk mincingly, trip along):

cf. -THUNT<sup>̀</sup> (walk lightly)

NOTE:

There is one extension form which presents an interesting problem. The problem, however, lies rather in the meaning attaching to the simple verbal root, than to the extension.

The simple verbal root is -ÓNG<sup>̀</sup> for which the following, somewhat contradictory meanings are given:

(a) Nurse, take care of, look after (the sick)

(b) Bring up sparingly.

These two alternative meanings are, apparently, in themselves the reverse of one another.

The extension form, however, -ÓNGú<sup>́</sup>lú<sup>̀</sup> is usually given the one meaning "feed up with nourishing food."

It would be possible, therefore, to regard -ulul- as the abundant actional extension of (a) or as the reversive actional of (b).

15.7.3. ABUNDANT STATIVE (COMPLETIVE) EXTENSION -uluk-  
(7)(c)

This extension is the stative equivalent of the abundant actional extension -ulul-. Certain of the verbal roots which accept the latter also take the stative form. It would appear that the extension is not so live as to be applicable to all such roots.

The Stative element is typically introduced by the consonantal element -k- in the second segment.

Examples:

-HLAMB

cf. -HLAMB

cf. -HLAMB` (wash)

-HLUBintr.):

cf. -HLUB

cf. -HLUB` (moult, discard)

-NABintr.)

cf. -NABtr.)

cf. -NAB` (stretch oneself out).

15.8.0. REVERSIVE EXTENSIONS.

(8)

The main characteristic of the Reversive extension is the 'reversive' semantic force of the extension vowel /u/ in these extensions.

In the same way that we find, within a given rhizeme<sup>1)</sup> radicals which are closely related, but differ in some respect through the substitution of a different vowel, a similar position obtains in the simple and reversive extensions.

---

1) cf. Rhizeme etc. para: 2.7.0.

For example, in the Primary Radicals of -THATH̄- (take) and -THUTH̄- (take away), we have R1 -THÁ- and R1 -THÚ- respectively. The reversive (or destructive) character of -THÚ- is due to the radical vowel /U/ : -THÁ- and -THÚ- belonging to the same rhizeme.

These reversive extensions are few and far between, and they must be regarded as almost inactive, since they cannot be used with just any root the speaker may desire.

There are five species met with, but all are uncommon.

They are:

- |                                     |        |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| (a) Reversive Neuter Stative        | -uk-   |
| (b) Reversive Persistent Actional   | -uk-   |
| (c) Reversive Actional              | -ul-   |
| (d) Reversive Causative             | -us-   |
| (e) Reversive Actional (Completive) | -uluk- |

15.8.1. REVERSIVE NEUTER-STATIVE EXTENSION: -uk-  
(8)(a)

This extension is related to the Neuter Stative (Actual) (2(a)) extension, -ek- which indicates being in the state or condition described by the verbal root. The substitution of the reversive-significant extension vowel /u/ in place of /e/, supplies the reversive idea in the extension.

Examples of this extension are very uncommon, and the extension itself can no longer be regarded as live. The two examples I quote below both belong to the di-R vowel-verbal root species of the root: namely,

- AHLuk̄- (be separate, be parted (intr.)) <sup>1)</sup>  
-ALuk̄- (go into seclusion, be circumcised) <sup>2)</sup>

1) See para: 17.7.5.

2) See para: 17.7.4.

15.8.2. REVERSIVE PERSISTIVE ACTIONAL EXTENSION: -uk-  
(8)(b)

This extension is related to the Persistive Actional extension : -ek- (3); the substitution of the reversive-significant /u/ in the extension supplying the reversive element. It indicates that the action described by the verbal root persists in not taking place.

So far I have only one example of this extension to quote: namely,

-MĪK̄- (go away, depart, set out):

Zulu has the form -MUK- (s.m.) Actually this is not a di-R v.r. but the mono-R v.r. (i)M~ (stand, stop) with the reversive durative actional extension -uk-. A comparison of the semantic shape of the mono-R v.r. and its extended form makes this clear.

15.8.3. REVERSIVE ACTIONAL EXTENSION: -ul-  
(8)(c)

While the vowel -U- as a radical vowel occurs comparatively frequently with reversive semantic force, the frequency of incidence of this extension, where the extension vowel -u- obviously carries the 'reversive' significance, is very low.

I quote two examples below, where the reversive force is obvious from comparison with the di-R verbal root : namely,

-BŪKŭl̄- (refuse its young (as a cow)): desert its  
nest (as a bird)): renounce, disown)  
cf. -BŪK̄- (take care of, look at with admiration)  
-LĀNDŭl̄- (put one off, refuse, make excuses):  
cf. -LĀND̄- (follow up, pursue)

Another example of this extension is found in

-PHENDul- (turn over : answer). The di-R root, \*-PHEND- is no longer in use. Its form,<sup>1)</sup> however, suggests the idea of 'remaining in position', which would be consistent with -ul- being the reversive extension.

There is also the di-R vowel verbal root -AHLul- (separate, divide tr.)<sup>2)</sup>

The di-R root is no longer extant. It would have been \*-AHL-, with -A- as R1, carrying the idea of 'remaining intact', or 'remaining together'. It is almost certainly derived from an earlier root, \*-∅A-, where /∅/ represents a lost consonant of uncertain identity.

-AMBul- (wear old, ragged clothes): cf.

-AMBath- (clothe oneself), provides a further example of this extension.<sup>3)</sup>

15.8.4. REVERSIVE CAUSATIVE EXTENSION: -us-  
(3)(d)

This extension may be regarded as related to the causative (actual) (5a) extension -is-, the reversive element being introduced by the reversive extension vowel /u/. It indicates causing the action described in the verbal root not to take place.

This is another extension that is very rarely found.

I can offer two examples only at this stage: namely,

The verbal root -Mus- (Do not!) which can never be used alone, but only in conjunction with a main verb in the infinitive. In this construction -Mus- is used to indicate a prohibitive imperative : e.g.,

Mus' ukuthetha! Do not talk!

---

1) cf. Meinhof's noun class (16) -pha (locative):  
R2, -ND~ Protractive (6).  
2) cf. Para: 17.7.5.  
3) cf. Para: 8.7.0.

It is actually the mono-R v.r.  $-(i)M^{\sim}$  (stand, remain) with the reversive causative extension  $-us-$ . When used in the manner described it would be equivalent to the English colloquial idiom of

"Don't stand talking - do something!"

Then there is the root,  $-\overset{\sim}{A}Lus-$  (herd (stock)); probably from an earlier root \*  $-\overset{\sim}{\gamma}AL^{-1}$  where  $\gamma$  is a lost consonant of uncertain identity).

If we accept the basic meaning of  $-\overset{\sim}{A}L-$  as 'spread out', 'herding' would be to cause the cattle not to spread out, but remain in one particular area.

15.8.5. REVERSIVE ACTIONAL (COMPLETIVE):  $-uluk-$   
(8)(e)

The reversive actional (completive) extension is very rare. I have only one example to offer, and the extension will best be described by giving the example and then analysing it, viz:

$-\overset{\sim}{P}HASuluk-$  (resist stubbornly, refuse to yield)

The di-R v.r. is no longer in current use. There is, however, a parallel extended form in

$-\overset{\sim}{P}HASalal-$  (get scattered, get loose)<sup>2)</sup>

Normally we might have expected the reversive actional (completive) extension to have taken the form  $-ulul-$ , a re-iteration of the reversive actional extension  $-ul-$ . As sometimes happens, however, the second segment of a re-iterated extension assumes a form with a variant significance: in this case it is the  $-uk-$  of the reversive persistive actional extension<sup>3)</sup> which takes

1) cf. Meinhof's \* $-ala$  (spread out); cf. para: 17.7.5.

2) Already dealt with under the Neuter Stative Actual (Intensive) extension:  $-alal-$  (2(e)), para: 15.2.5.

3) cf. 8(b) above: para: 15.8.2.

the place of the second segment in this completive form. Its occurrence in place of the normal actional form serves to emphasize the prolonged action described.

15.9.0.            PROTRACTIVE STATIVE EXTENSION: -am-  
(9)

This extension indicates that the action or condition described by the verbal root is continuing. It is seldom met with, and is not live .

Examples:

-ÓTHam̃ (sit basking (in the sun); live idly):

cf. -ÓTH̃ (heat up, warm up tr): bask).

-PHÁPHam̃ (be watchful, be lively):

cf. -PHÁPH̃ (be attentive, open out)

-XÁKam̃ (be concerned, be anxious):

cf. -XÁK̃ (puzzle, perplex)

NOTE: A strong relationship is noticeable between this extension -am-, and the secondary radical -M̃ (6), which also carries a Protractive semantic force, and is frequently used as a radical extension to verbal roots.<sup>1)</sup>

15.10.0.            CONTACTIVE EXTENSION: -ath-  
(10)

The contactive extension indicates an action involving contact, often contact with some part of the body, and often involving the hand or other part of the body.

---

1) cf. Significance of Secondary Radical: para: 4.8.0. and Radical Extensions; Chapter 11.



It is an extension very rarely met with, and is not live .

Examples:

-ÁMBáth- (dress oneself). The di-R v.r. is now no longer in use.<sup>1)</sup>

-NYÍNáth- (close up a hole (by pressure));  
cf. -NYÍN- (press together between the fingers : restrict).

Here again, there is an obvious relationship between the contactive extension -ath- and the contactive secondary radical -TH~ (10). The secondary radical is used extensively as a radical extension, while the extension -ath- is rare.

15.11.0. PASSIVE EXTENSION : -w-, -iw-  
(11)

The passive indicates that the subject of the verb is acted upon, in the manner described by the verbal root, by an agent.

Whereas most extensions have the form -yc-, or multiples thereof, the passive is now indicated by the extension -w- (or -iw-), according to the root to which it is attached. The rules controlling these forms are stated below. In all probability, the passive extension was originally the vowel /u/, later becoming the semi-vowel, to avoid two vowels following one another (when the terminative followed).

---

1) cf. Para: 8.7.0.

BACKGROUND:

Werner<sup>1)</sup> classes the passive as an extension<sup>2)</sup> as also does Doke.<sup>3)</sup> Ziervogel<sup>4)</sup>, on the other hand, deals with the passive under verbal tense suffixes. Bennie<sup>5)</sup> argues that as it stands "in a much closer relation to the active than these (extension) forms do, it seems better to retain it in the conjugation of the verb. In the active, the action is described from the point of view of the agent. In the passive it is described from the point of view of the person or object acted upon, but the action itself is not modified."

In reply to this, it could be said that, for instance, the action itself is not modified in the reciprocal extension form: it merely comes from either side at the same time.

My own conclusion is that the passive fulfils the conditions of the definition of an extension, in that it is suffixed to a simple verbal root, is detachable from it, and may be used or discarded at the will of the speaker, and does not alter the basic idea expressed by the verbal root.

The passive extension is the most active of all the extensions, as it can be applied to any verb, which, semantically, can be so extended.

The forms and usage of the passive extension are summarised as follows:

- 
- 1) A. Werner: 'Bantu Languages' (1919) p. 147.
  - 2) Although she does not, of course, use the term 'extension'.
  - 3) C.M. Doke (1931) "Zulu Grammar" p. 126, para 320.
  - 4) D. Ziervogel (1952) 'Swazi Grammar' para. 94.
  - 5) W.G. Bennie (1929) 'Xhosa for Xhosa Speaking', page 97.

- (i) The form -w- is used when it is suffixed to a di-radical or multi-radical verbal root and followed by one of the following verbal terminatives:  
 -a, -anga, -e .
- (ii) The form -iw- is used when it is suffixed to a mono-radical, or vowel-verbal di-radical root.
- (iii) The form -iw- is used when it is suffixed to a verbal root and followed by the perfect tense verbal terminative -e- (the short form of the perfect terminative).

Examples:

- (i) (ukuBONa (to see)  
 (uku-BONwa (to be seen)  
 (akaBONanga mntu (he has not seen anyone at all)  
 (akaBONwanga ngamntu (he has not been seen by anyone at all)  
 (ukuze aBONe (that he may see)  
 (ukuze aBONwe (that he may be seen)
- (ii) (ukwAKHa indlu (to build a house)  
 (KusAKHiwa indlu (it is still being build, a house:  
 a house is still being built)  
 (ukuPHa (to give)  
 (umntwana uPHiwe isonka (the child is given bread)
- (iii) (ukuBETHa (to beat)  
 (indoda imBETHile umntwana - (the man has beaten  
 the child)  
 (umntwana uBETHiwe yindoda - (the child was beaten  
 by the man)

The process of palatalisation comes into operation when the passive extension is preceded by a labial consonant. Under these circumstances, the labial gives way to the corresponding palatal. This process may not only affect the sound immediately preceding the extension; it may operate retrogressively in any radical except the primary radical.

These changes occur on the following basis:

<u>IN SIMPLE VERBAL ROOT:</u>		<u>IN EXTENSION:</u>	
Ejective bilabial	/p/	Ejective prepalatal	/tsh/
Voiceless Aspirated		Voiceless aspirated	
bilabial	/ph/	prepalatal	/tsh/
Implosive bilabial	/b/	Ejective palatal	/ty/
Voiced bilabial	/bh/	Voiced prepalatal	/j/
Voiced bilabial	/mb/	Voiced prepalatal	/nj/
Voiced bilabial nasal	/m/	Nasal palatal	/ny/

Examples:

Prepalatalisation taking place in radicals immediately preceding the passive extension.

/p/ /tsh/ -KRÀPà (lap, throw into the mouth): -KRÀTSHwà  
 /ph/ /tsh/ -BÔPHà (bind, tie): -BÔTSHwà  
 /b/ /ty/ -HLÀBà (stab, pierce): -HLÀTYwà  
 /mb/ /nj/ -ÈAMBà (hold, seize): -ÈANJwà  
 /m/ /ny/ -THÛMà (send): -THÛNYwà.

Prepalatalisation may take place through retrogressive assimilation, in a radical other than that immediately preceding the passive extension :

This phenomenon may occur in various circumstances :

When the passive extension is accepted by a verbal root which already has one or more extensions : e.g.,

- BHUBH<sup>̀</sup>- (perish)
- BHUBH<sup>́</sup>is<sup>̀</sup>- (cause to perish, destroy)
- BHUJ<sup>́</sup>isw<sup>̀</sup>- (be destroyed)
- BHUJ<sup>́</sup>is<sup>̀</sup>elw<sup>̀</sup>- (be destroyed at)
- THUM<sup>̀</sup>- (send)
- THUM<sup>́</sup>el<sup>̀</sup>- (send to)
- THUNY<sup>́</sup>elw<sup>̀</sup>- (be sent to)
- THUNY<sup>́</sup>elw<sup>̀</sup>an<sup>̀</sup>- (be sent to one another)

Certain di-radical v.r., with an abbreviated extension in Xhosa, have the full form in Zulu, for example,

Xh: -LAM<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- is -LAM<sup>́</sup>ul<sup>̀</sup>- in Zu: (intervene)

The full form in Xhosa should be -LAM<sup>́</sup>ul<sup>̀</sup>-<sup>1)</sup>. When this extended root accepts the passive extension, the lost extension vowel is usually restored - thus we have

-LAM<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup>- -LAN<sup>́</sup>Yul<sup>̀</sup>w<sup>̀</sup>- (passive).

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1) This extension -ul- may either be the abundant actional or the reversive actional. Since the original di-R v.r., \*-LAM- is no longer in use, we have no grounds for semantic comparison to determine whether it is an 'abundant' or a 'reversive' extension.

CHAPTER 1616.0.0 EXTENSIONS: IN SERIES

16.1.0 So far we have considered individual extensions. Extensions may, however, be used in series. Such sequences may have two, three or even four or more in series.

In the following pages, examples are given of typical combinations of extensions in series. The only extension not included in these examples is the passive. The reason for this being that the passive extension may be used wherever the meaning of the verb permits it. To have included examples of the passive in each case would have added considerably to the bulk of this study, and nothing to its usefulness.

I have employed hyphens to divide the extensions from the verbal root and from one another. This is merely a device of convenience, and should not be taken as a general procedure.

16.1.2 EXTENSIONS IN SERIES: ORDER OF SEQUENCE

There appears to be no hard and fast, tidy rule whereby we can say that the various extensions when occurring in series, must follow any given sequence.

Basically, it is a matter that has been determined by the consideration of semantic emphasis desired. In the first instance, no doubt, it was so determined, possibly by trial and error. Today, however, the various extended root forms have been standardized, and the onus does not lie on the individual speaker.

It has been observed that certain verbal roots accept certain extensions, while they reject others. This occurs even where the semantic shape of the root would appear sympathetic to a given extension.<sup>1)</sup> This principle of arbitrary selectivity appears to obtain also in relation to the order in which the extensions may be used in series, in regard to any given verbal root. Certain combinations of extensions in series, which might appear permissible in theory, are just not used in practice.

### 16.1.3 ROOTS WITH TWO EXTENSIONS IN SERIES.

Where there are only two extensions in series, the question of priority is comparatively uncomplicated. Once we have determined the character of the semantic shape desired in the extended root as a whole, we are safe in using that extension as the primary extension.

For example: if we take the root

-BETH- (hit, strike, etc.)

We have two alternative forms of the extended root, each using the same extensions, but in a different order. e.g.

-BETH-an-is-<sup>2)</sup> and -BETH-is-an-.

Both extended roots have a common di-Radical v.r.,

-BETH- with the basic idea of 'hitting'  
'beating' etc.

1) cf. Extensions : para 14.3.4

2) Hyphens are used here merely to clarify the division between the root and the several extensions.

16.1.4 In order to determine the semantic shape of the extension in its first stage, the di-R v.r. must be taken, with the primary extension: viz.,

-BETH-an-is- : -BETHan-

Extended idea: hitting one another:  
to complete the picture, the secondary extension is then included, making up the final extended idea of :-BETHan-is- causing to hit one another.

Applying the same principle to -BETH-is-an-, we have the di-R v.r., with its primary extension: viz.,

-BETH-is-

Extended idea: Cause to hit or Help to hit: to complete the picture, the secondary extension is then added, indicating that this action of "causing or helping to hit" is being mutually carried out by two agents : thus

-BETHis-an-

"helping one another to hit" (presumably some third party!).

16.1.5 The process today is almost reversed however. While in the first instance, the extended roots had extensions added to them in order of semantic priority, building up the speaker's meaning, today the speaker has little latitude in building up his own extension sequences. These have been built up for him, and with the passing of time, the sequences have become standardized. Now he selects the accepted sequences to express the meaning he wishes to convey. And that, after all, is what happens in any established language.



16.1.6 To demonstrate further that, apart from semantic considerations, there is no hard and fast order of precedence in extension sequences, let us take three extensions, namely,

- el- (applied)
- is- (causative)
- an- (connective)

We find these three extensions, used in series, but in varying sequences, in the following extended roots:

- (i) -GQIB̀ (finish): cf. -GQIB̀-él-ís-aǹ (say good-bye for the last time).
- (ii) -BHIJ̀ (twist, turn): cf. -BHIJ̀-él-an-ís̀ (intertwine).
- (iii) -BUỲ (return): cf. -BUỲ-is-él-aǹ (restore to each other).
- (iv) -HLAB̀ (stab, pierce): cf. -HLAB̀-án-ís-él̀ (stab by accident; offend).

16.1.7 As will be seen from these examples, we have these variations in the order of sequence:

- (i) -el- -is- -an-
- (ii) -el- -an- -is-
- (iii) -is- -el- -an-
- (iv) -an- -is- -el-

16.1.8 Possibly there are other variants, but the above will suffice to show that no one extension has permanent precedence over another, since,

-el-	occurs	as	Ex 1	in	(i), (ii)
			as	Ex 2	in (iii)
			as	Ex 3	in (iv)
-is-	occurs	as	Ex 1	in	(iii)
			as	Ex 2	in (i), (iv)
			as	Ex 3	in (ii)
-an-	occurs	as	Ex 1	in	(iv)
			as	Ex 2	in (ii)
			as	Ex 3	in (i), (iii)

16.1.9 The indications all point to the hypothesis that the order of sequence of extensions in series is subject to the order of priority of the semantic influence of the extensions involved.

#### 16.2.0 EXAMPLES OF EXTENSIONS IN SERIES

##### 16.2.1 Applied - Applied: (-el-el-).

-BÒN<sup>̀</sup> (see) : -BÒN-é<sup>́</sup>l-è<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup> (make provision for: take advantage of).

-ÉNZ<sup>̀</sup> (do, make): -ÉNZ-é<sup>́</sup>l-è<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup> (do for another, do instead of another)

-QHUB<sup>̀</sup> (drive): -QHUB-é<sup>́</sup>l-è<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup> (drive to, on behalf of)

-SÌK<sup>̀</sup> (cut): -SÌK-é<sup>́</sup>l-è<sup>̀</sup>l<sup>̀</sup> (cut into for : confer favours).

