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THE IDEOPHONE IN TSONGA

by

CORNELIUS TENNYSON DANIEL MARIVATE

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PROMOTER : PROFESSOR E.J.M. BAUMBACH

JOINT PROMOTER : PROFESSOR J.A. LOUW

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DECLARATION

I declare that "THE IDEOPHONE IN TSONGA" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABBREVIATIONS

abs	: absolute
adv	: adverb
advl	: adverbial
ant	: antecedent
AP/APs	: Adjunctive Phrase/Adjunctive Phrases
app	: Appendix
asa	: 'as soon as' (translation of the Tsonga <u>-o na</u> binding expression)
asp	: aspect
aux	: auxiliary
compl	: complement
conc	: concord
conj	: conjunctive
cons	: consonant
CP	: Copulative Phrase
def	: deficient
dem	: demonstrative
dep	: dependent
F	: Falling (tone)
fut	: future
H	: High (tone)
IC/ICs	: Immediate Constituent/Immediate Constituents
id	: ideophone
imp	: imperative
imperf	: imperfect
ind	: indirect
indef	: indefinite

indic	: indicative
inf	: infinitive
instr	: instrumental
interj	: interjection
IP/IPs	: Ideophonic Phrase/Ideophonic Phrases
L	: Low (tone)
loc	: locative
md	: mood
mo	: morpheme
n	: noun
neg	: negative
obj	: object
oc	: object concord
-oIP	: Ideophonic Phrase with the restrictive aspectual <u>-o</u> morpheme
-o naIP	: Ideophonic Phrase with the 'as soon as' binding expression incorporating the restrictive aspectual <u>-o</u> morpheme
-oVP	: Verb Phrase embodying the restrictive aspectual <u>-o</u> morpheme
perf	: perfective
pos	: positive
poss	: possessive
pot	: potential
pres	: present
prf	: prefix
pro	: pronoun
R	: Rising (tone)
rc	: relative concord
refl	: reflexive

restr	: restrictive
Ro	: Ronga
sc	: subject concord
s.m.	: same meaning
sc-o	: subject concord incorporating the restrictive aspectual -o morpheme
st	: stem
stv	: stative
subj	: subject
tns	: tense
Tso	: Tsonga
V	: Verb
VB	: Verbal
Vo	: Vowel

SPECIAL FEATURES

1. An ideophone occurring in phrases or sentences will be written in capital letters for easy recognition. Its English equivalent in the literal translation will also be written in capital letters. In the free English translation, the equivalent will be underlined.
2. The Ideophonic Phrase in a sentence (IP) will always be parenthesized, e.g. (sc -ri id.).
3. The VP in a sentence will be placed between slanted lines, e.g. /sc VP/.
4. Three dots after the ideophone signify that the ideophone may be uttered as many times as the speaker wishes to. If the dots follow immediately after the ideophone, this signifies that there is no pause in uttering the segments.
5. Orthographic representations of ideophones

The orthography which will be used in this thesis is that approved by the Tsonga Language Committee in its publication Terminology and Orthography No.3 of 1972.

However, unlike other words of the language, ideophones exhibit special peculiar characteristics such as long vowels as well as rising and falling tones. These special features are not provided for in the practical orthography of Tsonga. For this reason, it has been decided in this thesis to devise some methods for their representation. Long vowels in ideophones will be represented by two vowels. Short vowels will be represented by one vowel. The high tones will be indicated

by an acute accent thus (´). The low tone will not be marked. The rising and falling tones in ideophones generally occur in the only syllable in the case of monosyllabic ideophones or in the final syllable in the case of polysyllabic ideophones. Vowels realised with such rising and falling tones in ideophones are generally long. Where an ideophone embodies a rising tone, i.e. [˨˨˨], the second vowel will be marked with an acute accent thus aá, tonetically symbolized Ḥ or R to indicate that one long vowel is involved. Where the ideophone embodies a falling tone, i.e. [˨˨˨], the first vowel will be marked with an acute accent thus āa, tonetically symbolized Ḥ or F to indicate that one long vowel is involved. Where the falling tone occurs between two high tones in the practical orthography, this will not be indicated by two vowels, but by one vowel with a circumflex because the falling (or rising, if any) tone occurring within syllables (although in our opinion of two morae in value) is generally not long enough to warrant representation by two vowels.

6. Punctuation

The Tsonga Language Committee has ruled that the ideophone be punctuated by a comma when it occurs in the middle of a sentence and by an exclamation mark when it appears alone or when it occurs at the end of a sentence.

SUMMARY

In this thesis, the phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of the ideophone are investigated. Ideophones constitute a subsystem of the language while other word classes constitute the main system.

Phonetically and phonologically, the subsystem is not far removed from the main system although it also has its own characteristics. Phonologically, the subsystem is characterised by assonance and consonant repetition. Tonally, the subsystem employs a rising tone. The tonality of the ideophone is not affected by its position in the sentence. It retains its tonal pattern within or without the context of the sentence.