##### 16.2.2 Applied - Neuter Stative: (el-ek-).

-BETH<sup>̀</sup> (hit): -BETH-é<sup>́</sup>l-è<sup>̀</sup>k<sup>̀</sup> (be fastened, be nailed down)

-FĀN- (resemble, be like) -FĀN-él-ék- (become fitting).

-LĪND- (wait): -LĪND-él-ék- (be expected)

-HLĒL- (pick out, select): -HLĒL-él-ék-  
(be picked out, as inferior: be shunned)

-VUM- (agree): -VUM-él-ék- (be approved of).

16.2.3 Applied - Neuter Potential: (-el-ek-).

-THĒND- (turn round (tr.): make roll, revolve (tr.):  
-THĒND-él-ék- (be wobbly)

-VUM- (agree): -VUM-él-ék- (be allowable).

16.2.4 Applied - Persistive Actional: (-el-ek-).

-BHÜD- (be delirious: wander in mind): -BHÜD-él-ék-  
(press in and out frequently).

16.2.5 Applied - Causative: (el-is-).

-RWĀTSHĀZ- (rustle):  
-RWĀTSHĀZ-él-is- (cause to rustle, trample  
down)

-LĀND- (follow, pursue):  
-LĀND-él-is- (cause to pursue)

-QŌSH- (join, pin, button (tr.)):  
-QŌSH-él-is- (make button up)

-VAL- (close):  
-VAL-él-is- (say good-bye).

16.2.6 Applied - Causative (Stative): (-el-ez-).

-JĪK- (turn round; change):  
-JĪK-él-ez- (go round about : revolve around)

- <sup>^</sup>OM- (bec: dry, hard):  
 -OM-él-éz- (make firm)  
 \* -THUB- (cf. (i) THUBà (5) (Opportunity):  
 -THUB-él-éz- (go thro' an opening).

16.2.7 Applied - Reciprocal: (-el-an-).

- AB- (divide):  
 -AB-él-an- (divide between one another)  
<sup>^</sup>AKH- (build):  
 -AKH-él-an- (build for each other: build  
 near to one another)  
<sup>^</sup>BHAL- (write):  
 -BHAL-él-an- (write to one another)  
 -BHIJ- (turn, twist):  
 -BHIJ-él-an- (twist round each other)  
 -BANG- (claim):  
 -BANG-él-an- (claim for each other).

16.2.8 Applied - Associative: (-el-an-).

- BAMB- (hold, seize):  
 -BAMB-él-an- (seize for their respective  
 parties)  
 -BEK- (put, set, place):  
 -BEK-él-an- (run parallel)  
 -BOPH- (tie, bind):  
 -BOPH-él-an- (conspire together)  
 -BUTH- (gather):  
 -BUTH-él-an- (gather together (in one place))  
<sup>^</sup>BUY- (return):  
 -BUY-él-an- (be reconciled)

-GÀLÉL<sup>1</sup>- (no longer extant):  
 -GÀLÉL-él-àn- (combine resources : pool  
 wages)  
 (or \* -GAL- : -GÀLél-él-àn-).

16.2.9 Neuter Stative (Actual)- Applied: (-ek-el-).

-ÁND- (increase):  
 -ÁND-ék-el- (be increased for, upon)  
 -BHÁD-ék-el- (be placed flat for):  
 -thi bhàdà (fall down flat): \* -BHÁD- (s.m.)  
 (extinct root today).

-GÀLÉL<sup>1</sup>- (pour):  
 \* -thi gálé > -GÀLÉ:L- (pour : tr.): or,  
 \* -GÁL- > -GÀLél- :  
 -GÀLÉ:L-ék-èl- (rush violently into): or,  
 -GÀLél-ék-el- (rush violently into)

-HÉND- (tempt, try):  
 -HÉND-ék-el- (be tempted to ...)  
 -LÁHL- (leave, throw away, forsake):  
 -LÁHL-ék-el- (be lost to).

16.2.10 Neuter Stative (Actual)- Causative: (-ek-is-).

-BÉK- (honour, respect):  
 -BÉK-ék-is- (make honourable)  
 -LÁHL- (leave, throw away, forsake):  
 -LÁHL-ék-is- (deceive, lead astray)

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1) This could have been an extended root from a hypothetical di-R ideophonic stem -thi gale > -GÀLÉ:L- (-L~ being effective (4) RCE).

Or the simple stem may have been \* -GAL- with standardised applied Ext. -el- (1).

- \*-SIB- (extinct):  
 -SIB-ék-is- (make downcast)
- XHWAL- (be perverse, unreasonable):  
 -XHWAL-ék-is- (bring loss upon)<sup>1)</sup>
- YAL- (instruct, command, warn):  
 -YAL-ék-is- (give warning to : make cautious).

16.2.11 Neuter Stative (Actual) - Associative:  
 (-ek-an-).

- LAHL- (leave, throw away, forsake):  
 -LAHL-ék-an- (be deprived of).

16.2.12 Neuter Stative (Potential) - Completive  
(Applied): (-ek-elel-).

- THUM- (send):  
 -THUM-ék-él-él- (be obliging, willing, handy).

16.2.13 Causative - Applied: (is-el-).

- AND- (increase):  
 -AND-is-el- (increase to, increase for)
- AZI (know):  
 -AZ-is-el- (give information to)
- BHEK- (look towards):  
 -BHEK-is-el- (refer to)
- BAL- (count, recount):  
 -BAL-is-el- (narrate to, narrate for)

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1) cf. -XHWALek- (suffer loss).

- GQAL- (observe, notice):  
 -GQAL-is-el- (observe carefully)
- LAND- (pursue)  
 -LAND-is-el- (trace for).

16.2.14 Causative - Neuter Stative (Actual):  
 (-is-ek-).

- BHINQ- (gird):  
 -BHINQ-is-ek- (be girded)
- CHOK- (be neat, be in order):  
 -CHOK-is-ek- (to have received a finish)
- CON- (be under taboo : be inviolable):  
 -CON-is-ek- (be put under taboo)
- NGCWAL- (sit close (like children : be bright)):  
 -NGCWAL-is-ek- (be made bright : be made  
 holy)
- KHANY- (shine, give light, be clear):  
 -KHANY-is-ek- (be shining)
- QIN- (be firm):  
 -QIN-is-ek- (be fixed : be convinced).

16.2.15 Causative - Causative Assistive:  
 (-is-is-).

- VUM- (agree, sing):  
 -VUM-is-is- (help to make sing).

16.2.16 Causative - Reciprocal: (-is-an-):

- AZI- (know):  
 -AZ-is-an- (inform one another)
- BHEK- (look towards):  
 -BHEK-is-an- (face one another)

-BHINQ<sup>^</sup>- (gird):  
 -BHINQ-is-an<sup>^</sup>- (gird each other)  
 -HLAL<sup>^</sup>- (remain, sit):  
 -HLAL-is-an<sup>^</sup>- (take turns in waiting).

15.2.17 Causative - Associative: (-is-an-):

-BUTH<sup>^</sup>- (gather, congregate):  
 -BUTH-is-an<sup>^</sup>- (lie down together (to die))  
 -LAL<sup>^</sup>- (lie down: sleep):  
 -LAL-is-an<sup>^</sup>- (lie down together; or in a  
 company).

16.2.18 Causative - Completive (Applied):  
(-is-elel-).

-AZI<sup>^</sup> (know):  
 -AZ-is-elel<sup>^</sup>- (make fully known)  
 -BHEK<sup>^</sup>- (look towards):  
 -BHEK-is-elel<sup>^</sup>- (aim at, tend to).

16.2.19 Causative Assistive - Reciprocal:  
(-is-an-).

-BHUL<sup>^</sup>- (beat out, thresh):  
 -BHUL-is-an<sup>^</sup>- (help each other to thresh)  
 -CEL<sup>^</sup>- (ask, request):  
 -CEL-is-an<sup>^</sup>- (help each other to ask)  
 -S<sup>^</sup>-1) (bring): ((i)S-):  
 -S-is-an<sup>^</sup>- (help each other to bring).

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1) cf. \* -Yis- > -S<sup>^</sup>-.



✕ 16.2.20 Causative (Stative - Persistent Actional):  
(-ez-ek-).

-XIN` (press, throng, impede):

-XIN-é`z-é`k- (press in, oppress, distress).

16.2.21 Causative (Stative) - Applied: (-ez-el-).

-PHUNG` (sip, taste):

-PHUNG-é`z-el` (give to drink (in repeated, small quantities)

-SONDe`l` (approach) < \*-SOND`-:

-SOND-é`z-el` (cause to approach to).

16.3.1 Causative (Intensive) - Neuter Stative  
(Actual): (-isis-ek-).

-V` (hear): ((i)V`):

-V-isis-é`k- (be distinctly heard).

16.3.2 Causative (Intensive) - Causative  
(Actual): (-isis-is-).

-V` (hear): ((i)V`):

-V-isis-is- (cause to be clearly heard: speak out distinctly).

16.3.3 Causative (Intensive) - Reciprocal:  
(-isis-an-).

-V` (hear): ((i)V`):

-V-isis-an- (be in complete agreement with each other).

16.3.4 Neuter Stative Actual (Extensive) - Causative Actual: (-alal-is-).

- PHANG- (do with speed or violence : hurry):  
 -PHANG-`alal-is- (break up utterly (tr.))  
 -TSHAB- (be silent : come to nothing):  
 -TSHAB-`alal-is- (destroy utterly,  
 annihilate).

16.3.5 Neuter Stative Extensive - Applied:  
 (-akal-el-).

- BON- (see):  
 -BON-`akal-el- (be transparent : be left  
 destitute)  
 -ON- (injure, harm, hurt):  
 -ON-`akal-el- (suffer injury in :  
 suffer loss in).

16.3.6 Neuter Stative Extensive - Causative  
Actual: (-akal-is-).

- AZI- (know):  
 -AZ-`akal-is- (cause to become known)  
 -CHITH- (spill, scatter, waste):  
 -CHITH-`akal-is- (cause to be ruined,  
 cause to be utterly destroyed)  
 -ENZ- (do, make):  
 -ENZ-`akal-is- (hurt, injure)  
 -GCIN- (keep, preserve):  
 -GCIN-`akal-is- (keep absolutely safe)  
 -ON- (injure, harm, hurt):  
 -ON-`akal-is- (injure, spoil)  
 -QOND- (understand):  
 -QOND-`akal-is- (make to understand fully).

16.3.7 Completive (Applied) - Applied:

(-elel-el-).

-PHATH- (touch, handle, deal with):

-PHATH-élél-el- (rest the hand on).

16.3.8 Completive (Applied) - Neuter Stative(Actual): (-elel-ek-).

-BÈK- (put, set, place):

-BÈK-élél-èk- (be well piled up)

-DÌB- (fill up : mix together):

-DÌB-élél-èk- (be filled up, by earth falling in)

-NXIB- (put on clothes, tie up):

-NXIB-élél-èk- (be connected with).

16.3.9 Completive (Applied) - Causative:

(-elel-is-).

-LÙNG- (be right, be fitting):

-LÙNG-élél-is- (make equal, make parallel)

-PHUM- (come out, go out)

-PHUM-élél-is- (make succeed : help to succeed).

16.3.10 Applied (Intensive) - Reciprocal:

(-elel-an-).

-LÙNG- (be right, be fitting):

-LÙNG-élél-an- (be equal to, be parrallel with)

-PHATH- (touch, handle):

-PHATH-élél-an- (lean on each other)

-THĪ (say, do):  
 -TH-èléł-àn- (co-operate: unite for a purpose)

-VUS- (waken, arouse):  
 -VUS-èléł-àn- (arouse each other).

16.3.11 Completive (Applied) - Associative:  
 (-elel-an-).

-NXĪB- (put on clothes, tie up)  
 -NXĪB-èléł-àn- (be connected together).

16.3.12 Applied - Applied - Reciprocal:  
 (-el-el-an-).

-THĒTH- (speak):  
 -THĒTH-él-él-àn- (speak on behalf of one another).

16.3.13 Applied - Neuter Stative Potential - Applied: (-el-ek-el-).

-NQWĒN- (have a strong desire; covet):  
 -NQWĒN-él-ék-él- (be desirable for : excite a desire for)

-VUM- (agree):  
 -VUM-él-ék-él- (be lawful for).

16.3.14 Applied - Neuter Stative Actual - Applied: (-el-ek-el-).

-VUS- (awaken):  
 -VUS-él-ék-él- (be aroused : be alerted).

16.3.15 Applied - Neuter Stative Actual - Causative: (-el-ek-is-).

-FAN<sup>ˆ</sup> (resemble):  
-FAN<sup>ˆ</sup>-el-ek-is<sup>ˆ</sup> (make fitting).

16.3.16 Applied - Causative - Associative:  
(-el-is-an-).

-AN<sup>ˆ</sup>-<sup>1</sup>) (give in exchange):  
-AN<sup>ˆ</sup>-el-is-an<sup>ˆ</sup> (give mutual satisfaction)  
-GQIB<sup>ˆ</sup> (finish, complete):  
-GQIB<sup>ˆ</sup>-el-is-an<sup>ˆ</sup> (say good-bye for the last time).

16.3.17 Applied - Reciprocal - Causative: (-el-an-is-).

-BHIJ<sup>ˆ</sup> (turn, twist):  
-BHIJ<sup>ˆ</sup>-el-an-is<sup>ˆ</sup> (intertwine)  
-QUMB<sup>ˆ</sup> (swell : become angry):  
-QUMB<sup>ˆ</sup>-el-an-is<sup>ˆ</sup> (make angry with each other).

16.3.18 Neuter Stative Actual - Applied - Applied: (-ek-el-el-).

-XHOM<sup>ˆ</sup> (hang, hang up, hold up):  
-XHOM<sup>ˆ</sup>-ek-el-el<sup>ˆ</sup> (be connected up to).

16.3.19 Neuter Stative Actual - Completive (Applied) - Associative:  
(-ek-elel-an-).

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1) cf. -ANel<sup>ˆ</sup> (be sufficient for), para 17.7.4

-XHOM̀ (hang up, hang, hold up):  
 -XHOM̀-èk-él-él-àǹ (be well connected up  
 with).

16.3.20 Neuter Stative Actual - Applied -  
 Reciprocal: (-ek-el-an-).

\*-ÁL̀ (obsolete : idea of joining, adding):  
 -ÁL̀-èk-él-àǹ (join with each other :  
 come near each other in birth).

16.3.21 Neuter Stative Actual - Associative -  
 Causative: (-ek-an-is-).

-LÁHL̀ (leave, throw away, forsake):  
 -LÁHL̀-èk-án-is̀ (deprive of).

16.3.22 Neuter Stative Actual - Causative -  
 Reciprocal: (-ek-is-an-).

-LÁHL̀ (leave, throw away, forsake):  
 -LÁHL̀-èk-is-àǹ (lead each other astray).

16.3.23 Causative - Applied - Neuter Stative  
 Actual: (-is-el-ek-)

-M̃ (i)M̃ (stand):  
 -M̃-is-él-èk̀ (be established)

-QĪǸ (be firm):  
 -QĪǸ-ís-ék-ék̀ (be made firm)

16.3.24 Causative - Applied - Applied:  
 (-is-el-el-).

-QĪǸ (be firm):  
 -QĪǸ-ís-él-el̀ (make firm on behalf of).

16.3.25 Causative - Applied - Reciprocal:

(-is-el-an-).

-BŪY- (return):

-BŪY-is-él-an- (restore to each other)

-M̃, -(i)M̃ (stand):

-M-is-él-an- (confirm each other)

-SHĪY- (leave, leave behind):

-SHĪY-is-él-an- (compete against one another in).

16.3.26 Causative - Applied - Associative:

(-is-el-an-).

-END- (marry : used of the woman):

-END-is-él-an- (inter-marry with people at a distance)

-FAN- (resemble):

-FAN-is-él-an- (dress alike)

-SEBENZ- (work):

-SEBENZ-is-él-an- (work together for).

16.3.27 Causative - Neuter Stative Actual -Causative: (-is-ek-is-).

-ZAL- (become full, increase):

-ZAL-is-ék-is- (bring to fulfilment).

16.3.28 Associative-Causative-Neuter StativeActual: (-an-is-ek-).

-BETH- (hit, strike):

-BETH-an-is-ék- (be interrupted).

16.3.29 Associative-Causative-Applied: (-an-is-el-).

- FUTH- (puff, blow):  
 -FUTH-an-is-el- (smother)
- HLAB- (stab):  
 -HLAB-an-is-el- (stab by accident: offend)
- LING- (try, attempt, test):  
 -LING-an-is-el- (take an example from:  
 apportion to)
- PHAMB- (turn back, change places):  
 -PHAMB-an-is-el- (parry a blow: set at  
 variance with)
- QHATH- (cheat):  
 -QHATH-an-is-el- (cheat one another out  
 of).

16.3.30 Contactive - Causative - Applied:  
 (-ath-is-el-).

- \*-AL- (obsolete \* $\gamma$ ala : spread out):  
 -AL-ath-is-el- (point out the way to).

16.3.31 Contactive - Causative - Reciprocal:  
 (-ath-is-an-).

- \*-AMB- (obsolete : idea of covering (the body)):  
 -AMB-ath-is-an- (share a covering (e.g.  
 blanket) with one another).

16.3.32 Associative - Causative - Reciprocal:  
 (-an-is-an-).

- KHAND- (hammer, forge):  
 -KHAND-an-is-an- (crowd upon each other)



-SHĪY- (leave, leave behind):  
 --SHĪY-`an-is-an- (vie with one another).

16.4.1 Neuter-Stativ̄e Extensiv̄e - Causative - Applied: (-akal-is-el-).

-BON- (see):  
 -BON-`akal-is-el- (make clear to)

-CHITH- (spill, waste, destroy):  
 -CHITH-`akal-is-el- (destroy utterly for).

16.4.2 Neuter Stativ̄e Extensiv̄e - Causative - Reciprocal: (-akal-is-an-).

-CHITH- (spill, waste, destroy):  
 -CHITH-`akal-is-an- (destroy each other utterly).

16.4.3 Neuter Stativ̄e Actual (Extensiv̄e) - Causative - Reciprocal: (-alal-is-an-).

-TSHAB- (be silent, come to nothing):  
 -TSHAB-`alal-is-an- (annihilate each other).

16.4.4 Reciprocal - Causative - Applied- Reciprocal: (-an-is-el-an-).

-PHAMB- (change places : change sides ...):  
 -PHAMB-`an-is-el-an- (exchange places with one another)

\*-AN- (obsolete : Idea of being sufficient):  
 -AN-`an-is-el-an- (give in exchange to one another).

CHAPTER 1717.0.0 EXTENDED VERBAL ROOTS: MISCELLANEOUS

17.1.0 Doke<sup>1)</sup> includes under the heading of "Miscellaneous derivative suffixes, "the Persistive in -ezela". He goes on to say:

"Verbs ending in this suffix originate either in simple stems, or in stems with a seeming applied suffix. They indicate action gradually, persistently or forcefully carried out".

Louw<sup>2)</sup> also makes reference to -ezela as a persistive suffix. But Xhosa does not only have verbal roots ending in -ezel-, but also a number of other apparently two-segment extensions.

17.2.1 In the opinion of the writer, many of these extended forms are not examples of a di-R v.r. with an extension<sup>3)</sup> but are due to various combinations of radical extensions, radical extensions with extension, or extensions in series.

A number of such examples are given below and analysed.

17.2.2 There are extended roots with the following forms of extension:

- 
- 1) C.M. Doke: Zulu Grammar: (1931) para: 368.
  - 2) J.A. Louw: „Handboek van Xhosa" (1963) para: 30.42.
  - 3) 'Extension' in terms of this thesis: cf. Chp. 15.

-alaz-, -elez-, -iliz-, -oloz-, -uluz-.

Following the analogy of Doke's lead, I tried first to regard these as being variants of a two-segment extension, possibly with some species of persistent variety. The main difficulty, however, lay in the fact that the vowels were assonic with the simple root: e.g.

-alaz-	:	cf.	-CANGálaz-	(walk boldly)
-elez-	:	cf.	-SEKélez-	(go round about)
-iliz-	:	cf.	-KRWIXíliz-	(swallow doen with difficulty)
-oloz-	:	cf.	-LONDóloz-	(preserve with care)
-uluz-	:	cf.	-RUBúluz-	(crawl along the ground).

17.2.3 It is characteristic of the Extensions<sup>1)</sup> that they consist of the form -vc-, -vcvc- etc., and that they retain their characteristic extension vowel regardless of the nature of the root vowel in the simple root.

On the other hand, it is characteristic of Radical Extensions that they assume the same vowel as the root vowel of the simple root<sup>2)</sup>: for example:

-GÚDL- (rub, knock against): cf. -GÚDL:ÚZ-  
(shake violently) etc.

---

1) Using the term as in this thesis: cf. Chapter 15.

2) cf. Para 11.2.0.

17.2.4 I therefore submit that it is consistent with the known facts that where we find extended roots with the extension forms

-alaz-, -elez-, -iliz-, -oloz-, -uluz-

unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, that such extensions should be recognised as two radical extensions, in series, and that they should really be indicated as:

-AL:AZ-, -EL:EZ-, -IL:IZ-, -OL:OZ-, -UL:UZ-.

Putting this in the form of a formula, it would be

~L:~Z-

The vowel being unidentified, and this indicated as /~/, since, where radical extensions are concerned, the vowel is determined by the root vowel of the simple root.

The following examples will serve to show that this hypothesis does, in fact, work out in practice.

17.2.5 ROOTS WITH TWO RADICAL EXTENSIONS IN SERIES:

-AL:AZ-

- cf. -GĀNG̀ (be bold, be impudent):  
           -GĀNG:ĀL:ĀZ̀ (walk boldly)
- cf. -KHĀB̀ (kick): -KHĀB:ĀL:ĀZ̀ (kick out)
- cf. -NĀB̀ (stretch oneself out): -NĀB:ĀL:ĀZ̀  
           (lie with limbs outspread)
- cf. -NGXĀB̀ (spread out the legs): -NGXĀB:ĀL:ĀZ̀  
           (straddle)
- cf. -PHĀTH̀ (touch, handle): -PHĀTH:ĀL:ĀZ̀  
           (do clumsily, inefficiently)

cf. -XHÁS\` (prop up, support): -XHÀTH:ÁL:ÀZ\`  
(bear up, stand up against).

N.B. In -XHÁS\`, R2 is Causative -S~ (8),  
while in -XHÀTH:ÁL:ÀZ\`, R2 is Contac-  
tive -TH~ (10).

17.2.6 -EL:EZ-

cf. -KWEKW\` (speak obscurely, in metaphor):  
-KWEKW:ÉL:ÉZ\` (talk around the  
point, mislead)

cf. -SEK\` (mark out a circle for a hut foun-  
dation):  
-SEK:ÉL:ÉZ\` (go round about: seek  
to do by indirect means)

cf. -THEÑD\` (turn round, revolve): -THEÑD:ÉL:ÉZ\`  
(cut or make circular).

17.2.7 -IL:IZ-

cf. -KRWIX\` (abuse : tr.): -KRWIX:ÍL:ÍZ\`  
(swallow down with difficulty)

17.2.8 -OL:OZ-

cf. -HLOHL\` (cram, stuff, push in):  
-HLOHL:ÓL:ÓZ\` (push forward by the  
neck)

cf. -LOND\` (preserve, protect): -LOND:ÓL:ÓZ\`  
(preserve with care, protect with  
care)

cf. -NTYONTY\` (whistle continuously):  
-NTYONTY:ÓL:ÓZ\` (persevere in, take  
a long time to do)••

17.2.9 -UL:UZ-

cf. -RUQ<sup>˘</sup> (trail on the ground): -RUQ:UL:UZ<sup>˘</sup>  
 (drag along; trail along): cf. also  
 -RUB:UL:UZ<sup>˘</sup> (glide, crawl along the  
 ground)

N.B. In each of the above examples, the  
 first radical extension has been  
 the effective -L<sup>˘</sup> (4), and the se-  
 cond, the factative -Z<sup>˘</sup> (9).

17.3.0 EXTENSION SERIES CONSISTING OF REDICAL  
EXTENSION (REx) FOLLOWED BY EXTENSION

17.3.1 Several di-R verbal roots accept extensions  
 which might well be regarded, at first, as being  
 two-segment extensions. For the time being I shall  
 write them as though that is indeed the case. For  
 example, we find

-azel-, -ezel-, -izel-, -ozel-, -uzel-

in such extended roots as;

-LĀQ<sup>˘</sup> (be ill at ease): cf. -LĀQázèl<sup>˘</sup> (be  
 conscience-stricken)

-HLEHL<sup>˘</sup> (step back, retreat): cf. -HLEHLézel<sup>˘</sup>  
 (withdraw hastily)

-DĪD<sup>˘</sup> (confuse, flutter): cf. -DĪDízèl<sup>˘</sup>  
 (flutter over, quiver in)

-MBOMB<sup>˘</sup> (mumble): cf. -MBOMBózel<sup>˘</sup> (speak to  
 oneself)

-KRUKR<sup>˘</sup> (gnaw at, tear at): cf. -KRUKRúzèl<sup>˘</sup>  
 (have acidity, rumble in the stomach)

and likewise, -ozek- in, for example,  
 -PHÒKózek- (swell out, as when soaked).

17.3.2 Now a characteristic of the extensions (Ex) is that they consist of the form -vc- (or multiples thereof), and each extension has an undetachable, characteristic extension vowel.

17.3.3 In the extensions quoted above, the vowel is not constant, in the first position, but remains constant in the second position. For example, in

-azel-, -ezel-, -izel-, -ozel-, -uzel-

the first vowel varies according to the root vowel of the di-R v.r. to which it is attached, while the vowel /e/ is constant in second position.

17.3.4 It therefore appears that these are not examples of two-segment extensions, but consist of two separate extensions of different species: namely, a Radical extension (REx) followed by an Extension (Ex). The following examples will illustrate this principle.

17.4.0 -AZ-el-, -EZ-el-, -IZ-el-, -OZ-el-,  
-UZ-el-: -OZ-ek-.

Actually the above combination of REx followed by Ex, are in the form of:

(a) REx : factative ~Z~<sup>1)</sup> (9)  
 Ex : Applied -el- (1)

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1) This REx is indicated as ~Z~ instead of the usual -Z~ to indicate that the vowel preceding it is determined by, and assonic with the root vowel of the di-R v.r.

(b) REx : factative ~Z~ (9)

Ex : Persistive-Actional -ek- (3).

17.4.1 -AZ-el-

-LAQ:ÁZ-el- (be conscience-stricken):

cf. -LAQ- (be ill at ease)

-NDAND:ÁZ-el- (flutter): cf. -NDAND- (s.m.)

-PHAPH:ÁZ-el- (be nervous, flap the wings):

cf. -PHAPH- (be attentive, open out)

-QHAQH:ÁZ-el- (grind the teeth : gnash the teeth):

cf. -QHAQH- (tear open, : tease wool)

-XHAPH:ÁZ-el- (boil over, go helter-skelter):

cf. -XHAPH- (eat carelessly : bubble up  
in boiling).

N.B. -BAMB:ÉZ-el- (keep back, hinder, detain):

cf. -BAMB- (hold, arrest)

One would expect this extension to take the form \* -BAMB:ÁZ-el-. Probably that is the derivation, the :AZ- having been assimilated to the influential vowel of the following extension and become :EZ-el-.

17.4.2 -EZ-el-

-HLEHL:ÉZ-el- (withdraw hastily): cf.

-HLEHL- (step back, retreat)

-QHEL:ÉZ-el- (overdress): cf. -QHEL- (become accustomed to)<sup>1)</sup>

---

1) If these roots are related, there is considerable semantic shift.



There are also roots with root vowel

-I- such as

- NĪK:ÉZ-él- (hand around : surrender unconditionally): cf. -NĪK- (give): and  
 -XĪN:ÉZ-él- (press in, oppose, distress):  
 cf. -XĪN- (press, throng, impede)

Here again, one would expect the forms

-NĪK:ÍZ-él- and -XĪN:ÍZ-él-.

Probably these were the original forms, the vowel preceeding the radical extension having been subsequently assimilated to the vowel of the extension (Ex).

#### 17.4.3 -IZ-el-

- DĪD:ÍZ-él- (flutter over, quiver in): cf.  
 -DĪD- (confuse, fluster)  
 -PHĪTH:ÍZ-él- (be mixed up, confused): cf.  
 (isi)PHĪTHĪ-PHĪTHĪ (7) (confusion).

#### 17.4.4 -OZ-el-

- MBOMB:ÓZ-él- (speak to oneself): cf. -MBOMB-  
 (memble).

#### 17.4.5 -UZ-el-

- JAC:UZ-él- (tramp about in rags): cf. nominal  
 root (i)JACù (5) (tatter, rag)  
 -KRUKR:UZ-él- (have acidity, rumble in the stomach):  
 cf. -KRUKR- (gnaw at, tear at)

-PHUK:ÚZ-èl- (froth up, effervesce): cf. Ad-  
jectival root -PHUKu-PHUKu- (shaggy,  
frothy)

-RÙQ:ÚZ-èl- (creep along, crawl along, glide  
along): cf. -RÙQ- (trail on the ground).

17.4.6 -OZ-ek-

-PHOK:ÓZ-èk- (swell out, as when soaked):  
-thi phòkù<sup>1)</sup> (pour out, as of smoke).

17.5.0 DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOT WITH RELATED  
EXTENSION FORM:

17.5.1 Where a modification of the consonantal  
phoneme in R1 or R2 is found:<sup>2)</sup>

There are certain di-radical verbal roots which have  
a related extended root. These roots, however, are  
not identical. A difference in the consonant of R1  
or R2 is observed. There is also, in some instances,  
considerable semantic shift.

For Example:

-BAMB- (hold, seize)

cf. -MBÁMBis- (say good-bye, bid farewell)

Ex : Causative -is- (5(a))

cf. -BHÁMBath- (pat, soothe, hint at)

Ex: Contractive -ath- (10)

---

1) Probably there was a di-R v.r.\* -PHOK-

2) cf. Para 2.7.7.

-FING\ (gather up)

cf. -FINGXel\ (throw into a heap)

Ex: Applied -el- (1)

-JANG\ (wander here and there):

cf. -JANQel\ (lag, come late)

Ex: Applied -el- (1)

-QAMB\ (make up a story)

cf. -XAMBul\ (describe in detail)

Ex: Abundant Actional -ul- (7(a)).

17.5.2 DI-RADICAL v.r. which have ceased to be used, but whose extended roots are still active. e.g.

<u>Extended root:</u>	<u>Extension:</u>
-ANel\ (be sufficient)	Applied -el- (1)
-BHOMel\ (pester, molest)	Applied -el- (1)
-BHOVel\ (be stunted)	"
-COMBel\ (do one's utmost)	"
-FULel\ (thatch a roof)	"
-FUMan\ (obtain)	Associative -an- (6)(c)
-GCULel\ (mock at)	Applied -el- (1)
-GQWASHul\ (act, speak, with vigour)	Reversive <sup>1)</sup> Actional -ul- (8)(c)
-HAGel\ (grow old)	Applied -el- (1)
-HLWAYel\ (sow, scatter seed))	"
-KHANGel\ (look, look at)	"
-LUMath\ (take fire (of grass))	Contactive -ath- (10)

---

1) cf. Zulu: -GQWASH-, -GQWAB- (do anything only now and again).

-MAMel-	(listen, hearken to)	Applied -el- (1)
-MBITHel-	(die unforgiving: cherish a grudge)	"
-SONDel-	(approach)	"
-ZAMl-	(from -ZAMul-) (yawn, stretch oneself) 1)	Abundant Actional -ul- (7)(a)
-ZIMel-	(hide oneself)	Applied -el- (1)
-ZIMez-	(conceal <u>tr.</u> )	Causative Stative -ez- (5)(g)

### 17.6.0 ORIGIN OF THE SYLLABIC /M/ RADICAL:

17.6.1 There are certain roots in Xhosa which contain an unusual factor, namely, what is often referred to as a 'syllabic M'.

Instead of the usual shape of verbal root, viz. -CVC- as in -BŌN- (see), they have the form -CACC-, where C is the bilabial nasal/M/: as in

-PHUML- (rest) and -LAMl- (intervene).

Many of these roots in Xhosa have corresponding forms in Zulu where a vowel (invariably -U-) is interposed between the 'Syllabic M' and the following consonant: for example:

Xhosa: -LAMl- : Zulu: -LAMUL- (intervene)

Xhosa: -PHUML- : Zulu: -PHUMUL- (rest).

Further, even in Xhosa, the 'lost' vowel -u- is usually restored when the passive extension suffix is added to the root; giving the forms: e.g.

-LÁNYULw- , -PHÚNYULw- etc.

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1) Really a regular abundant actional extension, -ul- (7a) of the di-R v.r. -ZAM> (exert oneself, struggle).

17.6.2 These forms in Xhosa are almost certainly corruptions of the full forms, still found in Zulu. For example,  $\overset{\wedge}{-LAML-}$  is probably a contraction of  $\overset{\wedge}{-LAMul-}$  < a di-R root,  $\overset{*}{-LAM-}$ , with an abundant-actional extension,  $-ul-$  (7)(a).

17.6.3 Examples of verbal roots with the form  $\overset{\wedge}{-CVMC-}$  (where  $\overset{\wedge}{/M/}$  represents syllabic  $/M/$ ): with corresponding Zulu forms.

Xh:  $\overset{\wedge}{-HL\acute{O}M:l-}$  (cut off and set aside as Chief's portion : reciprocate a favour):

cf. Zu:  $\overset{\wedge}{-HL\acute{O}M\overset{\wedge}{ul-}$  (stab a buck a second time after it has been wounded).

Xh:  $\overset{\wedge}{-KHUM:l-}$  (extract (a tooth): remove a calf from suckling):

cf. Zu:  $\overset{\wedge}{-KHUM\overset{\wedge}{ul-}$  (release something that is binding : extract a tooth).

Xh:  $\overset{\wedge}{-LAM:l-}$  (interpose, intervene):

cf. Zu:  $\overset{\wedge}{-LAM\overset{\wedge}{ul-}$  (intervene between two people or animals fighting).

Xh:  $\overset{\wedge}{-NCHAM:l-}$  (taste, take a little of):

cf. Zu:  $\overset{\wedge}{-NCEM\overset{\wedge}{ul-}$  (suck slightly (as a newborn calf)).

Xh:  $\overset{\wedge}{-NQAM:l-}$  (cut off, cut short):

cf. Zu:  $\overset{\wedge}{-NQAM\overset{\wedge}{ul-}$  (cut off, cut short).

Xh:  $\overset{\wedge}{-NQAM:k-}$  (be cut short, cease):

cf. Zu:  $\overset{\wedge}{-NQAM\overset{\wedge}{uk-}$  (be cut short, cease).

Xh:  $\overset{\wedge}{-PHAM:l-}$  (wander alone; be left alone):

cf. Zu:  $\overset{\wedge}{-PHAM\overset{\wedge}{uk-}$  (speak without thinking).  
 $\overset{\wedge}{-PHAM\overset{\wedge}{uz-}$  (walk thro' water, in an aimless way).

In the above examples, it seems likely that the extension in -HLÓM:l̀, -KHUM:l̀, -NCHAMl̀, -NQAM:l̀, -PHAM:l̀: is the Abundant actional extension -ul- (with the /u/ dropped in Xhosa).

In -NQAM:k̀ it is probably an abundant neuter stative extension -uk- (with the /u/ dropped in Xhosa).

In the case of -PHUM:l̀ (rest), this is almost certainly contracted from -PHUMul̀, where -ul- is the reversive actional extension. This would be semantically consistent with -PHUM̀ (go out, come out) cf. -PHUMul̀ (rest).

-QHUMK̀ (be smashed, crushed, burst), could be derived either from \*QHUM- with a radical extension, Neuter -K~ (2) > -QHUMU:K-, or from \*QHUM- with an extension -uk-, abundant neuter stative > -QHUMuk̀.

The root -LUMKèl̀ is probably derived in the following stages:

\*-LUM- (di-R v.r., meaning uncertain):

\*-LUMU:K- : -K~ being a radical extension (Neuter (2)) : the vowel taking its form from the root vowel of the di-R v.r. as is the rule where there is a radical extension.<sup>1)</sup>

17.7.0 DI-RADICAL v.r., with R1 CONSISTING OF VOWEL, AND WITH EXTENSION:

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1) cf. Para 11.2.0.

17.7.1 A limited number of di-radical verbal roots, with what would appear to be a primary radical, consisting of a vowel only, and followed by an extension, have lost their original forms (without the extension) and have now been accepted as simple verbal roots. In most cases, these have primary radical -A-, in a few cases, -O-. I have not come across any instances of initial -E-, -I-, or -U-.

17.7.2 I have tabulated a fairly full list of such verbal roots below, giving in each instance the data in the following order:

Verbal root plus extension with meaning.  
 Probable primitive root from which derived.  
 Extension, with category and reference  
 number as tabulated in paragraph 15.0.0.

17.7.3 In classifying these roots, I have taken into account their tonal sequences.<sup>1)</sup> It is found that they fall into two categories, namely,

- (a) Those with tonal sequence HLL,
- (b) Those with tonal sequence LHL.

17.7.4 (a) With Tonal Sequence : HLL :

-ÁLèk\ (put on, over the top of): < \* -AL-, < \* -χala  
 (cover?): Ex : -ek- : persistive-actional  
 (3)

---

1) cf. Para 18.6.2.

- <sup>ˈ</sup>ALuk<sup>ˋ</sup> (circumcise) : < <sup>\*</sup>-AL- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣala (cover)?:  
Ex : -uk- : reversive-durative-actional  
(8(b))
- <sup>ˈ</sup>ANan<sup>ˋ</sup> (barter) : < <sup>\*</sup>-AN- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣana (? idea of satisfying): Ex : -an- : reciprocal (6(a))
- <sup>ˈ</sup>ANel<sup>ˋ</sup> (be sufficient for): < <sup>\*</sup>-AN- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣana (idea of satisfying ?) : Ex : -el- : applied (1)
- <sup>ˈ</sup>ANez<sup>ˋ</sup> (satisfy) : < <sup>\*</sup>-AN- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣana (? s.m.):  
Ex : -ez- : causative-stative (5(g))
- <sup>ˈ</sup>AYam<sup>ˋ</sup> (lean upon) : < <sup>\*</sup>-AY- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣaɣa (?):  
Ex : -am- : protractive-stative (9)
- <sup>ˈ</sup>ONGam<sup>ˋ</sup> (stand out, stand above) : < <sup>\*</sup>-ONG- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣonga  
(increase) : Ex : -am- : protractive-stative (9)
- <sup>ˈ</sup>ONGez<sup>ˋ</sup> (augment, add to) : < <sup>\*</sup>-ONG- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣonga (increase) : Ex : -ez- : causative-stative  
(5(g))
- <sup>ˈ</sup>OZel<sup>ˋ</sup> (become drowsy) : < <sup>\*</sup>-OZ- , < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣoɣa (?):  
Ex : -el- : applied (1).

## (b) With Tonal Sequence : LHL :

- <sup>ˋ</sup>AHLuk<sup>ˈ</sup> (be separate, parted) : < <sup>\*</sup>-<sup>ˋ</sup>AHL- < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣaka  
(idea of being together ?) : Ex : -uk- :  
reversive-neuter-stative (8(a))
- <sup>ˋ</sup>AHLul<sup>ˈ</sup> (separate, divide) : < <sup>\*</sup>-<sup>ˋ</sup>AHL- < <sup>\*</sup>-ɣaka (idea of being together ?) : Ex : -ul- : reversive-actional (8(c))



- $\text{-\`AKH\`am-}$  (gape, yawn) :  $\langle \text{*\`-AKH-} \langle \text{*\`-\`}\hat{\text{a}}\text{ka}$  (be spread out ?) : Ex : -am- : protractive-stative (9)
- $\text{-\`AL\`ath-}$  (point out (with the finger)) :  $\langle \text{*\`-AL-} \langle \text{*\`-\`}\hat{\text{a}}\text{la}$  (spread out) : Ex : -ath- : contactive (10)
- $\text{-\`AL\`us-}$  (herd) :  $\langle \text{*\`-AL-} \langle \text{*\`-\`}\hat{\text{a}}\text{la}$  (spread out) : Ex : -us- : reversive-causative (8(d))
- $\text{-\`APH\`uk-}$  (break down (intr.)) :  $\langle \text{*\`-APH-} \langle \text{*\`-\`}\hat{\text{a}}\text{pa}$  (break?) : Ex : -uk- : reversive-neuter-stative (8(a))
- $\text{-\`APH\`ul-}$  (break down (tr)) :  $\langle \text{*\`-APH-} \langle \text{*\`-\`}\hat{\text{a}}\text{pa}$  (break ?) : Ex : -ul- : reversive-actional (8(c))
- $\text{-\`OMB\`el-}$  (beat time for) :  $\langle \text{*\`-OMB-} \langle \text{*\`-\`}\hat{\text{o}}\text{mba}$  (beat (drum)) ?) : Ex : -el- : applied (1).