In this thesis, the principle of the Ideophonic Phrase (IP) functioning as a predicative is recognised. Structurally, the IP consists of the auxiliary verb stem -ri and the ideophone. The morphology of the auxiliary verb stem -ri is grammatical while that of the ideophone is derivational. The verb stem -ri, together with its concomitant numerous auxiliary morphemes, performs the verbalizing function of the IP, serving to put it into the different moods and tenses. On the other hand, longer forms of the ideophone may be derived from shorter forms by partial or complete reduplication. Ideophones may also be derived from verbs by the use of certain morphemes.

The syntax of the ideophone is realised by means of the IP. The IP is capable of serving as a predicative. Like the verb, it may be transitive or intransitive. It may take objects and in such cases it incorporates the object concord (oc). It may be used predicatively in passive constructions.

A major characteristic of the IP is that its auxiliary i.e. the auxiliary verb stem -ri and its concomitant grammatical morphemes may be deleted in surface realisations, leaving the ideophone to occur alone.

Semantically, while the auxiliary verb stem -ri expresses the verbalizing function of the IP, the ideophone supplies its meaning. Ideophones serve to 'exemplify' actions and states of their subjects. For this reason, they are basically iconic in nature, i.e. they are phonetically motivated.

The general conclusion of this investigation is that the ideophone in Tsonga has verbal properties but is in fact a non-verb predicative.

C H A P T E R 1Introduction1.1 Aim and scope

This is a synchronic investigation of the ideophone in Tsonga. It is not a comparative study of Tsonga ideophones with ideophones in other languages. Where comparison is sometimes resorted to, this is for the sake of clarifying certain points and not necessarily for drawing similarities. The investigation encompasses the phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of the ideophone in Tsonga.

1.2 The term 'Ideophone'

Fortune (1962:4), Kunene (1965:19), Weakley (1973:1), and Von Staden (1974:19) claim that the term *ideophone* was coined by Doke. No claim to the contrary has been established. It is an undisputed fact that the term made its first appearance in Bantu language studies in Doke's *Bantu Linguistic Terminology* (1935:118). This term has now been generally accepted in linguistic circles. Observations are that it is no longer restricted to Bantu languages. For example, Smithers (1954) uses this term in his paper 'Some English Ideophones'.

The term, according to Samarin (1971:132) is composed of two concepts, idea and phone, i.e. notion plus sound. Consequently this category of words is said to represent an idea through sound. This raises the question as to whether the other categories of words, for example, nouns,

verbs, adjectives etc. are not also expressed in sound when articulated. Apparently Doke (1935:118) had their iconic nature¹ in mind when he coined this term. After all Doke (1935:118) defines the ideophone as "... a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word often onomatopoeic, ...". The question as to whether the term 'ideophone' is appropriate or not will not be considered at this stage. Even if another term were suggested, this would just cause confusion as the term 'ideophone' has gained international currency in linguistic circles. For this reason, the retention of the term 'ideophone' to refer to this class of words is advocated.

1.3 The ideophone in Bantu languages

Tsonga is a Bantu language. One of the characteristics of most Bantu languages is having ideophones in their language systems. From the study of English ideophones by Smithers (1954), it may be postulated that every language incorporates some kind of 'ideophone'. The only difference may be the extent of use and mode of employment of this phenomenon. To return to Bantu languages, from the available literature,² Bantu ideophones have much in common on the phono-semantic level. What still needs further investigation on a comparative basis is the grammatical function of these words.

¹ In linguistic circles, by words of iconic nature is meant words whose acoustics resemble the sound source. A further discussion of this concept is presented in par. 5.6, p.211.

² Samarin (1971:164-168) has a bibliography on grammars and papers on Bantu ideophones. The whole paper by Samarin gives a good idea of what is common with regard to these words in Bantu languages.

1.4 Previous contributions

Most grammarians who wrote grammars on African languages touched on ideophones in the languages they were dealing with.¹ It is not feasible to comment on the views of each and every grammarian who wrote about them. Mention will however be made of the contributions of those linguists who gave closer attention to them, and of course, to those linguists whose contributions it was possible to consult. For the sake of convenience, previous contributions will be divided into two sections, (a) general contributions and (b) Tsonga contributions.

When commenting on general contributions, it would be outside the scope of this thesis to give a detailed review of each and every previous contribution in languages other than Tsonga,² since this is a synchronic study of Tsonga ideophones, and not a comparative one. For this reason, such contributions will merely be listed in chronological order, stating the year of publication and the language in which investigation was done. A general comment on all the contributions will be made later. However, where necessary, views of previous linguists on the ideophone in languages other than Tsonga will be cited in relevant sections of this thesis to support or highlight certain viewpoints about them in Tsonga. As far as Tsonga contributions are concerned, these will be reviewed in detail to show the ground already covered.

¹ Samarin (1971:164-168) listed about 116 publications most of which, among other things, discuss the ideophone. Most of these publications are grammars on African languages.

² If a general idea on ideophones in African languages is required, particularly in Bantu languages, Samarin's (1971:130-164) paper will be found very informative.

1.4.1 General contributions

General contributions can be divided into two sections, namely (1) contributions based on languages outside Doke's (1954:20) *Southern Zones of Bantu languages*, and (2) those within Doke's (1954:20) *Southern Zones of the Bantu languages*.