CHAPTER 1818.0.0 TONAL SEQUENCES OF THE VERBAL ROOT  
(AND COGNATE IDEOPHONIC ROOTS)

18.0.1 Up till now, although the tonal values have been given for the various forms of the verbal root, no attempt has been made to classify or interpret them. In this chapter the tonal patterns are now reviewed on a comparative basis, and the sequences classified.

18.0.2 Since full examples of all the forms considered are already given in previous chapters, it is considered necessary here to give only one typical example of each form together with a reference to the section of the thesis which contains the full examples. This is done in order to eliminate lengthy repetition.

18.0.3 The main purpose in this section is not to give an exhaustive description of the tonal patterns in all phases of the verbal root and its extensions. Rather, it is to establish the typical tonal sequences<sup>1)</sup> of the verbal root and its extensions as found in the infinitive.

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1) I have used this term rather than "tonal profile", (as used by Westphal) because I have only indicated the H, L or F tonemes, and have not indicated the full tonal profile. cf. Prof. E. Westphal, "Tonal Profiles of Xhosa nominals in final syntactical position". (1967).

18.1.1 When dealing with the tonal values of a given radical, it is reasonable to assume that it has, basically, a high or low tone. But it must be emphasized that it will not invariably retain that same tonal value in all circumstances.

For example, it will be shown that a di-R v.r., which (in the simple form) has a low tone on the primary radical, will carry a high tone when the root accepts an extension : e.g.

-BANG- (claim) -BANGe1- (claim for).

In the same way, a falling tone will, under similar circumstances, become a low tone.

18.1.2 Westphal,<sup>1)</sup> and Lanham<sup>2)</sup> are careful to point out that tones are high or low according to their contrast in tone within the context of the word in which they occur. Tones are thus not specific, but comparative, and circumstantial.

18.1.3 I have not attempted to give the complete tonal profiles (to use Westphal's term)<sup>1)</sup> but have been content to indicate the tonal sequences in terms of H - L contrasts. These prove sufficient to indicate characteristic patterns of tone typical of the various forms described.

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1) E.O.J. Westphal, "Tonal Profiles of Xhose Nominals" U.C.T. 1964.

2) L.W. Lanham, "The Tonemes of Xhosa: A Re-Statement" Studies in Linguistics, Vol. 17. 1963).

18.2.0 Reference is also made to certain aspects of the ideophonic roots, and with particular reference to their tonal values. This has been considered advisable in view of the close association between the verbal root and the ideophonic root: a phenomenon already noted in previous chapters.

### 18.3.0 TONAL SEQUENCES OF VERBAL ROOTS:

#### 18.3.1 Mono-radical verbal roots:

Mono-R v.r. in Xhosa carry either a H or L tone : e.g.

-F<sup>~</sup> (die)            and            -MB<sup>~</sup> (dig).

Full examples are to be found in para 6.3.1. This applies to all three types of mono-R v.r.

#### 18.3.2 Di-radical verbal roots:

Three different tonal sequences are found in the di-R v.r., namely HL, LL and FL, e.g.

-HAMB<sup>^</sup> (go)    :    -BANG<sup>^</sup> (claim):  
-BON<sup>^</sup> (see)

Full examples of di-R v.r. are to be found in Appendix B.<sup>1)</sup>

### 18.4.0 TONAL SEQUENCES OF IDEOPHONIC ROOTS:

#### 18.4.1 Mono-radical ideophonic roots may have one

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1) When these di-R v.r. are extended, the tonal sequences become modified following the principles to be discussed later in para 18.6.0 et. seq.

of three tonal values: viz.,

- H,      L      or      F,      e.g.,
- H :    -thi bhé'    (bleat like a sheep)
- L :    -thi nca`    (adhere to)
- F :    -thi ja^    (stare, bristle)

Further examples under paragraph 12.5.3.

18.4.2 Di-radical ideophonic roots may have one of four tonal sequences : namely :

- HL,    LL,    HH,    LH :    e.g.,
- HL :    -thi qhiphù`    (part (of clouds))
- LL :    -thi bhàdà`    (fall down flat)
- HH :    -thi dyúphú'    (plunge into)
- LH :    -thi gùmbú'    (sound hollow when struck).

From my observation, it would appear that the majority of ideophonic roots in this category carry a LL sequence. Further examples are to be found under paragraphs 12.5.4 - 12.21.0.

18.4.3 Ideophonic roots of more than two radicals are common enough, but it is open to question whether they should strictly be classed as tri- or multi-radical roots. I have not made a detailed study of the ideophonic roots of Xhosa, but it would appear possible that ideophonic roots, like their verbal root counterparts, are open to extension. Such extension being either of the radical extension<sup>1)</sup> or,

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1) e.g. : -thi makàthá' (be astonished) : cf.  
 -MANGÀ:L`-(s.m.) and -thi mǎngà (s.m.).

far more rarely, the extension<sup>1)</sup> variety.

Since, however, no positive data is available to me at this stage, I give the forms as they stand.

It is significant to note, however, that if, for example, *-thi hlàzùlùlù<sup>1)</sup>* is an extended di-R ideophonic root, its tonal sequence is different from what it would be in the extended verbal root, *-HLÀZùlùlù̀* (s.m.).

18.4.4 Various tonal sequences include:

- LLL : *-thi bhàdàdà<sup>2)</sup>* (fall down flat)
- LLH : *-thi makàthá<sup>3)</sup>* (be astonished)
- LLLL : *-thi gògòlòlò* (hesitate)
- LLLH : *-thi khàlakàthá* (thrust, stab)
- LHLH : *-thi phènúphènú* (stagger, totter)
- HLHL : *-thi qúngqúlúkà* (lie stark (naked))
- LLLLL : *-thi ròxòxòxòxò* (creak, as a wagon wheel).

18.5.0 DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS with related Ideophonic roots:

18.5.1 Derived from mono-radical ideophonic roots through the addition of a radical conversion extension. When this occurs, whether the tonal value of the mono-R Id. root is H, L or F, the resulting di-R v.r. will carry the tonal sequence LL or FL, e.g.,

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1) e.g.: *-thi hlàzùlùlù̀* (spread out, expose): cf. *-HLAZ̀* (expose, disgrace) and abundant actional completive) Ext. *-ulul-*: cf. para 15.7.2.

2) Further examples under para 12.20.0; 12.21.0.

3) Further examples under para 12.21.0.

H > LL : -thi bhú > -BHUZ̀  
 (buzz like a bee)

L > LL : -thi gò > -GOL̀  
 (snap up, seize)

F > LL : -thi jâ > -JÂL̀  
 (stare) (stare with poverty)

Further examples are to be found under paragraph  
 12.5.3.

18.5.2 Derived from di-R ideophonic roots by means of the substitution of the invariable verbal terminative -a, , for the final vowel of the ideophonic root.

While there is considerable variety in the tonal sequences of the di-R ideophonic roots, the di-R v.r. derived from or related to them, remain confined to the sequences of HL, LL or FL.

From these examples, it appears that there is considerable variation in the transition from Id. r. to v.r., (or vice-versa), in the matter of tonal sequences. Some of these forms are given below. There are probably other variations also, not given here. e.g.

LL > LL : -thi khithà > -KHITH̀  
 (get loose and fall)

LL > HL : -thi wuthà > -WUTH̀  
 (decrease) (abate etc.)

LH > HL : -thi ngungá > -NGUNG̀  
 (gather, congregate)

LH > LL : -thi diphé > -DIPH̀  
 (sink (as foot in mud))

LH > FL : -thi cìmi' > -CÌM-  
(extinguish)

These roots are dealt with in detail under paragraph 12.2.4. There are instances where the di-R id. r. has become adapted as a di-R v.r., and accepted an extension, the di-R v.r., as such, no longer being extant.

For example we find forms such as,

-thi màtshà (be downcast)

with a corresponding extended verbal root,

-MATSHÉk- (s.m.).

The tonal sequence of -MATSHÉk- indicates that the di-R v.r. \*MÀTSH- had the sequence FL. Further examples are to be found under paragraph 12.4.1.

18.5.3 Tri-radical verbal root formed from a di-R Ideophonic root by the addition of a radical conversion extension. The v.r. -PHÁZÌM- (wink, blink)<sup>1)</sup> is an example of this process. What concerns us here is that, irrespective of the tonal sequence of the di-R ideophonic root, when a tri-radical (extended) v.r. is formed from it, the resulting v.r. conforms to the same tonal sequence as a v.r. consisting of a di-R v.r. plus a radical extension or an extension. For example, we find the same sequence, viz. HLL in,

-PHÁZÌM- < -thi phàzi (wink, blink)  
-THÁNDÀ:Z<sup>2)</sup> (pray, plead), and

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1) cf. Para 12.5.4

2) cf. Para 11.5.1



-HÁMBel-<sup>1)</sup> (go to, visit).

18.6.0 TONAL SEQUENCES OF VERBAL ROOTS WITH EXTENSIONS.

18.6.1 Mono-radical verbal roots:

With one-segment extension:

A comprehensive list of the mono-R v.r., together with the extensions which they tolerate, is given in Appendix C.

The mono-R v.r. retains its tonal value when accepting a one-segment extension. The sequences are, therefore :

Mono-R v.r. H plus extension > HL : e.g.,

-Fé~ > -Fé~l- (die for etc.)

Mono-R v.r. L plus extension > LL : e.g.,

-LW~ > -LW~l- (fight for).

Since there is a limited number of mono-radical verbal roots, it is desirable to give them all, together with the extensions which they tolerate<sup>2)</sup>.

Here, we are not really concerned whether these roots have a latent -i- or not. What is of more significance is whether they have a high or a low tone in the infinitive.

They are therefore grouped according to their respective tones.

18.6.2 Di-radical verbal root

1) cf. Para 15.1.1

2) cf. Appendix C.

(i) With Radical Extension:

Di-R v.r. with tonal sequence HL or LL, become an extended root with sequence HLL : e.g.,

-CWÍL\` (cut small) > -CHWÍLÍSH\`  
(cut to mincemeat)

and

-FAX\` (wring out) > -FAXANG\` (press out).

Di-R v.r. with tonal sequence, FL however, become an extended root with sequence LHL : e.g.

-KHÔL\` (satisfy, content) > -KHÔLÓS\`  
(confide in, lean on)

Further examples are found under para 11.5.1.

### 18.6.3 Di-Radical verbal root

(ii) With Extension (one-segment).

A similar pattern emerges, as with the radical extension : namely

di-R v.r. HL or LL plus extension > HLL : e.g.,

-HÁMB\` (go, travel) > -HÁMBel\` (go to,  
visit)

-BANG\` (claim) > -BANGel\` (claim for)

di-R v.r. FL plus extension > LHL, however, e.g.,

-BÔN\` (see) > -BÔNís\` (show).

Further examples are found under paragraphs 15.0.1 -  
15.11.0.

As will be seen from a study of the examples of Extensions, (Chps. 15 & 16) the tonal sequence of extensions follows the same pattern, under any given

circumstances, irrespective of the species<sup>1)</sup> of Extension involved.

18.6.4 Similarly, di-R verbal roots with additional extensions, conform to the formula given in paragraph 18.8.0.

It is sufficient to give only brief examples of each group (classified according to the number of syllables involved, since the original tone sequence of the di-R v.r. does not affect the issue at this stage of syllable-number .

Di-R v.r. with three Extensions : >LLHLL :

e.g. : -ÉNZ- (do) -ÉNZ-áká-ís- (injure)  
-VÚS- (awaken) -VÚS-él-ék-él-

Di-R v.r. with four Extensions : >LLLHLL :

e.g. : -TSHÁB- (come to nothing)  
-TSHÁB-álàl-ís-àn-  
(annihilate each other).

Further examples may be found under paragraphs 16.3.1 - 16.3.32.

18.6.5 Di-Radical Verbal root with two segment Extension.

Di-R v.r. with sequence HL, LL or FL all have the invariable tonal sequence of LHLL : e.g.  
-BÉTH- (hit) -BÉTH-án-ís- (cause to hit each other)

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1) i.e. Whether it be the Applied, Causative, Associative etc.

-JIK̀ (turn)      -JIK̀-él-éz̀ (revolve around)  
 -CÊL̀ (ask)      -CÊL̀-él-àǹ (ask each other  
 for).

Whether the two segments are two separate segments in series, or constitute one two-segment extension, the sequence remains unchanged : for example :

-PHUM̀ (go out, come out)  
 > -PHUM̀-élel̀ (succeed)  
 -GCIǸ (keep) > -GCIǸ-akal̀ (be preserved)  
 -CÊL̀ (ask) > -CÊL̀-isis̀ (ask earnestly for)

Further examples are to be found under paragraphs  
 16.2.1 - 16.2.21.

18.6.6 Di-R v.r. with three Extensions : > LLHLL :

e.g.,

-FAǸ (resemble) > -FAǸ-él-ék̀-ís̀ (make  
 fitting)  
 -VUM̀ (agree) > -VUM̀-él-ék̀-él̀ (be permis-  
 sible for)  
 -THÊTH̀ (speak) > -THÊTH̀-él-él-àǹ (speak on  
 behalf of one another)

Also, in the same way,

-ENZ̀-akal̀-ís̀,      -NXIB̀-élel̀-ék̀  
 -AZ̀-akal̀-ís̀

Further examples are given under paragraphs 16.3.1 -  
 16.3.32.

18.6.7 Di-R v.r. with four Extensions : > LLLHLL :

e.g.,

- PH<sup>^</sup>AMB̀ (change places, change sides)  
 >-PHAMB̀-àn-ís-él-àǹ (exchange places  
 with one another)  
 -TSHAB̀ (come to nothing) > -TSHAB̀-àlál-ís-àǹ  
 (annihilate one another).

Further examples are given under paragraphs 16.4.1 -  
 16.4.4.

18.7.0 Even if the extensions to the di-R v.r. are of different types, for example, di-R v.r. plus radical extension, plus extension, the sequences are the same as when all the extension segments are of one and the same species. For example, we have -THANDÀ:Z-él-àǹ (pray for one another). The di-R v.r., >LLHLL as in -THETH̀-él-cl-àǹ.

18.8.0 The results may be summarised in the following Table:

Tonal Sequence of Di-Radical Verbal  
 Roots; with various extensions :

Di-Radical Sequence:	Number of Extension Segments:	Extended Root: Tonal Sequence:
HL	+ ONE	HLL
LL	+ ONE	HLL
FL	+ ONE	LHL
HL/LL/FL	+ TWO	LHLL
HL/LL/FL	+ THREE	LLHLL
HL/LL/FL	+ FOUR	LLLHLL

18.9.0 INCIDENCE OF TYPICAL SEQUENCES.

18.9.1 Sequence : LL :

Apart from the di-radical verbal roots and di-radical ideophonic roots which carry this sequence, and which are self-evident, this sequence is found in the following derived forms:

- (i) Di-radical verbal root, derived from a mono-radical ideophonic root (L or H) followed by a Radical Conversion Extension :<sup>1)</sup>
- (ii) Di-radical verbal root, derived from a di-radical ideophonic root (LL or LH), less its final vowel.<sup>2)</sup>

18.9.2 Sequence : HL :

Certain di-radical verbal roots and di-radical ideophonic roots carry this sequence.

18.9.3 Sequence : LHL :

This sequence is found in the following derived verbal roots:

- (i) Tri-radical verbal roots, derived from a di-radical verbal root (FL), followed by a Radical Extension.<sup>3)</sup>

1) cf. Para 12.5.3

2) cf. Para 12.2.4

3) cf. Para 11.5.1 e.g. -GÀNGÁTH- < -GÂNG- etc.

- (ii) Di-radical verbal roots (FL), when followed by a one-segment Extension.<sup>1)</sup>
- (iii) Tri-radical verbal roots derived from a di-radical ideophonic root, (HL, HH, LH) followed by a Radical Conversion Extension.<sup>2)</sup>

#### 18.9.4 The Sequence HLL :

This sequence may be found in the following forms, examples of which follow :

- (i) Di-radical verbal root plus Radical Extension. (<HL or LL).<sup>3)</sup>
- (ii) Di-radical verbal root, derived from reduplicated mono-radical ideophonic root plus Radical Conversion Extension. (<H or L)<sup>4)</sup>
- (iii) Di-radical verbal root, derived from di-radical ideophonic root, less its final vowel, plus one Extension. (<LL).<sup>5)</sup>
- (iv) Di-radical verbal root plus one Extension. (<HL, LL).<sup>6)</sup>

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1) cf. Para 15.2.2 e.g. -CÈLék̀ < -CÈL̀ etc.  
 2) cf. Para 12.5.4 e.g. -THINGÁZ̀ < -thi thingà etc.  
 3) cf. Para 11.5.1 e.g. -CHWÍLISH̀ < -CHWÍL̀ etc.  
 4) cf. Para 12.5.5 e.g. -BHÚBHÙZ̀ < -thi bhúú etc.  
 5) cf. Para 12.10.0 e.g. -TSHÚTSHìs̀ < -thi tshù etc.  
 6) cf. Para 15.0.0 - 15.8.5

- (v) Tri-radical verbal root, derived from tri-radical ideophonic root, where the original R3 is replaced by a different R3, and the final vowel dropped in favour of the terminative -a.  
( < LLL, LLH ).<sup>1)</sup>
- (vi) Tri-radical verbal root, derived from di-radical ideophonic root, (LL), followed by Radical Conversion Extension.<sup>2)</sup>
- (vii) Di-radical verbal root, with non-radical-initial vowel.<sup>3)</sup>

#### 18.9.5 Sequence LHLL :

This sequence is found where there is an extended verbal root comprising, in all, four syllables : namely :

- (i) When a di-radical verbal root (HL, LL, or FL) is followed by two Extensions (or segments).<sup>4)</sup>
- (ii) When a di-radical verbal root (HL, LL or FL) is extended by means of a Radical Extension and then accepts a one-segment Extension.<sup>5)</sup>
- (iii) When a di-radical verbal root is reduplicated.<sup>6)</sup>

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1) cf. Para 12.20.0 e.g. -FĪNĪZ̀ < -thi fìnìnì etc.

2) cf. Para 12.5.4 e.g. -MPĀKĀZ̀ < -thi mpàkà etc.

3) cf. Para 8.5.1 e.g. -ĀLĀM̀ etc.

4) cf. Para 16.2.1 - 16.2.21

5) cf. Para 17.4.0 - 17.4.6

6) cf. Para 7.3.7



- (iv) When a di-radical ideophonic root (LL or HH) is followed by a Radical Conversion Extension plus a one-segment Extension.<sup>1)</sup>
- (v) When a tri-radical ideophonic root (LLL) is converted to a verbal root, through the loss of the final vowel, and is then followed by an Extension.<sup>2)</sup>
- (vi) When a quadri-radical ideophonic root (LLLL) becomes a quadri-radical verbal root, through the loss of the final vowel.<sup>3)</sup>

#### 18.9.6 Sequence : LLHLL :

This sequence is found where an extended verbal root comprises, in all, five syllables : namely :

- (i) When a di-radical verbal root (HL, LL, or FL) is followed by three (segments) Extensions.<sup>4)</sup>

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1) cf. Para 12.15.0

2) cf. -NQUMAM-is- < -thi nqumàmà  
(bring to standstill) (stand still)

3) cf. -HLAZULUL- (spread out, expose)  
-thi hlàzùlùlù (s.m.)

N.B. This form might equally well be a typical example of the Abundant Actional (7(b)) Extension -ulul- with the di-R v.r. -HLAZ- (expose, disgrace)

4) cf. Para 16.3.4 - 16.3.32

- (ii) When a di-radical ideophonic root (LL) is followed by a radical conversion Extension, plus two (segments) Extensions.<sup>1)</sup>
- (iii) When a quadri-radical ideophonic root (LLLH) is converted to a quadri-radical verbal root, through the loss of the final vowel, and is followed by one Extension (segment).<sup>2)</sup>

18.9.7 Sequence : LLLHLL :

The only examples I have found of this tonal sequence have been where a di-radical verbal root is followed by four (segments) Extensions. By analogy, however, it would seem possible for it to occur wherever an extended verbal root consists of six syllables in all.

For Example:

- PHÀMB-`àn-`is-`él-`àn-` (exchange places with each other)  
 < -PHÂMB-` (change place : change sides)  
 -XHÒM-`èk-`èl-`él-`àn-` (be connected with)  
 < -XHÒM-` (hang)  
 -BÒN-`àkàl-`is-`èl-` (make clear to)  
 < -BÒN-` (see).

- 1) cf. -thi bhèngè > -BHÈNGE:Z-`él-`èl-`  
 (flash) (enlighten regarding)
- 2) cf. -thi khàlàkàthà (thrust, stab)  
 -KHÀLÀKÀTH-`èl-` (fall into, fall over)

18.10.C DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TONAL SEQUENCES  
OF VERBAL ROOTS AS SPOKEN IN THE  
TRANSKEI AND CISKEI AREAS.

18.10.1 Where a di-radical root is extended to constitute a root with three syllables, whereas the Transkei speakers use the tonal sequence LHL, the Ciskei use the sequence HHL.<sup>1)</sup>

18.10.2 Where an extended root consists of four or more syllables, the Transkei usage employs a basic final tonal sequence of HLL (for the last three syllables) and every syllable preceding has a low tone, L : for example:

LHLL, LLHLL, LLLHLL.

18.10.3 Under the same circumstances, however, the Ciskei speaker uses a basic final tonal sequence of HHL (for the last three syllables), and, as with the Transkei usage, every syllable preceding has a low tone, L :

For example:

LHHL, LLHHL, LLLHHL.

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1) This applies where the di-R v.r. has the sequence FL.

CHAPTER 1919.0.0 SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS:

The following is a brief summing up of the conclusions reached in this investigation.

19.1.0 The Radical :

19.1.1 The basic unit of the verbal root in Xhosa is the Radical which consists essentially of a consonant and a vowel phoneme, indivisibly attached (viz. -CV).

19.1.2 Examples of self-contained radicals are seen in such mono-R v.r. as -THĪ̀, -TSHṐ, which have retained their radical vowel.

19.1.3 For the most part, however, even the surviving mono-R v.r., while being in themselves self-contained radicals, have lost their original vowel and now accept the detachable, invariable terminative -a. giving rise to forms, such as -F̂ , -Ŵ etc. (or -Ĉ ).

19.1.4 Only a very limited number of radicals still exist as self-contained mono-R v.r. For the most part today radicals exist as component radicals of di-R or multi-R v.r.

19.1.5 When a R occurs as a mono-R v.r., it has

'meaning'. When, however, R is a component radical of a di-R or multi-R v.r., it merely has semantic shape, or semantic influence in a certain direction.

#### 19.2.0 The Rhizeme :

It sometimes happens that a group of R will be related to one another. They are then said to belong to the same Rhizeme. A Rhizeme may contain R which differ in their consonant or vowel phonemes, or in both. There are only minimal variants of the consonant phonemes within the rhizeme.<sup>1)</sup>

#### 19.3.0 The Verbal Root :

19.3.1 Verbal roots are conveniently classified according to the number of radicals which they contain. Thus, there are a limited number of mono-R v.r., the majority are di-R v.r., and again, a very limited number of tri- or multi-R v.r.

19.3.2 Mono-R v.r., may be of three types : namely,

Simple mono-R v.r., (of the form -CV or C~) :

Mono-R v.r. with a latent initial -(i)-, which though it never occurs as such, influences certain vowels that precede it, (viz: -(i)C~).

Mono-R v.r., with a non-radical initial

---

1) e.g. An alveolar will give place to another alveolar, a pre-palatal to another pre-palatal etc.

vowel : (viz: vC~).

This initial y, whether latent -(i)-or an actual vowel, is not a radical, but a probable survival of an obsolete infinitive prefix.

19.3.3 Di-R v.r. consist of a fusion of two R, viz: -CV:C~. These radicals are not merely in juxtaposition, but fused in such a manner as to constitute an indivisible di-R unit, with a definite meaning attached.

19.3.4 The R1 carries the main semantic idea of the v.r., while the R2 exert a semantic influence in some direction or other : indicating transitive or intransitive action, protracted or repetative action, and so on.

19.3.5 The R1 invariably has a radical vowel,<sup>1)</sup> but the R2 in a di-R v.r., loses its characteristic vowel in favour of a later developed terminative -a.

19.3.6 In a limited number of instances, the R1 has lost its initial consonant, and leaves a v.r. with the form -V:C~. These constitute the vowel-verbal roots.

19.3.7 Tri-R v.r. and Multi-R v.r.

Basically the Xhosa v.r. is usually di-R. Those v.r. which appear to be tri- or multi-R v.r., are frequently either di-R v.r. with Radical Exten-

---

1) Except in most mono-R v.r.

sions, or Extensions, or they are derived from ideophonic r., to which have been added a radical conversion extension, and sometimes, in addition, an extension.

19.3.8 With the exception of -THÌ, -TSHÒ, -ÂZÌ, all verbal roots in Xhosa have lost their final vowel and accepted, in its place, an invariable terminative -a.

19.4.0 Extensions to the Verbal Root.

The simple verbal root may be extended by means of:

19.4.1 (i) A radical extension, consisting of one or more R2. Where this occurs, the radical vowel of R1 persists throughout the extended root, giving rise to an assonic vowel pattern.

19.4.2 (ii) An extension, consisting of a phoneme made up of -yc-, or multiples thereof. Instead of one single such extension, there may be a series of such extensions, following one another.

19.4.3 (iii) A radical extension may be followed by an extension, but an extension is never followed by a radical extension.

19.4.4 Non-Verbal roots may be converted to verbal roots by one of two processes : for instance :

- (i) An Ideophonic root, nominal or adjectival root, may be adapted to verbal usage by the loss of the final vowel, and its replacement by the detachable terminative -a.
- (ii) An Ideophonic or adjectival root may accept a Radical Conversion Extension and thus become a verbal root.

19.4.5 The Extensions, consisting of -vc- or multiples thereof, are more loosely attached to the v.r., than the radical extensions. They invariably follow the simple verbal root, or any radical extension thereto : they never come between the simple v.r. and a REx.

19.4.6 Though the extension modifies what might be termed the range of activity of the verb, it does not alter the basic idea described by the simple verbal root.

19.4.7 There appears to be no logical reason why certain v.r. resist certain extensions, while accepting others.

19.4.8 Extensions may be used in series to give wide flexibility to the meaning of the verb.



19.4.9 The order of sequence of extensions in series is dependent upon the emphasis desired by the speaker. 'No one extension has permanent precedence over another.' The passive extension is the only exception to this rule.

19.5.0 Tonal Contrasts and Sequences.

19.5.1 Mono-R v.r. have either a H or L tonal value.

Di-R v.r. may be HL, LL, or FL.

19.5.2 When a di-R v.r. accepts one extension (whether REx or Ex), the following modifications take place, Di-R v.r. HL and LL + Extension >HLL. Di-R v.r. + Extension >LHL.

19.5.3 On accepting two Extensions (of whatever type) all three di-R v.r. (HL, LL and FL) > LHLL.

19.5.4 Every additional extension (of whatever type) adds a further low tone to the beginning of the root : e.g.

LLHLL,      LLLHLL.

19.5.5 Certain regular variations in tonal sequence which distinguish the Transkeian from the Ciskeian dialectic tonal patterns. The tones in this thesis represent the former variety.

PRIMARY RADICALSOCCURRING IN MORE THAN ONE ROOT

N.B. The primary radicals given in the left hand column in the following pages are actually starred forms, since they do not occur today as isolated radicals: their present form in many instances, probably being a modified form of the original. In order to obviate unnecessary repetition, I have not inserted the asterisk. It should, however, be recognised that they are starred forms in each case.

<sup>^</sup>  
BHĀ

Idea of spreading out:

-thi bhābhālālā. be widely extended

-BHĀKĀX- sew on a broad patch

-BHĀLĀKĀX- sprawl on the ground, fall on  
hands and knees

<sup>\</sup>  
BHĀ

Idea of haphazard or incoherent action:

-BHĀBHĀM- be furious, rage

-BHĀDĀZ- go slowly; speak hesitatingly

-BHĀNX- act foolishly

-BHĀTY- mix (food): mix things up (in speaking)

<sup>\</sup>  
BHĀ

Idea of convulsive action:

-BHĀBH- struggle for freedom

-BHĀTYUL- beat, flog

-BHĀNYAZ- writhe in pain

BHĀ

Idea of roaring, growling:

-BHĀRUMĻ- cry, roar, growl, angrily

-BHĀVUMĻ- growl, snarl, speak gruffly

BHĒ

Idea of exposing:

-BHĒNC- blurt out, expose, disclose

-BHĒNQ- turn inside out (garment): unfold  
(petals of flower)

-BHĒNTS- sit in exposed position

BHĒ

Idea of leaping forward:

-BHĒQU- bound, spring loftily

-BHĒSH- outstart, outrun, outdo

BHĒ

Idea of bending:

-BHĒTY- bend back

-BHĒQ- row, paddle

BHĪ

Idea of erupting:

-BHĪDL- bring up wind from the stomach

-BHĪJ- stir up: stir up strife

BHŌ

Idea of growling, crying aloud:

-BHŌBŌLŌZ- cry loudly: howl with grief

-BHŌNG- bellow like calf: roar in distress

BHŪ

Idea of upsetting:

-BHŪKUL- trip up, throw down

-BHŪKUQ- overturn, upset, capsize

-thi bhūlūkudū stumble, fall on the knees

- BHÚ / Idea of beating  
 -BHÚL- beat, out: thresh  
 -BHÚMBÚTH- beat softly, pat
- BÀ \ Idea of identifying:  
 -BÁL- count, reckon: relate  
 -BÁLul- pick out, select, make exception of
- BÁ / Idea of contracting, coming together:  
 -BĀND- congeal, be cold to the touch  
 -BĀNDĀKANY- unite, come together into one
- BĪ ^ Idea of making contact with (someone):  
 -BĪK- report, announce  
 -BĪZ- call, summon
- BÓ / Idea of pressing down:  
 -BÓB- press down, compress  
 -BÓHL- fall, sink, collapse
- BÒ \ Idea of being overripe, bec. rotten:  
 -BOL- rot, decompose  
 -BOZ- be over-ripe, decaying
- BŪ ^ Idea of holding in esteem:  
 -BŪK- look at with admiration, intently  
 -BŪS- do service at court; pay homage
- CHĀ \ Idea of taking one at a time:  
 -CHĀPHĀZ- (and -thi chāpā etc): fall in  
 drop

- CHAPHul- take out some  
 -CHATH- take out one or more from a number  
 -CHATHAZ- pour out carefully: let out in  
 drops

## CĪ

Idea of doing meticulously:

- CĪKĪD- feel with the finger, try, test  
 -CĪKĪZ- do work finely, with extreme care  
 -CĪKŌZ- speak fluently

## CĪ

Idea of covering, smothering:

- CĪK- cover, put lid on  
 -CĪM- (and -thi cĪmí) put out, extinguish  
 (fire etc.)

## CHI

Idea of scattering, spilling out:

- CHITH- spill, scatter, spend, waste  
 -CHIZ- come out, exude

## CŌ

Idea of pressing, crushing:

- CŌBŌZ- crush  
 -CŌF- press or feel with the hand (e.g. milk  
 sac; stomach etc.)  
 -CŌL- grind fine

## CŌ

Idea of being neat, clean, careful:

- CŌC- cleanse, purify  
 -CŌCŌMBel- robe oneself, dress showily  
 -CŌTH- walk softly

CŪ

Idea of crushing, crumbling:

-CŪBŪNG- crumble off, nibble off

-CŪKŪCèz- break into small pieces, treat  
with scant respect

CWA

Idea of being still, quiet:

-CWAL- sit still; wait (before attacking)

-thi cwakà be still, be silent

-CWATSHul- creep stealthily (as a cat)

CWE

Idea of cutting off a slither, thin  
slice:-CWEcŭl- -thi cwè: cut off thin slice,  
dip up a little-CHWEL-<sup>1)</sup> peel, plane, make smooth

DA

Idea of rending, tearing:

-DABuk- part, give way, get torn

-DAKAD- tear to pieces, mangle

DA

Idea of being depressed, decreased, low:

-DAKUMB- be dejected, depressed

-DAMBUZ- walk slowly, (as a child, or from  
dignity, etc)

-DAN- Be disappointed, discouraged, ashamed

---

1) Note, aspirated consonant in R1.

DÈ

Idea of length, being or holding at a distance:

-DÈD- stand back, keep at a distance,  
keep aloof

-DÈND- talk at great length, interminably

-DÈPHÍsel- hinder, obstruct, prevent realization

DÈ

Idea of careless, aimless action:

-DÈBÈLEZ- talk nonsense

-DÈNG- be slow, slack, stupid

DÌ

Idea of pounding, confusion, quivering:

-DÌB- tramp (earth): beat down; browbeat

-DÌD- confuse: fluster

-DÌKÍZel- quiver, (as the muscles after exertion)

DÌ

Idea of filling up gap, or hole:

-DÌB- fill up a hole or gap

-DÌK- satisfy, satiate

DÌ

Idea of disintegration, falling into ruin:

-DÌLIK- fall into ruins (as mud walls,  
after rain)

-DÌMal- give up in disgust

-DÌN- fatigue

-DÌNGA- be unsuccessful (in seeking work,  
etc.)

DÔ

Idea of being bulky, unwieldy:

-(isi)-DÔDÔ- (7) fat, inert, mass

-DÔL- bec: stiff, dull, indolent

-DÔMBÔZ- thank sententiously, with flattery

DÛ

Idea of stamping, mixing:

-DÛBHÛZ- trample (as a clod into dust, etc.)

-DÛB- mix, knead, trample together

-DÛNG- stir up, disturb

DÛ

Idea of moving about:

-DÛK- wander, wander away; get lost

-DÛKUD- stir, move about; wear out

-DÛNGÛDêl- abandon home, wander about, etc.

DÛ

Idea of rumbling:

-DÛDÛM- thunder, rumble (as a crowd in motion)

-DÛM- sound, shout in triumph

-DÛMZêl- hum, mutter, grumble

FÊ

Idea of doing sporadically:

-FÊD- be feckless, lazy

-FÊKETH- play, sport: (with nga)  
dillydally over

FÎ

Idea of drawing in, shortening:

-FÎNG- shorten, tuck in, gather in,  
compress-FÎNIZ- draw together (the body), make  
grimaces



FI

Idea of being dim, indistinct:

-(u-)FÍFÌ (ll) a glimpse, indistinct view,  
inkling

-FÍPHÁL- bec: dim; bec: pale, cloudy,  
etc.

FO

Idea of exerting pressure upon:

-FÓC- squeeze, squeeze out

-FÓHL- break in, down(skull): depress or  
lower

-FÓTHÓK-; -thi fòtò be dented

FU

Idea of getting hold of, acquiring:

-FUMÁn- come upon, reach, attain

-FUMBÁTH- clench (fist): grasp : retain,  
comprehend

-FÚY- possess (land): breed (stock)

F 1)

Idea of being similar:

-FÁN- resemble, be like

-FÚZ- be like, resemble

GÁ

Idea of cutting short:

-GÁMLèl- cut short (a long story)

-GÁWUL- cut down, hew, chop down

---

1) Common Rhizeme.

GE Idea of violent, aggressive action:

- GEBENG- fall upon, kill and rob
- GENG- throw or burst a door wide open
- GEQ- throw or jerk out

GE Idea of unsteady action:

- GETYEZ- quiver, vibrate, undulate
- GEVEZEL- be weak in the knees; totter
- GEX- reel, stagger
- GEZ- be mad, insane, crazy

GI Idea of walking, running:

- GIDIM- run with speed
- GIGIZ- move in walking
- GIJIM- run fast

GO Idea of digging:

- GOC- dig into
- GOGOD- scrape the pit bottom
- GOMB- scoop out, hollow out

GQI Idea of finishing:

- GQIB- finish, end, complete
- GQIL- suck or milk dry

GQU Idea of covering, concealing:

- GQUBUTHel- cover, veil
- GQUK- cover tracks, obliterate, conceal
- GQUM- cover, smother, conceal, hide

- GU            Idea of wearing away:  
 -GUL-    be ill: moan  
 -GUMB-    wear away : hollow out
- HLA           Idea of stabbing, cutting, crushing,  
 destroying:  
 -HLAB-    pierce, stab, slaughter  
 -HLAHL-    cut down, cut up etc.  
 -HLAKAZ-    break up, disperse  
 -HLAKUL-    skoffle, weed
- HLA           Idea of cleansing:  
 -HLAMB-    wash, swim etc., rebuke  
 -HLANZ-    cleanse, purify
- HLE           Idea of sorting, choosing:  
 -HLEL-    sort out, pick out, separate  
 -HLENG-    separate into good and bad: favour
- HLU           Idea of separating:  
 -HLUTH-    take from by force, deprive of  
 -HLUZ-    strain, filter, sift
- JE            Idea of cutting:  
 -JEC-,JEQ-    cut clean through, finish off  
                   quickly  
 -JENGQ-    cut across, sever
- JI            Idea of twisting, turning:  
 -JIC-    plait neatly  
 -JIJ-    twist, turn  
 -JIK-    turn round, turn about

- JIKIJ- bore through  
 -JIL- interweave, do wickerwork  
 -JING- hang, dangle, swing

- JÓ Idea of aggressive speech, action:  
 -JÓR- use violent, aggressive speech or  
 action  
 -JÓK- be always after, constrain: over-  
 persuade  
 -JÓNGOTH- demand one's rights

- JÙ Idea of action carried out under  
 fatigue:  
 -JUC, JUCULUZ- struggle on in spite of  
 fatigue  
 -JUQ- be feeble, walk feebly

- KHÀ Idea of violent physical action  
 (often aggressive):  
 -KHAB- kick, shoot (plants)  
 -KHAHLel- (and -thi khahlà): throw or set  
 down with force  
 -KHANKATH- beat often, cuff, pommel

- KHÍ Idea of coming loose and falling:  
 -KHIHLIK- slip, fall off: froth over  
 -KHITHIK- get loose and fall

- KHÚ Idea of repetition:  
 -KHUBel- repeat (a statement): recall  
 (a judgement)  
 -KHUMBUL- remember, recollect, keep in mind

KHŪ

Idea of expanding:

-KHUKHUMal- rise, swell, expand (in boiling)

-KHUNYalal- rise, swell (in boiling):

increase (in strength)

-KHUL- grow

KHWE

Idea of getting out of the way:

-KHWE<sup>u</sup>Buk- get out of the way, move away-KHWE<sup>u</sup>Lel- get out of the way

KHŪ &gt; KHWA and KHWI

Idea of crying out:

-KHWAZ- call loudly, shout to

-KHWIN- whine, whimper

LA

Idea of desiring:

-LAMB- become hungry

-LANGAZel<sup>e</sup>lel- long for, desire eagerly

LE

Idea of movement (to and fro):

-LENY- wag (e.g. a dog's tail): dart  
here and there (as flames)-LEKENY- lick off (flesh, with rough  
tongue: as a lion)

LE

Idea of running:

-LEQ- run like cattle : race cattle

-LETSHEZ- run about, gad about

LI

Idea of passing time:

-LIBal- idle, loiter, waste time, delay

-LIND- wait for, watch for

LÔ

Idea of careful, sustained action:

-LÒLÓNG<sup>ˆ</sup>-, -LÒNGÁ--LÒNG<sup>ˆ</sup>- observe carefully:

look at in detail

-LÒNDL<sup>ˆ</sup>- spy out : see far off

LU

Idea of being straight, correct:

-LULám<sup>ˆ</sup>- be meek, submissive, obedient-LULék<sup>ˆ</sup>- straighten out (something bent),  
put right, correct-LUNG<sup>ˆ</sup>- be right, suitable, fitting

MBA

Idea of striking, patting:

-MBAKRAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>- slap, hit, box-MBAMBÁZel<sup>ˆ</sup>- pat, beat one's breast (for  
joy or sorrow)-MBÁTYul<sup>ˆ</sup>- thrash, flog, scourge

ME

Idea of calling, summoning:

-MEM<sup>ˆ</sup>- summon, invite, proclaim-MEMEZ<sup>ˆ</sup>- call out

MI

Idea of swallowing:

-MÍNY<sup>ˆ</sup>- swallow outright, drain, exhaust-MÍZ<sup>ˆ</sup>- swallow quickly, gulp down etc.

MPA

Idea of slapping (with hand) etc.:

-MPAKAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>- slap with hand, smack etc.-MPÁNGAZ<sup>ˆ</sup>- treat unkindly: talk loudly  
about etc.

NÀ

Idea of fixing upon:

-NÀK- accuse falsely; get another into  
trouble

-NÀTH- catch in net, swallow up

NDÌ

Idea of being fickle:

-NDÌBÀZ- hesitate, be irresolute, undecided

-NDÌLàth- be changeable, fickle wavering

-NDÌTH- hesitate, doubt, be undecided

NDÌ

Idea of pestering continually:

-NDÌKIND- speak with vehemence and gesticu-  
lation

-thi ndi make a noise, rumble

-NDÌIND- keep hammering at, keep soliciting to

NGCÁ

Idea of doing in feeble manner:

-NGCÁKAC- grow thinly : have a few grains on  
ear

-NGCÁMBÁZ- walk feeble : hobble along

NGQU

Idea of restless, tortuous movement:

-NGQUNG- be restless, uneasy, fidget with  
pain

-NGQUNGQ- dance with contortions

NGX<sup>1)</sup>

Idea of standing, with legs apart:

-NGXAB- spread out the legs

-NGXEK- have the legs wide apart, or the  
mouth open

---

1) These belong to the same Rhizeme.