(a) General contributions in languages outside Doke's (1954:20) Southern Zones

Linguists in this category who wrote on the ideophone are as follows:

Evans-Pritchard (1962, Zande), Hulstaert (1962, Lumongo), Samarin (1965, 1967a, 1967b, 1970, 1971),¹ Moore (1968, Hausa), Newman (1968, Hausa and Tera), Bynon (1970, Berber),² Painter (1970, Togo and Dahomey), Rowlands (1970, Yoruba) and Welmers (1973, Niger-Congo African languages).

(b) General contributions within Doke's (1954:20) Southern Zones of Bantu languages

(i) South Central Zone

This zone embraces all languages of the Shona Group.

Linguists who wrote on the ideophone are the following:

¹ Samarin wrote mainly on general principles involving ideophones and did not confine himself to one specific language. However, in his grammar of the Sango language, Samarin touched on the ideophone of that particular language.

² Bynon (1970) prefers not to use the term ideophone for what he terms "A class of Phonaesthetic words ..." or 'exemplifiers' (p. 74). In a footnote, he states that the term 'ideophone' has been strictly avoided because of its highly specific application in Bantu languages. However, he later admits that there may be certain typological similarities between the Berber 'exemplifier' and the Bantu ideophone.

Burbridge (1938, Shona), Fortune (1962, 1971, Shona) and Nurse (1968, 1974, Nyanja).

(ii) South-Eastern Zone

This zone embraces the following languages:

Nguni (Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele), Sotho (S.Sotho, Pedi, Tswana), Venda, Tsonga and Inhambane. The following linguists wrote on the ideophone: Junod (1907, 1927, Tsonga),¹ Bishop (1922, Ronga),² Jaques (1941, Tsonga),³ Guma (1951, South Sotho), Fivaz (1963, Zulu), Kunene (1965, 1978, South Sotho), Voeltz (1971, Zulu), Neethling (1972, Xhosa), Weakley (1973, Xhosa), Von Staden (1974, Zulu), Mosisidi (1968, South Sotho) and Kock (1981, South Sotho).

(c) Comments on previous general contributions

Just as it is outside the scope of this investigation to give a detailed review of each and every contribution on the ideophone in languages other than Tsonga, it is equally not within the scope of this thesis to comment on each and every general contribution. However, reference will be made in this thesis to certain comments made by various contributors which it is believed can clarify some of the problems that will be raised.

¹ Tsonga contributions, although listed here because they fall under the South-Eastern Zone, will be reviewed in detail under Tsonga contributions.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

1.4.2 Contributions in Tsonga

Three linguists have written on Tsonga (and Ronga)¹ ideophones. They are Junod (1907 and 1927), Bishop (1922, Ronga) and Jaques (1941).

(a) Junod (1907, 1927)

Junod (1907:84) gave these words the term 'descriptive adverbs' and referred to their function as "... short adverbs followed ^{which} followed by the verb ku ku ..." which he (1907:71) claimed had the connotation 'to be', 'to say', 'to think'. Junod (1927:159-166) wrote further on these words and retained the term 'descriptive adverbs.' He (1927:160) still maintained that ideophones follow the so-called verb ku-, but added at the footnote that ku "... may be an abbreviated ... form of ku ri ...". Junod (1927:163) strongly rejected Torrend's term 'onomatopoetic substantives',² maintaining that ideophones show no characteristics of nouns. Junod (1927:164) touched on the expressive features associated with these words such as intonation and gestures, which he claimed contribute to the understanding of their meaning. An interesting point to note is that Junod (1927:165) divided ideophones into two groups, primitive (i.e. non-derived) and derivative (i.e. those derived from verbs by suffixing the morphemes -o and -iyani). He also observed that some had a real transitive nature and could be preceded by the oc and that the reflexive ti- could be prefixed before these words. Semantically, Junod (1927:161) remarked that ideophones "... translate the impression made on the brain by objects, motions seen and not heard, phenomena of vision." A very important observation which

¹ Ronga is a language of the Tsonga language family. It is spoken in Maputo.

² *Vide* app. 1, p.248, where a cursory summary is made of some of the terms which have been used to refer to the ideophone.

Junod (1927:166) made was that ideophones could 'give birth' to regular verbs, and he gave as example the verb -dzima (plant e.g. pole in the ground) deriving from the ideophone dzi! (of planting firmly into the ground). Lastly, Junod (1927:166) made a statement as to how these words are created. He stated that ideophones were "... instinctively formed to express the impression made on the brain by any kind of phenomenon."