- NKWA<sup>´</sup> Idea of feeling insecure:  
 -NKWANTY<sup>´</sup>- tremble with fear  
 -NKWATH<sup>´</sup>- feel unsafe : have an uneasy  
 conscience
- NQU<sup>´</sup> Idea of breaking, cutting off:  
 NQUNQ<sup>´</sup>- chop or cut fine : mince : chop up  
 NQUTHUL<sup>´</sup>- pluck out, pull away, cut off
- NTLA<sup>`</sup> Idea of rough action:  
 -NTLAL<sup>`</sup>- knock about : dash or throw down  
 -NTLAKAZ<sup>`</sup>- do coarsly : -thi ntlakà (s.m.)  
 -NTLANTL<sup>`</sup>- quarrel : disagree
- NTSO<sup>`</sup> Idea of ambiguous, indecisive action:  
 -NTSONKOTH<sup>`</sup>-) speak indirectly, ambiguously  
 -NTSOMPOTH<sup>`</sup>-) mysteriously
- NWE<sup>`</sup> Idea of stretching, spreading out:  
 -NWE<sup>´</sup>NWEZ<sup>`</sup>- spread, blaze (of veld fire etc.)  
 -NWEB<sup>`</sup>- stretch, draw out
- NYA<sup>^</sup> Idea of persistent, patient action:  
 -NYAMEZEL<sup>`</sup>- bear, endure, persevere  
 -NYANYATH<sup>`</sup>- do again, repeat an action  
 -NYANZEL<sup>`</sup>- force, constrain, compel, bring  
 pressure to bear upon
- NYA<sup>`</sup> Idea of putting pressure on : treading  
 on:  
 -NYASH<sup>`</sup>- press down, tread down  
 -NYATHel<sup>`</sup>- tread on, trample on



NYÌ

Idea of throbbing, grating:

-NYÍKIM- quake, tremble

-NYÍKIZ- grate (as two ends of a broken  
bone)

NYÒ

Idea of stretching, extending:

-NYÓLuk- be stretched out, be greedy

-NYÓLul- draw out, pull out, etc.

NYÓ

Idea of unfastening, loosing:

-NYÓBulul- untie (e.g. shoestring)

-NYOMBulul- untie, loosen, disentangle

-NYÓTHul- pull up, pluck out

NYÜ

Idea of sly, slinking movement:

-NYÜBULUK- crawl, wriggle, move like a  
snake

-NYÜBULUZ- (s.m.)

-NYÜBel- (s.m.)

NYÚ

Idea of upward movement:

-NYÜK- come up, go up, ascend etc.

-NYÜL- draw out, draw up : select

Ó

Idea of bringing to the fore; increasing:

-ÓNGam- stand out, project; superintend

-ÓNGez- add more, bring more, increase (by  
addition)

Ó

Idea of heating:

-ÓS- roast, grill, fry (and -ÓJ- (s.m.))

-ÓTH- warm oneself, bask, heat up

PHÀ

Idea of surrounding:

-PHÀHL- encircle, surround, accompany

-PHÀL- go about, go round : gallop

PHÂ

Idea of scooping out:

-PHÂK- ladle out, serve out (food)

-PHÂL- scrape out (pot): Scrape (hide)

PHÂ

Idea of being in position:

-PHÂKAM- stand up, stand erect

-PHÂMB- change places, turn back

-PHÂMBuK- turn aside, deviate, stray

PHÀ

Idea of striking, pounding:

-PHÀNG- do with speed or force

-PHÀNZ- be routed, defeated, laid waste

PHÂ

Idea of being open, opening out:

-PHÂNYAZ- open and shut the eyes

-PHÂPH- open out; flap (of wings, garments)

-PHÂSâlâl- get scattered, loose

PHÉ

Idea of turning, turning round, up, etc.:

-PHÉKUL- turn up (e.g. corner of a page)

-PHÉKUZ- be turned up, etc.

-PHÉNDUL- turn down, turn over, reply

-PHÉNUK- get upset, lose one's balance

PHĒ

Idea of coming to an end:

-PHĒL- come to an end, finish

-PHĒZ- stop, leave off, desist

PHĒ

Idea of searching out:

-PHĒNDL- examine another's head for  
parasites: brush aside (part  
of the hair)-PHĒNGul- search out, bring to light,  
discover

PHĪ

Idea of investigating:

-PHĪCÓTH- investigate searchingly

-PHĪCIK- inquire thoroughly into

PHŌ

Idea of cooling down:

-PHŌL- cool, abate, heal

-PHŌZis- cool (oneself or food): cool down  
towards

PHŪ

Idea of coming up, out, abundantly:

-PHŪHL- come up well, grow well, be energetic

-PHŪKŪZel- froth up, effervesce, be hasty,  
effervescent

-PHŪPHŪM- gush out, overflow

PHŪ

Idea of coming loose, slip off:

-PHŪCŪK- slip off, come clean out: etc.

-PHŪLŪK- slip away, glide away, let slip

-PHŪM- come out, go out

-PHŪNCŪK- slip off, slip and fall

PHÙ

Idea of coming to nothing:

-PHUNZ̀ cast the young

-PHUTH̀ come to nothing, prove abortive

PHÙ

Idea of groping for:

-PHUTHÁ-PHUTH̀ grope about, feel with the  
hands-PHUTHUM̀ go in search of; fetch, fetch  
back

QHÀ

Idea of cutting open, opening up,  
breaking up:

-QHÁL̀ unpack, open out: speak in metaphor

-QHÁQH̀ tear or cut open; tear asunder

QĀ

Idea of shining, glistening:

-QĀQĀMB̀ shine, glisten, be bright, pure

-QĀQĀWul̀ (s.m.) be splendid, glorious

QĪ

Idea of making fast, firm:

-QĪLĪNG̀ make tight

-QĪǸ be fixed, firm, tight

-QĪNGQ̀ stand, stop, halt

QŌ

Idea of being hard, strong:

-QŌLŌS̀ walk boldly about: behave arro-  
gantly

-QŌNŌMFel̀ work hard at

QO'

Idea of becoming seen, recognised:

-QOND' understand, comprehend, be intelligent

-QONONDis- point out, shew clearly

QU^

Idea of bowing, bending down:

-QULUS' bend down and turn the back

-QUKUL' throw down, head-over-heels

QU'

Idea of going quickly and for a short time:

-QUPH' step quickly : act quickly

-QUQ' go hither and thither : go often

SA'

Idea of fleeing, scattering:

-SA' clear (of dawn), clear up (of weather)

-SAB' flee away, flee from

-SAKAS' do on a large scale

SA'

Idea of remaining, staying:

-SAL' remain, stay, abide

-SAMel' lean upon, (couch etc.)

SE'

Idea of drinking:

-SEL' drink

-SEZ' give to drink, make drink

SO'

Idea of folding, enfolding:

-SONKOTH' entangle

-SONT' twist together, plait, spin

THĪ

Idea of restraining:

-THĪMB<sup>ˆ</sup>- take, seize, capture-THĪY<sup>ˆ</sup>- ensnare, trap

THŌ

Idea of bowing down, hanging down:

-THŌB<sup>ˆ</sup>- bend, bow, stoop, lower, depress-THŌKŌMBĪS<sup>ˆ</sup>- sit with hanging head-THŌZām<sup>ˆ</sup>- be drowsy, sleepy

TSHA

Idea of hostility:

(u)TSHAB<sup>ˆ</sup>- an enemy-TSHAKĀMBū<sup>ˆ</sup>- lose patience : become finally  
angry-TSHĀMBū<sup>ˆ</sup>- strike in irritation or exaspe-  
ration-TSHĀNDū<sup>ˆ</sup>- speak abusively, inveigle-TSHĀWū<sup>ˆ</sup>- glare : look superciliously

TSHĒ

Idea of cutting, chipping:

-TSCHEC<sup>ˆ</sup>- cut end off, gnaw-TSHĒNT<sup>ˆ</sup>- cut off grass with spade : skoffle-TSHĒNTū<sup>ˆ</sup>- scrape, scratch-TSHĒQ<sup>ˆ</sup>- cut off, tear off

TSHŪ

Idea of restless action:

-thi tshū<sup>ˆ</sup>- be restless, anxious-TSHŪL<sup>ˆ</sup>- probe, feel for, talk at random-TSHŪTSHĪS<sup>ˆ</sup>- make restless, persecute

THŪ

Idea of repeated, convulsive action:

-THŪTHŪMB<sup>ˆ</sup>- throb, be inflamed-THŪTHŪMē<sup>ˆ</sup>- tremble with fear : be anxious

TÚ, THÚ            Idea of being quiet, calm:

-thi tú be quiet, calm

-THÚL- be quiet, be calm, cease

-THUTHUZèl- comfort, quieten

THWÀ, TWÀ            Idea of being stretched out:

-THWÁBAZ- lie awake at nights

-TWÁBúul- stretch out, spread out

TYÈ                    Idea of drawing back:

-TYÈD- draw back

-TYÈK- move aside, swerve, deviate

VA                     Idea of being aware of:

-VANDLAKÁNY- give a hint : indicate

-VAVÁNY- test, inspect, examine

VE                     Idea of issuing from:

-VEL- come forth, come into sight

-VEZ- make appear; produce, bring forth

VI                     Idea of avoiding, restraining:

-VIK- parry, ward off (a blow)

-VIMB- be stingy, grudge (avoid giving)

-VINGC- close up, stop up

VÚ                     Idea of arousing:

-VÚK- wake, rise, get up

-VÚS- waken, arouse

VU Idea of opening up:

-VUL- open

-VUZ- leak

WA Idea of falling:

-W - fall

-WAHLAZ- throw down, jingle, rattle

XA Idea of being stretched out across:

-XAB- lie across, lay across, obstruct

-XAK- puzzle, present difficulties to

-XAKATH- wear (garment): bear (fruit)

-XAZalal- lie spread out (of a garment)

XA Idea of being spread around:

-XANAN- spread out on all sides, bec. wide,  
in abundance, varied

-XANANAZ- (s.m.)

-XAND- stool out (of grain): be fertile  
(of land)

XHA Idea of catching, seizing:

-XHAK- hook on to, join to, fasten to

-XHAKAMFUL- seize, snatch, hold

-thi xhamfu catch, snatch, seize, hold  
tightly

XHA Idea of holding up, holding out:

-XHAS- prop, support, maintain

-XHATHALAZ- bear up, endure, sustain

-XHATHis- prop the feet, stand fast:  
resist



XI

Idea of sustained action:

-XIK- do something persistently,  
frequently

-XIN- press, throng, impede

XHO

Idea of taking up, being up:

-XHOB- take up (weapons: baggage for a  
journey etc.)

-XHOM- hang up, hang, lift up

ZA

Idea of being languid:

-ZAMBÁZèk- be languid, effortless

-ZAML- yawn and stretch oneself

APPENDIX BEXAMPLES OF HIGH FREQUENCYSECONDARY RADICALS: (R2)

(OCCURRING IN REGULAR DI-RADICAL VERBAL ROOTS)

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SECONDARY RADICAL -B~

There are two main groups of secondary radicals -B~, viz.,

- (i) Operative radical -B~: with strong transitive force; and
- (ii) Neuter radical B~: with intransitive force.

(i) Examples of Operative radical -B~

Involving vigorous, drawn-out action: e.g.-  
 -GÁB̀ (break up (ground)): -KHÚB̀ (hoe): -QHÚB̀  
 (drive stock: wagon): Push, get on with sg): -GQÚB̀  
 (raise dust; or kick up dry cattle dung): -QWĒB̀ (lay  
 up, accumulate).

Involving vigorous action performed at a certain point in time: e.g.  
 -HLÁB̀ (pierce, stab): -KHÁB̀ (kick): -LÔB̀ (hook;  
 angle): -QÚB̀ (overtake: strike against).

Involving action requiring the use of the hands: e.g.,  
 -CHÚB̀ (pick grains off a mealie cob): -QHWÁB̀ (clap  
 the hands): -SÚB̀ (scoop up: take a double handful  
 of sg).

Involving the application of pressure  
(often of the hands etc.) e.g.

-BÓB̀ (press down, compress): -BÚB̀ (press together): -SWĒB̀ (pinch): -TYÒB̀ (crush lice (etc.)).

Involving the mixing up of things: putting one thing with another and intermingling them: e.g.

-DĪB̀ (mix together: fill up (a hole)): -DUB̀ (mix up and disturb): -JUB̀ (rebound): -VUB̀ (pour amasi over cooked mealies): -XUB̀ (mix up things or people of different kinds).

Involving breaking down in some sense or other: e.g.

-CWAB̀ (break up small (sticks into smaller lengths)): -GŪB̀ (grind into meal): -QCB̀ (crush, break small).

Involving the body in some manner: e.g.

-GÓB̀ (bend down: bend (the knee)): -THÓB̀ (bend down, make lower).

Involving action requiring a certain amount of skill: e.g.

-GWAB̀ (sing, chant): -RWĒB̀ (trade): -NGCIB̀ (do skilled labour: repair): -ZÓB̀ (draw: paint).

(ii) Examples of Neuter Radical -B~

Verbs involving "becoming" and connected with an emotional state, or state of mind:  
e.g.

-GCÓB̀ (be glad): -NDWĒB̀ (be timid, shy, suspicious): -NXŪB̀ (become alarmed, apprehensive): -NYÒB̀ (be in

high spirits; glad): -TSHAB̀ (be silent, morose):  
-TSHOB̀ (become restless, anxious).

Verbs involving mainly "becoming" and connected with a physical state or condition: e.g.  
-GAB̀ (brim over: be in vain): -HLOB̀ (become separated, become irritated): -NYAB̀ (be dull, lazy, lethargic): -QOB̀ (become numb, stupefied).

SECONDARY RADICAL -C~

Secondary radical -C~ frequently indicates Punctative action.

(i) Examples of Punctative radical C~

Involving "cutting", "chopping":

-BHAC̀ (cut out and make the isiBHAC̀): -GEC̀ (cut a way through (bush, rock, etc.)): -GOC̀ (dig into):  
-JAC̀ (break into two: waste, spend): -JEC̀ (cut clean through): -TSHIC̀ (split).

Involving "mixing together", "interweaving":

-BHUC̀ (mix together: do repeatedly): -JIC̀ (plait neatly): -VEC̀ (plait (a basket)).

Involving generally erratic, intermittent action:

-CUC̀ (pass small, hard stools): -KRWEC̀ (touch, nudge; taunt): -JUC̀ (struggle on, despite fatigue or weakness).

(ii) Example of Effective radical -C~

-COC̀ (purify).

(iii) Examples of Neuter radical -C~

-CÀC` (be clear): -FÀC` (be emaciated, weak).

(iv) Unclassified

-KRWÀC` (fall with a rustling sound) clearly indicates an onomatopoeic origin.

SECONDARY RADICALS -D~

Secondary radical -D~ may fulfil three main functions:

- (i) Operative radical -D~
- (ii) Neuter radical -D~
- (iii) Effective radical -D~

(i) Examples of Operative radical -D~

Involving violent action, with idea of "seizing" etc.: e.g.

-BHÀD` (rob, plunder): -BHED` (hunt): -DYWID` (snatch, seize, plunder).

Involving energetic action, with idea of "emptying": e.g.

-GED` (clean out, empty): -GÓD` (dig, excavate, sink a shaft).

Unclassified verbs involving action exerted upon an object: e.g.

-BHÍD` (puzzle, confuse, mislead): -NCED` (help):  
-TYED` (draw back (a bow)): -TYÍD` (melt, cast).

(ii) Examples of Neuter Radical -D~

Involving "becoming" or "being": e.g.

-BHÜD̀ (be delirious): -DĪD̀ (be hesitant): -FĒD̀  
 (be feckless, lazy): -FŪD̀ (be wont to do): -GĀD̀  
 (be mad): -GŪD̀ (be smooth).

(iii) Examples of Effective Radical -D~

Involving intransitive physical movement:

e.g.

-DĀD̀ (float, swim): -DĒD̀ (move back, move away):  
 -DŪD̀ (dance): -GĀD̀ (run about madly): -GĪD̀ (con-  
 tribute to wedding feast): -GWĀD̀ (take snuff):  
 -GXĀD̀ (go up to for a moment).

SECONDARY RADICALS -R~

For the most part, Secondary radical -R~ is an Effective radical, sometimes describing intransitive action, and sometime transitive. There are occasional instances of a Neuter radical -R~.

(i) Examples of Effective radical -R~ with Transitive force:

-GQŪR̀ (exercise, by burning medicines):<sup>1)</sup> -NXŌR̀  
 (dig out, question closely); -TSĀR̀ (revile): -TŪR̀  
 (charm a village, by burning medicines).

---

1) Related to nominal root (i)-GQĪRā (5) (witchdoctor).

- (ii) Examples of Effective radical -R~ ,  
with Intransitive force:

-KWÀR̀ (pass a stool (of an infant)): -JÒR̀ (use violent language or act violently): -QHÀKR̀ (laugh harshly): -TWÀR̀ (babble, chatter).

N.B. A derogatory or jarring note is evident in the last three roots quoted above.

- (iii) Examples of Neuter radical -R~

-BHÀR̀ (be dry, parched (of ground)): -GXÀR̀ (be broad-chested, thick-necked).

#### SECONDARY RADICALS -K~

Secondary Radicals -K~ include:

- (i) Effective radical -K~  
(ii) Neuter radical -K~

- (i) Examples of Effective radical -K~ : with  
transitive force:

Action in connection with a specific type of object: e.g.

-CÌK̀ (put lid on): -PHÀK̀ (ladle out food): -PHEK̀ (cook (food)): -SÈK̀ (lay a foundation, or support): -SÒK̀ (admit to manhood): -SÙK̀ (dress a hide): -ZÈK̀ (marry a woman (used only of a man)).

Action involving a general object:

-BÌK̀ (report): -FÀK̀ (put in, put on): -NÌK̀ (give): -NQÌK̀ (uncover, open): -QÙK̀ (call together): -SÌK̀ (cut, cut off): )VÌK̀ (parry, ward off): -YÈK̀ (leave alone, desist).

Transitive verbs involving human relationship of one kind or another:

-BĒK̀ (esteem): -BŪK̀ (regard with admiration):  
 -DĪK̀ (satisfy, satiate): -GXĒK̀ (mock, scoff at):  
 -JÓK̀ (pester, constrain): -KĒK̀ (turn sg. around till it fits): -NĀK̀ (accuse falsely): -NYĒK̀ (look at unobtrusively): -THŪK̀ (swear at): -XĀK̀ (puzzle).

With intransitive force:

Action involving movement (towards, or away from):

-BHĒK̀ (look towards, go towards): -FĪK̀ (arrive, arrive at): -NYŪK̀ (ascend, climb, go up): -SŪK̀ (get up and go away): -TYĒK̀ (swerve aside).

Verbs describing general intransitive action:

-NTEK̀ (fly around (of rumours)): -NUK̀ (stink, smell): -TSHEK̀ (purge): -VŪK̀ (wake up, arise): -ZĪK̀ (go deep, get to the bottom, understand thoroughly).

With Transitive or Intransitive force:

-HLEK̀ (laugh): (intransitive): -HLEK̀ (laugh at) (transitive): -JĪK̀ (turn round, turn about, rotate, change): -PHĪK̀ (contend, dispute, deny).

(ii) Examples of Neuter radical -K~

Indicating "becoming", "being", e.g.

-CHŌK̀ (be in order, be tidy): -DAK̀ (disappear:



get out of sight): -DÚK̀ (get lost, wander away):  
 -NGXĒK̀ (be with the legs wide apart, or the mouth  
 wide open): -TSAK̀ (be tame: trained): -THÚK̀  
 (be startled): -ZÚK̀ (be famous).

### SECONDARY RADICAL -L~

There are more regular di-radical verbal roots with secondary radical -L~ than any other R2. Of the 977 di-radical verbal roots examined, 18.5% had secondary radical -L~: of these, 77 were transitive and 45 intransitive. Of the 77 transitive verbs, 56 were straightforward di-radicals while 21 were related to ideophones. Of the 45 intransitive, 25 indicated "being" or "becoming", and 20 were general intransitive verbs.

Verbal roots with secondary radical -L~ fall into two main groups:

- (i) Those with Effective radical -L~
- (ii) Those with Neuter radical -L~

#### (i) Examples of Effective radical -L~

Transitive verbs, involving violent, aggressive action:

-BHÚL̀ (beat, thrash): -CÒL̀ (grind fine): -CWÍL̀  
 (cut into fine pieces): -JÚL̀ (cast, hurl): -NTÍL̀  
 (pound, belabour): -PHÁL̀ (scrape): -QHÚL̀ (hit  
 with elbow): -SÍL̀ (grind): -XHÓL̀ (gouge out).

Transitive verbs describing careful or  
skilful action:

(write): -DWĒL̄ (arrange in rows): -GQĀL̄  
(observe carefully): -HLĒL̄ (arrange, classify):  
-KRŌL̄ (carve).

Transitive verbs describing general  
action:

-KHŌL̄ (satisfy, convince): -RŌL̄ (draw out, pay):  
-NCĒL̄ (suck dry): -SŪL̄ (wipe): -THŪL̄ (take down,  
offload): -TYHĪL̄ (disclose): -VĀL̄ (shut): -VŪL̄  
(open): -WŌL̄ (embrace): -YĀL̄ (exhort, command):  
-ZĀL̄ (give birth to).

Intransitive verbs: (general):

-BĪL̄ (come to the boil : perspire): -BŌL̄ (rot):  
-CWĀL̄ (sit waiting before an attack): -GWĀL̄  
(behave in cowardly manner): -HLĀL̄ (sit, reside):  
-KREL̄ (be in line): -JĀL̄ (stare vacantly into  
space (as a man in extreme weakness)): -KHĀL̄ (cry  
out, complain): -MĪL̄ (grow (of plants)): -NDĪL̄  
(sound faint): -PHEL̄ (finish: come to an end):  
-PHĪL̄ (be in good health): -SĀL̄ (remain behind):  
-TSHĪL̄ (dance (after circumcision)): -VEL̄ (come  
forth): -WŪL̄ (move away): -ZĪL̄ (go into mourning:  
abstain).

Verbs which may be used in Transitive or  
Intransitive sense: (general):

-BŪL̄ (confess freely: as a young couple exchanging  
confidences): -DLŪL̄ (pass sg: pass by): -SĒL̄  
(drink sg: drink).

Transitive verbs related to mono-R

Ideophones, with RCE -L~ Effective

(4) or di-R ideophones with R2, -L~

- CHÓL\` (pick up): cf. -thi chó (s.m.)
- DWÈL\` (arrange or stand in lines: related to  
-thi dwè (s.m.))
- RWÍL\` (tack (in sewing)): cf. -thi rwíí (move  
swiftly and straight)
- NCWÈL\` (cut into strips): cf. -thi cwè (cut off  
thin slice: dip up a little)
- NKÁL\` (maul, bruise): cf. -thi nkálè (maul, beat,  
bruise)
- NTLÁL\` (knock about, throw down): cf. -thi ntlá  
and -thi ntlalè (s.m.)
- NTSÍL\` (thrash out): cf. -thi ntsíli (s.m.)
- NYHÍL\` (push away): cf. -thi nyí (go out of  
sight): (Proceed a little way)
- XWÍL\` (pounce upon, seize): cf. -thi xwí (s.m.).

(ii) Examples of Neuter radical -L~

Verbs indicating "becoming" or "being".

- CÁL\` (become pinched with hunger): -DLÔL\` (become  
barren): -GCÂL\` (become excitable): -GQÔL\` (turn  
brown (from rust or smoke)): -RÁL\` (become inflamed  
(with desire or anger)): -NGCÔL\` (become soiled):  
-NTSHÛL\` (become active, i.e. germinate): -NXÍL\`  
(become intoxicated): -PHÔL\` (become cool): -QÔL\`  
(become intoxicated, talkative): -QÔL\` (become hard):  
-THÛL\` (become quiet): -XHÁL\` (become anxious):  
-XÔL\` (become reconciled: satisfied): -YÔL\` (be

pleasant): -ZÁL- (become full): -ZÓL- (become calm): -ZÚL- (become restless).

### SECONDARY RADICAL -M~

There are three main semantic rôles played by Secondary radical -M~: namely:

- (i) Positional Radical -M~
- (ii) Protractive Radical - M~ (neuter)
- (iii) Protractive Radical -M~ (Effective).

#### (i) Examples of Positional Radical -M~

Verbs with intransitive force: e.g.

GHÁM- (push in, intrude into): -PHÚM- (come out, go out) rise (of the sun): -QHÁM- (fix to, nail to): -XHÚM- (jump or dance up and down).

#### (ii) Examples of Protractive (Neuter) Radical -M~

Protractive - Neuter radical -M~: indicating "becoming" or "being", and remaining in that state for a time, e.g.

-DÚM- (bec: famous): -FÚM- (bec: damp): -NCÁM- (bec. despondent): -NGXÁM- (be in a hurry): -QHÁM- (be well covered (with hair: leaves, fruit, etc.))

Verbs describing prolonged activity, or leading to a condition that persists (at least for a time): e.g.

-CHÙM̀ (grow abundantly, flourish): -GCÙM̀ (moan):  
 -GÙM̀ (eat ravenously): -HLÛM̀ (sprout, flourish):  
 -JÂM̀ (look fierce): -NCÙM̀ (smile): -NTÂM̀ (act  
 as a spy): -QHÙM̀ (smoke (of a fire)): -TSÂM̀  
 (subside : fall off in condition).

(iii) Examples of Protractive (Effective) -M~

-GQÙM̀ (cover, conceal): -HLÂM̀ (give a present,  
 with a view to getting a larger one in return):  
 -HLÒM̀ (pile up, stack together): -KRÒM̀ (slaughter  
 booty): (plot mischief): -RÙM̀ (give (a witchdoctor)  
 payment for his services): -KHÂM̀ (squeeze, throttle):  
 -LÌM̀ (plough, hoe): -LÛM̀ (bite, gripe (of stomach)):  
 -NCÓM̀ (praise): -NXWÈM̀ (keep aloof from : avoid):  
 -QÒM̀ (taste meat, to prove it is not poisoned):  
 -THÛM̀ (send): -XHÂM̀ (bespeak in marriage): -XHÒM̀  
 (hang, lift up): -XÙM̀ (revive): -ZÂM̀ (move, shake,  
 strive): -ZÛM̀ (ambush).

SECONDARY RADICAL -MB~

This radical is the Protractive-Operative Radical. It is fairly consistent in its semantic force, and indicates definite and protracted or drawn out action.

(i) Examples of Protractive-Operative (Neuter) radical, with intransitive force: with the idea of "being" or "becoming". e.g.

-HLUMB̀ (be heaped full): -JAMB̀ (look angry):

-LÁMB̀ (become hungry): -NGQÁMB̀ (be too short, too small, to fit): -QÚMB̀ (bec: angry): -THÁMB̀ (be soft, pliable): -VÍMB̀ (be stingy).

With general intransitive significance:

-DÁMB̀ (go down, subside): -DÚMB̀ (swell): -HÁMB̀ (walk, travel): -KHÓMB̀ (point with the finger)  
 -NÉMB̀ (keep on doing : persevering): -NZÍMB̀ (act indifferently): -PHÁMB̀ (change places): -QÁMB̀ (dance)  
 : -THÁMB̀ (wheel (as vultures in flight)): -THÓMB̀ (shoot, sprout).

(ii) Examples of Protractive-Operative

Radical with transitive force: e.g.

-CÚMB̀ (put in layers): -FÚMB̀ (heap up): -GÓMB̀ (hollow out, encircle): -GÚMB̀ (hollow out, wear away): -HÓMB̀ (adorn oneself in fine clothing):  
 -HLÁMB̀ (wash): -NÁMB̀ (tattoo): -NCÁMB̀ (tell news): -PHÉMB̀ (kindle (a fire)): -QÁMB̀ (make up a false story): -THÉMB̀ (trust, hope):  
 -TSHÁMB̀ (give a grand feast): -VÁMB̀ (tattoo):  
 -VÍMB̀ (grudge, be stingy towards).

#### SECONDARY RADICAL -N~

This radical has a variety of semantic values, viz:

- (i) Associative radical -N~
- (ii) Neuter radical -N~
- (iii) Protractive radical -N~
- (iv) Effective radical -N~

- (i) Examples of Associative radical -N~  
Used in intransitive sense: e.g.

-FÁN` (resemble : (always used with preposition na (with))):

Used in transitive sense:

Idea of holding, carrying, or close contact with: e.g.:

-GÒN` (carry in the arms, support): -NYÌN` (restrict):  
 -XÌN` (throng, impede).

Describing human relationships

(of an antagonistic nature): e.g.

-KRÌN` (quarrel, dispute): -NÌN` (object to, dislike):  
 -NYÒN` (insult, point at).

- (ii) Examples of Neuter radical -N~

Indicating a state of mind, "being" or "becoming".

-DÀN` (bec. disappointed): -RÀN` (be suspicious):  
 -NQÈN` (be disinclined): -NQWÈN` (have strong desire (to do sg.)).

Indicating "being" or "becoming" in a physical sense: e.g.

-BÜN` (bec. faded : wither): -DÌN` (bec. tired, fatigued):  
 -NÓN` (bec. prosperous, respected : bec. a man of influence):  
 -QÌN` (be tight, fixed): -QHÀN` (be tender (as a wound which is healing)).

- (iii) Examples of Protractive Radical -N~

Intransitive use:

-KHWIN` (whine, whimper): -RÒN` (snore): -NCWIN`

(sigh, groan): -SĪǸ (dance): -XŪǸ (look straight forward): -XHĪǸ (dance up and down in same spot).

Transitive use:

-FŪǸ (want, desire, seek): -GCĪǸ (keep, preserve).

(iv) Examples of Effective Radical -N~

-BŌǸ (see): -BHĒǸ (appeal): -CHĀǸ (aim true : hit): -CŌǸ (swear): -KRŪǸ (sprain): -NGĒǸ (enter): -QHĪǸ (knot): -THĒǸ (prune, castrate): -VŪǸ (reap).

SECONDARY RADICALS -ND~

McLaren claimed<sup>1)</sup> that verbs ending in -nda often denoted mental feelings or acts. This is true up to a point: there being a group of verbal roots with this secondary radical -ND~ with such a force. On the other hand, there are even more that have no emotional context, and are strongly active, describing physical action. Verbal roots with secondary radical -ND~ fall into several groups, these groups, however, having a common characteristic, viz. of protractive activity.

Examples of Protractive Radical -ND~

(i) In verbs describing action involving some mental activity: e.g.

-FŪND̀ (learn : learn to do : read): -QŌND̀ (understand: be under the impression that ....).

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1) J. McLaren: "A Xhosa Grammar" (1936) p. 209 146.



In verbs involving being in an emotional state or coming into an emotional state:

e.g.

-BĪND̀ (choke with emotion): -THĀND̀ (love, like):  
-VĀND̀ (feel mental pain): -ZÓND̀ (have strong emotional reaction for or against: i.e. to loathe, or to desire greatly).

In verbs involving a mental process,

with a moral or ethical context: e.g.

-HĒND̀ (tempt (to do wrong)): -JĪND̀ (backbite).

(ii) Action involving prolonged transitive action: e.g.

-LĀND̀ (follow, track, trace): -LĪND̀ (wait for: lie in wait for (birds, etc.)): -LÓND̀ (preserve with care): -SĪND̀ (weigh down, burden): -THUND̀ (pass water).

Action involving prolonged, vigorous,

punctative (or intermittent) action: e.g.

-CĀND̀ (split, cleave, divide): -KHĀND̀ (hammer, beat out): -GĀND̀ (stamp, tramp down): -NDĀND̀ (flutter): -NDĪND̀ (keep hammering at : smooth out):  
-QĀND̀ (pick, peck at, peel): -NCĪND̀ (sop up into the mouth (e.g. honey, broth, etc.)): -PHĀND̀ (scratch up : dig up).

Action involving prolonged action of a

rotary nature: e.g.

-BÓND̀ (stir round : confuse the issue): -NQĀND̀ (turn back, round up): -PHĪND̀ (turn over, repeat:

do again): -THĒND̀ (turn round, roll (e.g. a ball):  
revolve (trans.)): -THĀND̀ (wind up, fasten round).

Verbs describing a prolonged, gradual  
unfolding process: e.g.

-BĀND̀ (become cold: congeal : be cold to the touch):  
-DĒND̀ (act slowly : talk slowly or interminably):  
-NGUND̀ (become mouldy (e.g. bread)): rot (manure)):  
-SĪND̀ (be safe): -VUND̀ (mould, rot): -XĀND̀  
(stool out (of grain): be fertile (of land)).

#### SECONDARY RADICAL -NG~

This is the Protractive - (Initiative)

-NG~

There is a semantic affinity between the  
Protractive-Operative radical -MB~ and the Pro-  
tractive (Initiative) radical -NG~ . The affinity  
lies in the fact that they both have a strong Pro-  
tractive influence. When occurring in intransitive  
verbs, the emphasis is on "Protractive".

Verbs with this secondary radical are  
mostly those which describe action leading up to a  
sustained state or condition; or action initiating  
a process leading to a new status quo. In some in-  
stances, the outcome of the action is definite and  
complete. In others, the outcome is uncertain. In  
many of the intransitive verbs, some mental or emo-  
tional factor is involved.

Verbs describing action leading to a  
definite and completed result; leading

to a change in condition of the object  
of the verb: e.g.

-BÈNG̀ (cut into long strips): -FÌNG̀ (shorten):  
-GÈNG̀ (throw or burst open (e.g. a door)): -QWÈNG̀  
(rend in pieces, wound severely): -THÈNG̀ (buy).<sup>1)</sup>

Action leading to a temporary change of  
state or condition of the object of the  
verb: e.g.

-GÂNG̀ (catch): -NGQÌNG̀ (surround): -NGQÒNG̀  
(surround): -NYÍNG̀ (compress, tie tightly).

Action leading to a change in relation-  
ship between persons or things  
("mixing" or "separating") e.g.

"mixing": "coming together": e.g.

-BHUNC̀ (meet in council): -NGÛNG̀ (congregate):  
-PHÌNG̀ (inter-twine, plait): -THÛNG̀ (sew):  
-VÀNG̀ (mix, mingle).

"Mixing": in the sense of "mixing up":

e.g.

-DÜNG̀ (stir up, disturb): -NGXÈNG̀ (mix, corrupt):  
-QÜNG̀ (stir up, disturb).

"Separating" (literally or metaphorically):

e.g.

-CÓNG̀ (spare : keep back): -HLÈNG̀ (separate into  
good and bad : favour): -HLÜNG̀ (sift): -NGCWÈNG̀

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1) Constituting a change of ownership.

(strain off): -SÉNG̀ (milk): -THÚNG̀ (strain out):  
-TSÍNG̀ (treat with contempt).

Verbs describing the initiating of action the outcome of which is uncertain:

e.g.

-BÀNG̀ (cause to happen): -BÍNG̀ (sacrifice by slaughtering a beast): -BÔNG̀ (sing praises to the Chief): -CÈNG̀ (attempt to persuade by means of flattery or bribes): -CÍNG̀ (think): -JÀNG̀ (wander about here and there): -KHÚNG̀ (entreat):  
-LÍNG̀ (attempt, try, test): -NYÀNG̀ (treat, heal, cure, by medicine or charms): -PHÚNG̀ (taste : sip):  
-QHÍNG̀ (advise : entrap): -SÔNG̀ (roll up:<sup>1</sup>) dissuade): -TSHÀNG̀ (be fickle, move about): -XÈNG̀ (be loose, rickety): -ZÍNG̀ (prompt someone to do something).

Verbs describing a sustained attitude or position: e.g.

-FÚNG̀ (take an oath): -LÚNG̀ (be right, suitable):  
-SÍNG̀ (look steadily in one direction): -XÍNG̀ (remain fixed).

Verbs describing forceful and sustained action: e.g.

-BHÔNG̀ (bellow (like a calf)): -NTÍNG̀ (go far away, soar): -GÂNG̀ (be bold, impatient): -JÔNG̀ (look fierce, stare).

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1) In former sense, -NG~ is rather a protractive radical while in the latter sense, it has also the sense of "uncertain outcome".

Verbs describing a sustained mental

reaction: e.g.

-DÈNG` (be slow, stupid): -DÌNG` (be unsuccessful):  
 -GÂNG` (be bold, impatient): -NGQÙNG` (be restless  
 (with pain)): -NGXÂNG` (stand idle): -THÔNG` (be  
 in a trance).

### SECONDARY RADICAL -PH~

This secondary radical fulfils three  
 functions:

- (i) Positional (Effective) radical  
 -PH~
- (ii) Punctative radical -PH~
- (iii) Radical Conversion Extension -PH~

#### (i) Examples of Positional (Effective) Radical -PH~

-BÔPH` (tie, fasten, inspan): -CÙPH` (cut the trip  
 off): -CHÒPH` (perch, squat): -DÌPH` (sink, as a  
 foot sinks in mud): -KHÀPH` (accompany): -KHÙPH`  
 (take out): -PHÀPH` (be open, alert): -PHÊPH`  
 (act in alert way): -PHÙPH` (dream): -THÙPH`  
 (point out: lay one's finger on): -TYÀPH` (act at  
 the psychological moment).

#### (ii) Examples of Punctative radical -PH~

-CHÀPH` (fall in drops): -DÌPH` (take handfuls of,  
 help oneself freely to): -QÙPH` (step out or act,  
 quickly): -XHÀPH` (lap up, eat carelessly).

(iii) Example of Radical ConversionExtension -PH~

-NCÍPH̄ (become smaller, decrease): (related to monosyllabic adjectival root -NCí (small)).

SECONDARY RADICAL -Q~

The over-all picture of this radical is "Punctative", though the sub-divisions are many, providing only a few examples in each instance for comparison. There are a few verbal roots with secondary radical -Q~ which present no clear semantic characteristic.

Examples of Punctative radical -Q~

(i) Punctative (Effective) action (of general nature): e.g.

-BHÈQ̄ (row, paddle): -FÙQ̄ (throw up earth, as a mole when burrowing).

(ii) Punctative (Effective) action (describing ways of moving over the ground): e.g.

-GÀQ̄ (creep, crawl): -RÙQ̄ (trail on the ground):  
-JÙQ̄ (walk feebly, be feeble): -LÈQ̄ (lope: run like a cat).

(iii) Punctative (Neuter) action: e.g.

-PHÓQ̄ (slip off, slip out, rave).

(iv) Punctative (Aggressive) action:

e.g.

-JWAQ̣̀ (tug at, be displeased with).

(v) Punctative (Destructive) action:

e.g.

-BHŪQ̣̀ (trample, break down (as cattle in a land)):

-KRĒQ̣̀ (hack off, saw off): -JĒQ̣̀ (cut clean through): -TSHEQ̣̀ (cut off, tear off).

Examples of Neuter radical -Q̣̀: e.g.

-GIQ̣̀ (be satisfied, replete): -LĀQ̣̀ (be ill at ease).

Examples of Understandardised -Q̣̀: e.g.

-BHEQ̣̀ (speak in a lofty manner): -KRÓQ̣̀ (roast (beans etc.)): -GÓQ̣̀ bar (the door).

SECONDARY RADICALS -Ṣ̀

Secondary radical -Ṣ̀ is predominantly Causative. There appear to be a few instances of a 'neuter' usage, and also a few unclassified.

Examples:

(i) Causative radical -Ṣ̀: with examples of parallel roots with a different secondary radical, but identical primary radical: e.g.

-NXUṢ̀ (act so as to mislead another in regard to one's intention): related to -NXUḶ̀ (lead a horse alongside the horse one is riding) where secondary radical is Effective -Ḷ̀

-SŪS̀ (remove, take away, send away): Related to -SŪK̀ (get up and go away), in which the secondary radical is Effective -K~

-XHÁS̀ (support, prop): related to -XHAK̀ (join, fasten to (tr)): in which the secondary radical is Effective -K~

-VŪS̀ (awaken (tr)): related to -VŪK̀ (wake up (intr.)), where the secondary radical is Neuter -K~.

(ii) Causative radical -S~: for which parallel examples are not identified: e.g.

-BAS̀ (kindle (e.g. a fire)): -CHÁS̀ (oppose):

-GOS̀ (act on behalf of another : as an agent):

-KRÁS̀ (speak discordantly, make a noise): -KHŪS̀

(keep off, e.g. the rain, wind danger): -QHWES̀

(try to make something squeeze through something

else): -SÉS̀ (do indirectly : through an intermediary, or in an underhand way).

(iii) Neuter radical -S~: indicating "being" or "becoming": e.g.

-DWES̀ (be daring, foolhardy): -PÁS̀ (be out of

breath): -THWÁS̀ (become visible (of the moon : to emerge after undergoing a period of initiation (as a witchdoctor))).

(iv) Unclassified instances of secondary radical -S~ : e.g.