(b) Bishop (1922)

Bishop (1922:417) regarded the morphemes -li, ti- and ku- in Ronga as verbs¹ and the ideophone as the complement of these verbs. Further, he classified ideophones according to (1) syllabication, (2) verbs used with them and (3) impressions they convey, i.e. semantic classification. As far as syllabication is concerned, he divided ideophones monosyllabically and polysyllabically. In each of these two groups, ideophones were divided according to how they are used as complements of the so-called -li, ti- and ku- verbs, e.g. Tihuku ti ku li KWEE! (chickens chirp), ku ti MPHU! (it is dark), Mbyana yi ku PULUPULU! (the dog wags its tail). Furthermore, some polysyllabic ideophones could be used with the copula as in the following example: Manyana i lošološo (So-and-so walks dispiritedly). Bishop's (1922:417-420)

¹ The Tsonga equivalents of these morphemes are the auxiliary verb stem -ri, the perfective aspectual morpheme te- and the infinitive prefix ku-, which precede the auxiliary verb stem -ri. *Vide* appendix 4, p.252 for the position of these morphemes in the sentence.

syllabic classification is acceptable, but classification according to the verbs used with these words is not acceptable. It is not feasible to classify ideophones according to their use with these auxiliary morphemes which Bishop (1922:417) called verbs¹ because the use of these auxiliary morphemes is governed by mood and tense and not by the type of ideophones used with them, as will be demonstrated later. As far as ideophones used with the copula are concerned, these are deideophonic nouns with a zero prefix used to form copulatives.² Classifying ideophones according to impressions, i.e. semantic classification is cumbersome. Ideophones may conveniently be classified as inchoative and non-inchoative.³ Bishop (1922:421) attempted a linguistic comparison of Ronga, Sotho and Zulu ideophones and came to the conclusion that "... there seem to be no exact reproductions in one language of descriptive complements found in another of the languages compared."

¹ The auxiliary verb is only -li, equivalent to the Tsonga -ri. ti-, which is equivalent to the Tsonga te-, is the perfective aspectual morpheme, and ku- is the infinitive prefix.

² An example of a deideophonic noun is as follows: from the id. ngundungundu (of beating small drums), a deideophonic noun (*ni)ngundungundu (sound of small drums) may be derived, from which the copulative i ngundungundu (it is the sound of small drums) may be formed.

³ Inchoative ideophones express an idea which has begun but has not yet been completed e.g. khidza! (of kneeling), and non-inchoative ideophones express a completed action e.g. tlukwa! (of jumping). These concepts are further discussed in detail in par. 5.8, p.232.

(c) Jaques (1941)

Jaques (1941:206) rejected the term 'onomatopoeia'¹ for ideophones and rightly contended that they also depicted facts which had nothing to do with sound. However, he did not suggest any term himself or attempt any definition of the ideophone. Jaques (1941:206) did not recognise the sound symbolic nature² of ideophones for he stated as follows:

... the meaning of the ideophone is gathered more from the context of the speech and from the expression and gestures of the speaker, than from the nature of the sounds produced.

Jaques (1941:206) observed the close relationship between verbs and ideophones in that verbs can be derived from ideophones. For example, from the ideophone kutšū-kutšū! (shaking liquid in a bottle) a verb -kutšunga (shake liquid in container) can be derived. On the other hand ideophones may be derived from verbs, and Jaques (1941:206) gave as examples the ideophones humelelo! (of appearing suddenly) from -humelela (appear suddenly), fikiyani! (of arriving suddenly) from -fika (arrive). Jaques (1941:206) did not illustrate the principle involved in such derivation.³ It

¹ A summary of terms used for the ideophone by different Bantuists is given in app. 1, p.248 to highlight the problem they had in defining the ideophone as a speech category.

² It is concluded that sound symbolism maintains in ideophones. The principle of sound symbolism maintains that certain phonetic sounds carry with them a suggestive meaning. This principle is fully discussed in par. 5.6.2, p.211.

³ Ideophones may be derived from verbs by suffixing certain morphemes. This principle is fully discussed in paras 3.2.1.1, p.120 and 3.2.1.2, p.120.

is not clear what Jaques (1941:206) implied in this regard when he stated that "... It must not be surmised however that ideophones can thus be created at will from existing verbs." On the ideophone-noun relationship,¹ except for stating that "Some ideophones are ... related to nouns", and giving a couple of examples, Jaques (1941:207) did not illustrate the principles governing such a relationship. On the function of ideophones, Jaques (1941:210), like Junod (1927:160) and Bishop (1922:417) claimed that the ideophone was preceded by the so-called verb ku-.² However, Jaques (1941:207) stated that ku- was often contracted to o-.³ Unfortunately Jaques did not outline how the contraction works. Like Bishop (1922:420), Jaques (1941:207) noticed that ideophones in the form of "... peculiar class of nouns, formed with the abstract prefix vu ..." could be used in copulative constructions, such as in the following example kutani i vugondzogondzo (then starts a disorderly noise). However, Jaques (1941:207) was not clear about the principle involved in such instances, for he stated that in such usages: "These (peculiar) nouns are not introduced ... by the verb ku ...".⁴ Jaques (1941:209) touched on identical

¹ Ideophone-noun relationship stems mainly from the fact that nouns may be derived from ideophones by prefixing noun prefixes to ideophonic roots. The principle governing such derivation is discussed fully in par. 3.2.2, p.125.

² The morpheme ku- in such instances is not a verb but is an infinitive prefix. *Vide* par. 3.1.1.2, p.81.

³ -o is not a contraction of ku- but is the restrictive aspectual morpheme used very much in ideophonic construction. *Vide* app. 33A, par. 7, p.284, for discussion on this morpheme.