-GQWES̀ (come off best (in an encounter or contest)):

-KHÁS̀ (crawl).



SECONDARY RADICALS -SH~

Although the secondary radical -SH~ does not bear any clear semantic pattern, there are indications that it is often a "Factative" radical, and one of later origin. The reason for the latter statement is that this secondary radical is often suffixed to foreign words, borrowed, for example, from Afrikaans or English, in order to make them usable in Xhosa.<sup>1)</sup>

Examples of Factative radical -SH~:

e.g.

(i) -QHÓSH` (join, pin, complete): -XHÉSH`  
(drive (stock)): hunt game (on horseback)).

(ii) Factative radical -SH~ suffixed to mono-radical Ideophones to form di-radical verbal roots<sup>2)</sup>: e.g.

-BHÉSH` (outstare, outrun): related to -thi bhé  
(be abandoned, deserted).<sup>3)</sup>

-CHWISH` (tear off, strip off): related to -thi  
cwé (cut off thin slice)

-HÉSH` (signal to someone by winks etc.): cf.  
-thi hè (well done!)<sup>3)</sup>

1) e.g. -MOSH` (waste, damage) from /mors/ (Afr: soil, waste, spill): -KLINISH` (Eng: clean) etc. (Here a REx).

2) i.e., Secondary Radical as Radical Conversion Extension.

3) There is considerable semantic 'shift' evident here.

- RESH- (hint to, insinuate): cf. -thi rè (be rumoured)
- QHWESH- (run away (of a horse): elope (of persons): abscond): cf. -thi qhwí (snap off)
- TYESH- (cut a furrow : cut into strips): related to -thi tyé (be straight).

(iii) Factative radical -SH~ as secondary radical in di-radical verbal root, where a different radical (R2) appears in a similar di-radical ideophone: e.g.

-GUSH- (conceal, hide): and -thi gùbù (be overcast).<sup>1)</sup>

(iv) Factative radical -SH~ as secondary radical in di-radical verbal root, where there is a corresponding mono-R nominal root: e.g.

-NYASH- (press down, tread down): and amANYÀ (plur: cl:5: pressure).<sup>2)</sup>

(v) Example of 'Neuter' radical -SH~: e.g.

-NXUSH- (be the first one to do ...): -TYESH- (be lazy, indolent).

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1) Compare also the extended verbal root, -GUBUNGèl- (hide, conceal).

2) Compare also the extended verbal root, -NYATHèl- (tread, tread upon).

(vi) Verbs with unclassified secondary radical -SH~

Indicating "running": e.g.

-GXISH̀ (imitate galloping (as boys in play)).

Indicating "choosing", "selecting":

e.g.

-CISH̀ (choose, select): -QASH̀ (choose, select, hire (a servant etc.): -QESH̀ (hire, engage (e.g. a servant)).

SECONDARY RADICALS -TH~

Secondary radicals -TH~ are found in three semantic groups:

- (i) Contactive -TH~
- (ii) Punctative -TH~
- (iii) Neuter -TH~

(i) Examples of Contactive -TH~

Involving violent action with the hand:

e.g.

-BETH̀ (hit, strike): -NTLITH̀ (deal a blow : slap):  
-QHWITH̀ (strike a spark : strike a match).

Involving action with the hand, arm or shoulder: e.g.

-CHATH̀ (take out one from a number): -CHWETH̀ (poke, push away): -GQWETH̀ (turn upside down):  
-HLUTH̀ (take away by force): -KHETH̀ (pick out, select): -NKATH̀ (take handfuls of): -PHATH̀ (touch, handle): -PHETH̀ (finish off : bind (a mat)): -PHOTH̀ (twist, plait): -QHWETH̀ (take out a thorn): -QUTH̀ (hold out the hand, for punishment): -QUTH̀ (hold

the hand in front of the mouth): -THÁTH̃ (take):  
 -THÚTH̃ (convey away): -TYÁTH̃ (carry on the  
 shoulders): -XHWITH̃ (pluck out, pluck off).

Involving the alimentary system and ap-  
 petite: e.g.

-HLÚTH̃ (bec: satisfied): -NÁTH̃ (gulp, swallow  
 up): -ZÓTH̃ (nauseate, cause to vomit).

Involving 'contactive' action, but not  
 associated with a part of the body: e.g.

-BÚTH̃ (bring together, e.g. a group of people):  
 -CÚTH̃ (become narrow : contract): -SÍTH̃ (shelter,  
 intercept): -SÌTH̃ (hold a feast).

(ii) Examples of 'Punctative' -TH̃

-CHÍTH̃ (spill, scatter, spend): -CHÓTH̃ (walk  
 softly): -FÚTH̃ (puff, snort): -KHÍTH̃ (cut down):  
 -KHÓTH̃ (lick): -NDÍTH̃ (hesitate): -PHÚTH̃ (come  
 to nothing): -QÚTH̃ (cut off short): -THĚTH̃  
 (speak): -TSHĚTH̃ (chip off, e.g. pumpkin rind).

(iii) Examples of 'Neuter' -TH̃

-MÁTH̃ (be sluggish): -MĪTH̃ (become pregnant):  
 -NĚTH̃ (become wet): -NKWÁTH̃ (be uneasy in one's  
 conscience): -QÓTH̃ (be idle (sit around while  
 others work)).

(iv) Unclassified instance of Secondary -TH̃

e.g.

-GQÓTH̃ (hunt by oneself).

SECONDARY RADICALS -X~

Secondary radicals X~ fall into three main groups:

- (i) Effective -X~
- (ii) Punctative -X~
- (iii) Neuter -X~

(i) Examples of Effective -X~

Effective radicals (in general): e.g.

-KRWIX̣̀ (gulp down, swallow with difficulty):

-TSHIX̣̀ (lock, lock up, turn the key).

Effective radicals (in verbs with

'destructive' sense): e.g.

-BHŌX̣̀ (scatter, break up, defeat): -GUX̣̀ (strip

bare): -KRÍX̣̀ (cast a slur upon someone): -PHÓX̣̀

(make a fool of, deride): -TSHUX̣̀ (embezzle).

(ii) Examples of Punctative -X~

-BHĒX̣̀ (stir round (e.g. food): swing the shoulders:

row (a boat)): -BHUX̣̀ (trample in the mud): -FĀX̣̀

(wring out, press out): -GĒX̣̀ (reel, stagger):

-GÍX̣̀ (cut in large pieces): -GUX̣̀ (strip bare):

-GWĒX̣̀ (row, paddle (a boat)).

(iii) Examples of Neuter -X~

-BHIX̣̀ (be needy): -RWEX̣̀ (be rough, coarse).

SECONDARY RADICALS -Y~

Three distinct semantic rôles are played by secondary radical -Y~ : namely.

- (i) Factative -Y~
- (ii) Neuter -Y~
- (iii) Effective -Y~

(i) Examples of Factative -Y~ : e.g.

Verbs describing action bringing about  
a certain condition or state:

Resulting in a "destructive" effect:

-GRÂ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (crush, grind coarse): -GÛ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (shave off  
(e.g. hair): -THÎ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (trap, snare : hate): -TSHÂ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup>  
(smoke (tobacco etc.) (tr.)): -XHWÂ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (cause to  
become unsettled : stir up foment (war)).

Resulting in some state (in general):

-BÎ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (fence in (e.g. cattle kraal, with bushes)):  
-XHÂ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (bring on, occasion, cause to take place).

(ii) Examples of Neuter -Y~ : e.g.

-HÔ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (become concerned about, attend to): -JÎ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup>  
(bec: stiff, thick): -MÂ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (be deserted): -QHÂ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup>  
(be hard, proud, haughty).

(iii) Examples of Effective -Y~ : e.g.

-BÛ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (come/go back, return): -CWE<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (go aside to  
consult (secretly)): -FÛ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (possess (land), breed  
(stock)): -SHÎ<sup>^</sup>Y<sup>̀</sup> (leave, abandon).

#### SECONDARY RADICALS -NY~

This root is found in four categories:

viz:

- (i) Effective -NY~
- (ii) Neuter -NY~
- (iii) Protractive -NY~
- (iv) Punctative -NY~

(i) Examples of Effective -NY~ : e.g.

-G<sup>˘</sup>IN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (swallow): -M<sup>˘</sup>IN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (swallow, drain, exhaust).

(ii) Examples of Neuter -NY~ : e.g.

-GW<sup>˘</sup>AN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (be half-cooked): -HL<sup>˘</sup>AN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (be deranged):

-KH<sup>˘</sup>AN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (be clear, bright, shine).

(iii) Examples of Protractive -NY~ : e.g.

-KH<sup>˘</sup>ON<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (bellow, roar): -M<sup>˘</sup>AN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (join in one, com-

bine): -M<sup>˘</sup>IN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (climb, swarm up): -NTSHW<sup>˘</sup>EN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>-

(shrivel up).

(iv) Examples of Punctative -NY~ : e.g.

-F<sup>˘</sup>IN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (blow the nose): -GR<sup>˘</sup>EN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (gnaw at): -L<sup>˘</sup>EN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>-

(lick, dart (as a flame)): -PH<sup>˘</sup>AN<sup>˘</sup>Y<sup>˘</sup>- (blink, (the eyelids)).

#### SECONDARY RADICAL -Z~

This radical has a definite Factative force: that is, it indicates action leading up to a process or condition. Several di-radical verbal roots with this radical have parallel forms with different secondary radicals, (e.g. neuter, effective, etc.).

This radical may also be found as secondary radical in di-radical roots derived from mono-radical verbal roots or mono-radical ideophones.

In the following examples, parallel forms with other than factative -Z~ as secondary radical, are given for comparison.

- (i) Examples of regular di-radical verbal roots with secondary radical 'factative' -Z~ : together with parallel roots with other than factative secondary radicals: e.g.

-BĪZ̀ (call, summon): cf. -BĪK̀ (report, make a report): where R2 is 'effective' -K~

-BŪZ̀ (ask, inquire): cf. -BĪK̀ (make a report): In -BŪZ̀ the R vowel of R1 is the 'reversive' -U-, and R2 the factative -Z~

-CHÁZ̀ (straighten out, explain): cf. -CHÁǸ (go straight to the mark, hit the mark), where R2 is Effective -N~

-HLŪZ̀ (filter, sift): cf. -HLŪTH̀ (take away from by force), where R2 is 'contactive' -TH~

-JĪZ̀ (put round, tie round): cf. -JĪK̀ (turn) where R2 is 'neuter' -K~

-KHŪZ̀ (sympathise with, condole with): cf. -KHUHL̀ (rub a skin to soften it: rub a painful place to alleviate the pain): where R2 is low-frequency radical -HL<sup>1</sup>)

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1) cf. -HLĪKĪHL̀ (rub, soften, massage) etc.



- PHÚZ̀ (draw into the mouth : sip, drink): cf.  
 -PHÚHL̀ (be full of sap): where R2 is  
 'neuter' -HL~
- PHÚZ̀ (do slowly, delay in beginning): cf. -PHÁL̀  
 (go fast), where R2 is 'Effective' -L~
- SÍZ̀ (help, sympathise with): cf. -SÍTH̀ (tr:  
 shelter, shade) where R2 is 'contactive'  
 -TH~ .

(ii) Examples of regular di-radical verbal  
 roots with factative -Z~ as R2, with  
 parallel forms with other than factative  
 -Z~ (R2), and indicating 'becoming' or  
 'being' in a condition or state of being  
 or doing: e.g.

- BÓZ̀ (bec. overripe in the process of decaying):  
 cf. -BÓL̀ (rot, decay), where R2 is 'Effec-  
 tive' -L~
- GÈZ̀ (bec. mad): cf. -GÈX̀ (reel, stagger),  
 where R2 is 'punctative' -X~
- JÍZ̀ (tie round, put round): cf. -JÍK̀ (turn  
 intr.)), where R2 is 'Neuter' -K~
- TSHÁZ̀ (spurt out, gush out, ooze out): cf. -TSHÁB̀  
 (come to nothing), where R2 is 'neuter' -B~
- VÚZ̀ (leak out): cf. -VÚL̀ (open), where R2 is  
 'Effective' -L~

And a further group, under the same heading,  
 which are virtually transitive verbs,  
 capable of taking only one specific object;

that object, more often than not, being unexpressed: e.g.

- NCÁZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (beg (tobacco)): cf. -NCÁMB<sup>ˆ</sup> (give alms), where R2 is 'Protractive-Operative' -MB~
- SÚZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (pass (wind)): cf. -SÚK<sup>ˆ</sup> (go away, remove (intr.)), where R2 is 'neuter' -K~
- THEZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (gather (firewood)): cf. -THÉN<sup>ˆ</sup> (prune), where R2 is 'Effective' -N~.

- (iii) Examples of regular di-radical verbal roots with secondary radical, 'factative' -Z~ related to mono-radical verbal root: e.g.

-TSHÓZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (maintain, assert): cf. -TSHÓ (say so)

- (iv) Examples of regular di-radical verbal roots with secondary radical 'factative'<sup>1)</sup> -Z~, related to mono-radical ideophones: e.g.

-BHÚZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (buzz (of bees)): cf. -thi bhúú (s.m.)

-NGXÁZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (flow (of tears)): cf. -thi ngxà (s.m.)

-NQÁZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (sit dumb with amazement): cf. -thi nqà (be astonished)

-TWÈZ<sup>ˆ</sup> (stretch out something that can be extended): cf. -thi twè (be wide open).

- (v) Examples of regular di-radical verbal roots with secondary radical 'factative'

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1) As RCE

-Z~ , similar to di-radical ideophones: e.g.

-CEZ- (keep at a distance): cf. -thi cèbú (split off (e.g. a splinter)):

-CHIZ- (ooze out, exude): cf. -thi chithì (come out, emerge).

(vi) Examples of regular di-radical verbal roots with secondary radicals 'factative' -Z~ , similar to reduplicated di-radical ideophone: e.g.

-HLEZ- (gnaw (a bone)): cf. -thi hlèkè-hlèkè (be split or broken into fragments).

(vii) Examples of regular di-radical verbal roots with secondary radical 'factative' -Z~ similar to nominal roots:

To di-radical nominal root: e.g.

-HLAZ- (expose: bring disgrace upon): cf. iHLAZò (5) (disgrace).

To reduplicated di-radical nominal root:

e.g.

-DIZ- (blab, let out secrets): cf. iDIBì-DIBì (5) (a blundering speaker).

To an obsolete mono-radical nominal root (the root in question still being extant in Zulu): e.g.

-ZWAZ- (plait, weave): cf. obsolete root<sup>\*</sup> umZWa (3) (small fibrous root : thread-like shoot etc).

APPENDIX C

Tonal Sequence of Mono-Radical Verbal roots with High Tone, plus Extensions:

-DL <sup>~</sup>	(eat)
-DLé <sup>~</sup> k <sup>~</sup>	(be eaten, fined)
-DLé <sup>~</sup> l <sup>~</sup>	(fine)
-DLí <sup>~</sup> s <sup>~</sup>	(cause to eat)
-F <sup>~</sup>	(die)
-Fé <sup>~</sup> l <sup>~</sup>	(die at, die for)
-Fí <sup>~</sup> s <sup>~</sup>	(cause to die)
-KH <sup>~</sup>	(pluck)
-KHé <sup>~</sup> l <sup>~</sup>	(pluck for, from)
-KHé <sup>~</sup> k <sup>~</sup>	(be fit for plucking)
-KHí <sup>~</sup> s <sup>~</sup>	(help to pluck etc.)
-(i)M <sup>~</sup>	(stand)
-Má <sup>~</sup> n <sup>~</sup>	(stand beside each other)
-Mé <sup>~</sup> l <sup>~</sup>	(stand for, in place of)
-Mí <sup>~</sup> s <sup>~</sup>	(cause to stand)
-PH <sup>~</sup>	(give)
-PHá <sup>~</sup> n <sup>~</sup>	(give one another)
-S <sup>~</sup>	(become light : dawn)
-Sí <sup>~</sup> s <sup>~</sup>	(bring in daylight (at a feast))
-TY <sup>~</sup>	(eat)
-TYé <sup>~</sup> k <sup>~</sup>	(be edible)
-TYí <sup>~</sup> s <sup>~</sup>	(make to eat : feed)
-TSH <sup>~</sup>	(burn)
-TSHé <sup>~</sup> l <sup>~</sup>	(burn for)
-TSHí <sup>~</sup> s <sup>~</sup>	(cause to burn)

-(i)V <sup>~</sup>	(hear, feel)
-Ván <sup>~</sup>	(understand each other: be on friendly terms)
-Vél <sup>~</sup>	(hear for: sympathise with)
-Vis <sup>~</sup>	(cause to hear)

Tonal Sequence of Mono-Radical verbal  
roots with Low Tone, plus Extension:

-B <sup>~</sup>	(become)
-(i)B <sup>~</sup>	(steal)
-(i)HL <sup>~</sup>	(descend)
-HLék <sup>~</sup>	(happen)
-HLél <sup>~</sup>	(happen to)
-HLis <sup>~</sup>	(cause to happen)
-HLW <sup>~</sup>	(become dark)
-HLWél <sup>~</sup>	(benight)
-HLWis <sup>~</sup>	(do something till nightfall)
-LW <sup>~</sup>	(fight)
-LWán <sup>~</sup>	(fight each other)
-LWél <sup>~</sup>	(fight for)
-LWis <sup>~</sup>	(help to fight)
-(i)MB <sup>~</sup>	(dig)
-MBél <sup>~</sup>	(dig for)
-N <sup>~</sup>	(rain)
-Nél <sup>~</sup>	(rain upon)
-Nis <sup>~</sup>	(cause to rain)
-NY <sup>~</sup>	(soak)
-NYék <sup>~</sup>	(become soaked)
-NYél <sup>~</sup>	(moisten, irrigate)

-TH <sup>~</sup>	(pour)	
	-THèl <sup>~</sup>	(pour into)
	-THèk <sup>~</sup>	(be poured into)
-W <sup>~</sup>	(fall)	
	-Wèl <sup>~</sup>	(fall on, fall at)
	-Wis <sup>~</sup>	(cause to fall)
	-Wèl <sup>~</sup>	(cross) <sup>1)</sup>
	-Wèz <sup>~</sup>	(ferry across) <sup>1)</sup>
-Y <sup>~</sup>	(go)	
	-Yèl <sup>~</sup>	(go for, go to)
	-Yàn <sup>~</sup>	(associate with)
-(i)Z <sup>~</sup>	(come)	
	-Zèl <sup>~</sup>	(come for, to)
	-Zis <sup>~</sup>	(cause to come, bring)

NOTE: When a mono-R v.r. is followed by two extensions in series, the tonal sequence is similar to that of a di-R v.r. with one extension: e.g.

-DL<sup>~</sup> > -DLé<sup>~</sup> > -DLé<sup>~</sup>-àn<sup>~</sup> (eat together, have fellowship).

---

1) It is also possible that these may be di-radical verbal roots, independently derived, with a different R1 -W<sup>~</sup> .

-TH <sup>~</sup>	(pour)
-THèl <sup>~</sup>	(pour into)
-THèk <sup>~</sup>	(be poured into)
-W <sup>~</sup>	(fall)
-Wèl <sup>~</sup>	(fall on, fall at)
-Wìs <sup>~</sup>	(cause to fall)
-Wèl <sup>~</sup>	(cross) <sup>1)</sup>
-Wèz <sup>~</sup>	(ferry across) <sup>1)</sup>
-Y <sup>~</sup>	(go)
-Yèl <sup>~</sup>	(go for, go to)
-Yàn <sup>~</sup>	(associate with)
-(i)Z <sup>~</sup>	(come)
-Zèl <sup>~</sup>	(come for, to)
-Zìs <sup>~</sup>	(cause to come, bring)

NOTE: When a mono-R v.r. is followed by two extensions in series, the tonal sequence is similar to that of a di-R v.r. with one extension: e.g.

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1) It is also possible that these may be di-radical verbal roots, independently derived, with a different R1 -W<sup>~</sup> .

APPENDIX DADJECTIVAL ROOTSMono-R:

-Bí	(bad)
-Dè	(long, high)
-HLé	(beautiful)
-Ní?	(what)
-TSHá	(new)
-NYè	(one)
-Nè	(four)
* -NCí	(small)

Di-R:

-DALà	(old)
-FUPHì	(near)
-KHULù	(great)
-NINZì	(many)
-NGAPHì?	(how many)
-BINì	(two)
-THATHù	(three)
-HLANù	(five)

Di-R plus diminutive suffix, -ane:

-FUTSHánè	(short)	( < -FUPHì )
-NCÍNánè	(small)	

Re-iterated Di-R:

-THÁNDÁTHù	(six)	( < -THATHù )
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in the course of this study:

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