⁴ Note that ku- in such usages is not a verb but an infinitive prefix, *vide* par. 3.1.1.2, p.81.

syllable repetition of ideophones and stated that "it (repetition ... CTDM) ... serves to amplify or intensify the meaning ...". While it is true that repetition (or reduplication) of ideophones intensifies meaning, Jaques (1941:209) in this instance was referring to ideophones expressing continuous actions or processes, and not with the phenomenon of reduplication. Commenting on the tone of the ideophone in the sentence, Jaques (1941:210) stated that "... the problem of tone is somewhat simpler than in ordinary words", i.e. he aptly pointed out that the ideophone in this respect was an entity of its own which interrupted the course of ordinary speech. Jaques (1941:210) touched on the tempo of articulating the segments of the ideophone, which he called 'speed'. He established three speeds, quick, medium and slow. He proposed to write the syllables of the ideophone conjoined when they had to be uttered in rapid succession, and hyphenated when uttered in moderate speed. For a slow succession, he proposed to write the syllables separately. Although Jaques (1941:210) did not elaborate on this question of speed, he touched on a very important aspect of the ideophone which concerns tempo¹ and the iconic nature of ideophones. Jaques (1941:212) recognised long vowels in ideophones and proposed to signify this phenomenon by double vowels. He also remarked that vowel quality depended upon the emotion expressed. Jaques (1941:212) also pointed out

¹ The question of tempo in ideophones is discussed in detail in par. 5.6.3.2, p.226.

that "... the stress is on the first syllable, whatever the number of syllables contained in the ideophone." Jaques (1941:209-212) attempted a classification of ideophones. He classified them according to (1) number of syllables and (2) tone. As far as classification according to syllables is concerned, he (1941:209) established four classes of one, two, three and four syllables each respectively. Further, each class was subdivided according to the type of tone pattern. In class 1, i.e. the monosyllabic type, Jaques (1941:212) established seven tone patterns ranging from high tone to low tone with different degrees of rising and rising-falling tones. In the disyllabic class, he established seven types of tone patterns. In the tri- and quadri-syllabic classes he established nine types of tone patterns respectively. Each syllable is given a number relating to the notes of the tonic-solfa scale worked out on a kymograph. Jaques (1941:212) established a total of 33 tonal patterns for Tsonga ideophones. He termed this list of tonal patterns prototype. This 'prototype' list of tonal patterns serves as a guide in the pronunciation of ideophones. According to this principle, tone is not marked on the ideophone in the lexicon, only the number of the relative 'prototype' is set against the ideophone, and to establish its tonal pattern, one has to look for the ideophone with the relevant number in the prototype list. Jaques' (1941:212) system of tone marking serves as a guideline towards the proper pronunciation of the given ideophone. Although Jaques (1941:212) claims that he evolved the system to avoid the cumbersome notation of placing

figures under each syllable of the ideophone to indicate tone, nevertheless, the system is unwieldy. In the first place, one has to have the tonal 'prototype' list all the time, and the effort of remembering nine degrees of relative tone pitches is cumbersome.

(d) Summary comments on previous Tsonga contributions

Junod (1927:160), Bishop (1922:417) and Jaques (1941:210) all regarded the infinitive prefix ku- and the perfective aspectual morpheme te- (Ronga ti-) as verbs used with ideophones.

Junod (1927:160) definitely regarded the ideophone as an adverb, hence his term 'descriptive adverbs'. This is despite the fact that Junod (1927:165) stated that "... some of these adverbs ... have a true transitive nature and may be preceded by a direct object ..." and that they may be used "... with the reflexive ti ...". It is interesting to note that these are verbal and not adverbial features.

Bishop (1922:425) was rather cautious in ascribing ideophones to any grammatical category and referred to them simply as 'descriptive complements'. He rightly criticised Junod (1927:165) for classifying ideophones as adverbs while he (Junod) at the same time attributed verbal features to these words. Bishop (1922:425) states as follows:

... it seems to me to be difficult to follow Mr. Junod in calling these words adverbs, if they can have so much of the nature of verbs as to take a direct object.

Bishop (1922:425) advocated the dropping of the word 'adverb' but preferred the retention of the term 'descriptive'. He referred to ideophones as 'descriptive complements' of the so-called ku-, -li and ti- verbs.

Jaques (1941:210) on the other hand avoided categorising these words. He simply stated that "an ideophone is an entity by itself, which interrupts the course of ordinary speech."

Junod's (1927:160) idea that these words are 'descriptive adverbs' is not subscribed to, as will be illustrated in Chapter 4 on the syntax of the ideophone. The morphemes ku- and te- are also not regarded as verbs in the context of the ideophone. The fact that the morpheme -ri (Ronga -li) serves as some sort of verb in the context of the ideophone is accepted. However, in this context, it is not a normal verb but an auxiliary verb.¹

Junod (1927:165) and Jaques (1941:206) both rightly recognised the ideophone-verb relationship. They did not however, outline the principles governing such a relationship.

The invariability of the ideophone and the tendency of deideophonic nouns in certain classes to have a zero prefix²

¹ *Vide* par. 4.2.2, p.142, where this verb stem in the context of the ideophone is discussed.

² Deideophonic nouns in classes 5 and 9 generally have a zero prefix. *Vide* examples in paras 3.2.2.3, p.128 and 3.2.2.5, p.131.

posed problems especially to Bishop (1922:420) and to Jaques (1941:207) when these deideophonic nouns were used to form copulatives. This is evidenced by Bishop's (1922:420) remark that when ideophones (i.e. deideophonic nouns with zero prefixes) are used with the copula, "it is uncertain under what part of speech they are to be classed."

Junod's (1927:165) distinction between primitive and derivative ideophones has been found very valid.¹ Equally important are Jaques' (1941:210) observations about tone, speed (which is called tempo in this study) and vowel length.²

Lastly, Junod (1927:165) rightly observed that some ideophones in Tsonga can "... have a true transitive nature and may be preceded by a direct object (concord ... CTDM) ...", and that they may be used with the reflexive ti-. Such verbal features of the ideophone have been established in this investigation.

1.5 Definition of the ideophone

1.5.1 Early Bantuists and the naming problem

Although evidence shows that the term ideophone only made its appearance in 1935, this does not mean that earlier Bantu grammarians

¹ *vide* par. 3.1.2, p.104, where primitive and derivative ideophones are discussed in detail.

² Tone is discussed in par. 2.4.1, p. 53, speed (tempo) in par. 5.6.3.2, p.226, and vowel length in par. 2.1.3, p.35.

failed to recognise these words; for example, as long ago as 1844, Boyce (1844:106) made an investigation of these words. However, earlier Bantuists were faced with the problem of what term to use to refer to these words. This is evidenced by the diversity of terms which were used in an attempt to categorise these words as a part of speech.¹

Fortune (1962:4) attributes the naming and the classification problems to the background of the early grammarians of African languages. He states that, consciously or unconsciously, grammarians with the background of classical languages based the grammars of the African languages they were investigating on the model of their classical languages, i.e. models of Indo-European languages. He says:

... the peculiarities of the ideophone and its unlikeness to anything in the grammarian's background, were revealed by the startling variety of terminology and treatment which it received.

Price (1966:239), writing about Nyanja ideophones, pointed out the problem which the early Bantu grammarians faced by stating that ideophones have "... given grammarians a great deal of trouble ..." and he gave as reason the fact that as far as ideophones are concerned, "... it is like nothing in the familiar European languages."

Up to the present, the question of ideophones is not yet clear to the grammarians as evidenced by Welmer's (1973:459) recent admission that,

Unfortunately, when it comes to talking about ideophones, for almost every student of African languages – including conspicuously the present author – the "Peter Principle" begins to apply: we are rapidly reaching the level of our own incompetence.

¹ Some of the different terms or labels have been summarised in app. 1, p.248.

It is the opinion of the author that an attempt to define the ideophone in this investigation will be more appreciated if viewed against the background of a sampling of previous attempts to name as well as to categorise these words. Of particular interest are the names prior to Doke's (1935:118) term 'ideophone'. These names clearly show the problem the linguists had in categorising the ideophone as a part of speech. After Doke (1935:118) introduced the term 'ideophone', subsequent linguists settled for this term and made no further effort to look for other terms. What has not yet been finalised is categorising the ideophone as a part of speech as will be observed in paragraph 1.5.3 on modern tendencies.

1.5.2 Review of the different terms prior to the term 'ideophone'¹

A cursory sampling of terms of the ideophone used by linguists prior to Doke's (1935:118) term 'ideophone' reveals interesting tendencies. Linguists such as Werner (1919), Junod (1913), Bishop (1922), Doke (1935) and Samarin (1971) quote terms used by pre-Dokeian linguists to refer to the ideophone. What has been frustrating in this investigation has been the difficulty in obtaining some of the earlier sources of pre-Dokeian linguists.²

Observation of the different terms reveals that different considerations helped to form the bases of naming these words, hence the diversity of

¹ Pre-Dokeian (1935:118) terms of the ideophone are summarised in app. 1, p. 248.

² Sources which were not available for consulting up to the date of submitting this thesis are marked with an asterisk in app. 1, p. 248.

terms brought forth. The main considerations were the following: (1) semantic, (2) morphological and syntactic, and (3) functional considerations.

1.5.2.1 Semantic considerations¹

(a) The term 'onomatopoeia' as used to refer to ideophones

Onomatopoeia refers to the naming of a thing or an action by a vocal imitation of the sound associated with it. This term was used by certain grammarians obviously because of what they believed was a close resemblance between onomatopoeic words in their own language and ideophones in Bantu.

However, some grammarians started to notice that there was more to ideophones than being onomatopoeic in nature. For example, Bishop (1922:417) realised that these words expressed other ideas apart from mere imitation of sounds. Jaques (1941:205) stated that: "It is true, many ideophones are imitation of sounds, but the majority of them depict facts which have nothing to do with sounds ...". Cole (1975:370) states that although the ideophone may be comparable to a certain extent with onomatopoeia in the European languages, there is this important distinction, that ideophones are descriptive of sound, colour, smell, manner, appearance, state, action or intensity, whereas

¹ *Vide* app. 1, p. 248, for summary of names based on semantic considerations and their protagonists.

onomatopoeia is descriptive of sound only. Samarin (1965:119) states that one of the most naive characterisations of the ideophones is to call them onomatopoeia. He goes on to state that this is the name by which they are still known in some circles. Samarin (1965:119) rightly states that it is extremely doubtful in any African language whether even ten per cent of the ideophones derive from non-linguistic sound, i.e. that ideophones are onomatopoeic in nature.

To substantiate Samarin's (1965:119) views, 1742 ideophones from Cuenod's (1967) dictionary were analysed and 65% of these ideophones were found to refer to action, 26% to stative situations, 6% to sound (i.e. onomatopoeia), 2% to colour, 0,7% to taste and smell, and 0,3% to sight. From the above analysis, it is obvious that the tendency to regard ideophones as being exclusively onomatopoeic in nature was not appropriate.

(b) The terms 'Lautbilder' and 'Vocal Images'

The terms 'Lautbilder' (Westermann, 1908:83) and 'Vocal Images' (Werner, 1919:194) although motivated by semantic considerations, do not suggest any particular part of speech. It is true that ideophones help conjure a picturesque state of the referent in one's mind. However, phrases like 'picture words', 'vocal images' are not grammatical terms and therefore do not help categorise the ideophone as a particular part of speech.

1.5.2.2 Morphological and syntactic considerations¹

Terms based on morphological and syntactic considerations include the interjection and radical.

(a) The term 'interjection' as used to refer to ideophones

- . Except for Jacottet (1892:63) who regarded ideophones as 'interjections of a verbal nature', Endemann (1876:170), Grout (1859:226) and Lammond (1930:95) regarded the ideophone merely as an interjection. Treble and Vallins (1936:103) define interjections as words "... thrown into a sentence ... without interfering with its grammatical structure ...". Doke and Mofokeng (1957:365) refer to interjections as 'parenthetical appendages' to the sentences occurring with them, having no grammatical or concordial bearing thereto. The tendency to regard ideophones as interjections is not surprising. Ideophones and interjections exhibit similar exclamatory features together with what Mosisidi (1978:9) calls 'unique syntactic aloofness'. Note the following examples: (NB: A double line appears under the interjection and the ideophone is written in capital letters.):

Interjection: E-e, u nqa fambi!

(No, do not go!)

Ideophone : Mufana wa tlula, TLÚKWA!

(The boy jumps)

¹ *Vide* app. 1, p. 248, for summary of terms based on morphological and syntactic considerations and their protagonists.

The interjection e-e (no) and the ideophone tlúkwa! (of jumping) both stand apart from the rest of their respective sentences; they are also both exclamatory in nature. Although the interjection and the ideophone seem similar on surface realisations in that they both exhibit similar exclamatory features and 'syntactical aloofness', their underlying structures are quite different. The interjection e-e (no) in the sentence above only serves as a parenthetical appendage to that sentence and has neither grammatical nor concordial bearing to that statement even in the underlying structure. In this study, it will be argued that tlúkwa! (of jumping) is in fact a part of a whole predicative phrase which is grammatically linked to the subject mufana (the boy).

(b) The term 'radical' or 'root' as used to refer to ideophones

The term 'radical/root' has been used with reference to the ideophone. Werner (1919:194) for example referred to them as 'interjectional roots'. Doke (1927:238)¹ referred to them as 'radicals'. Watkins (1937:85) referred to them as 'descriptive radicals'. It is felt that the term 'radical' would be inappropriate to use in this thesis with reference to the ideophone, since this term is generally recognised in a different context to refer to the irreducible element of the verb. Thus this term is applicable to other parts of speech as well.

¹ Doke in his earlier writings refers to the part of speech under consideration as 'radical' under the heading 'Descriptive'. In 1935, he first began to use the term 'ideophone' in his *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, p.118.

1.5.2.3 Functional considerations¹

The terms that have been used to refer to the ideophone and which have been based on functional considerations include the following: noun, adjective, adverb and verb.

(a) The term 'noun' as used to refer to ideophones

The term 'noun' includes: 'onomatopoetic substantives' Torrend (1891:139) and 'mimic nouns' Wanger (as quoted by Doke, 1935:119). The basis for regarding the ideophones as nouns in these instances, as Torrend contends, is that they appear after the verb -thi (Zulu/Xhosa) (Tsonga -ri) and hence as objects of this verb. It will be argued in this thesis that the verb stem -thi/-ri in the context of the ideophone is not a normal verb and hence cannot take objects. It is in fact an auxiliary verb. As will also be shown, ideophones as such are not capable of functioning as nouns, even though nouns may be formed from ideophones.

(b) The term 'adjective' as used to refer to ideophones

Whitehead (1899:18) referred to ideophones as indeclinable adjectives. An adjective qualifies a substantive. Of course for Tsonga in surface realisations, such as in the following instance

¹ *vide* app.1, p.248, for names of the ideophone based on functional considerations and their protagonists.

Ximanga xa ntima DZWÍI!
 poss. n. id.
 Subj. conc. n. id.

(A very black cat)

an ideophone may co-occur with a noun as a result of deletions¹ and appears to function as an adjective. However, in the underlying structure, the ideophone DZWÍI (of being black) occurs in a larger relative construction. Note the following underlying structure of the sentence above:

Ximanga xa ntima [lowu wa (ku (ri) DZWÍI)]²
 (Inf IP)

(A very black cat)

The deletion of lowu wa ku ri results in DZWÍI occurring adjacent to ntima, i.e. the position normally occupied by Tsonga adjectives. For this reason, it would be inappropriate to refer to the ideophone as 'adjective'.

(c) The term 'adverb' as used to refer to ideophones

The term 'adverb' includes the following: 'particles used adverbially' Bishop of Natal (1859:71), 'onomatopoetic adverbials' Hetherwick (1922:188), 'descriptive adverb',

¹ In this thesis, it will be argued that the auxiliary verb stem -ri and the ideophone form a syntactic unit referred to as the Ideophonic Phrase (IP). In surface realisations, the auxiliary of the IP may be deleted as will be demonstrated later in par. 4.3, p.145 et seqq.

² *Vide* app. 26, p.274, for detailed analysis of this type of construction.

Junod (1913:143) and 'interjectional adverb' Jacottet (1927:132). Doke (1935:118) helped entrench the adverbial tendency by defining the ideophone as follows:

The ideophone is in Bantu a special part of speech, resembling to a certain extent in function the adverb, together with which it is classified as a descriptive.

It is evident that Doke (1935:118) associated the 'describing' concept of the ideophone with the 'modifying' function of the adverb. While Doke (1935:118) is highly credited for identifying the ideophone as a distinct part of speech, the author differs from him as regards its relationship with the adverb. Admittedly, the verb and the ideophone may co-occur where they are governed by the same grammatical subject and deletions may leave the ideophone co-occurring with the verb, i.e. occupying the position normally occupied by the adverb, hence the tendency to associate it with the adverb. However, this does not make the ideophone in such instances function like an adverb. As will be pointed out in this thesis, the underlying structure of the same construction reveals that the adverb and the ideophone belong to two different constructions.¹ Ideophones function differently from adverbs. They do not 'describe predicates' in the sense that adverbs 'modify predicates'. Ideophones are themselves predicators. They express an action, a process or a stative situation in relation to the subject as will be demonstrated under syntax in Chapter 4.

¹ In the underlying structure, the ideophone belongs to a full predicative clause of its own. Deletions make it occupy the position normally occupied by the adverb in surface realisations. This syntactic phenomena is discussed fully in par. 4.13.1, p.191 et seqq.

Ideophones are capable of grammatically functioning as predicates apart from verbs, a feature adverbs do not have. For this reason, the term 'adverb' is not appropriate.

(d) The term 'verb' as used to refer to ideophones

The term 'verb' include the following: 'neuter verbs' Boyce (1844:106), 'fragment of a verb' Bishop of Natal (1859:71), 'interjections of a verbal nature' Jacottet (1892:63), 'indeclinable verbal particles' McLaren (1906:124), 'verb' Torre do Valle (1906, as quoted by Bishop 1922:425).

The tendency to regard ideophones as playing some predicative role is very old, having originated with the humble beginnings of writing grammars of African languages. For example, Boyce (1844:106), discussing the use of "... uku ti" (to say) stated that this is "... prefixed to a certain class of neuter verbs which are never conjugated without its assistance."

The very fact that Jacottet (1892:63) initially regarded ideophones as 'interjections of a verbal nature' is an indication that he had noticed something verbal in their nature. Jacottet (1892:63) went so far as to state that the idiomatic construction of ho re (to say) plus the so-called 'interjection of a verbal nature' "... expresses ... states or activities ...". Although Jacottet (1927:132) later regarded ideophones as adverbs, he still referred to their function as "... to express verbal notions" and gave the example "... ho re tu to be silent (lit. to say or to do tu), ...". (NB: tu! is a South Sotho ideophone meaning 'of being quiet'.)

Although Watkins (1937:85) referred to the ideophone as 'The Radical Descriptive',¹ he recognised its predicative nature, for he stated that "... since in both form and function it is closely related to the verb, it may be included in our analysis of the verb and verb forms."

Further comments on the tendency to regard the ideophone as some kind of verb will be made during the discussion on modern trends towards the categorisation of the ideophone.

(e) The term 'descriptive complement' as used to refer to ideophones

Bishop (1922:424) reviewed the terms advanced then to refer to the ideophone, i.e. onomatopoeia, interjection and adverb and rejected them all on the grounds that they did not give a true interpretation of these words. Bishop (1922:425) advanced the term 'descriptive complement' but added that this term might not be suitable since,

... we seem to have here a part of speech foreign to our European ideas and terms, and that no English term can be perfectly satisfactory, if used in its rigid European grammatical sense.

Bishop's (1922:425) term 'descriptive complement' is based on the assumption that the ideophone functionally serves as complement of the verb -ri (Nguni -thi, Sotho -re). By

¹ Watkins (1937:85) acknowledged that he took the terminology 'Radical Descriptive' from Doke (1927:238) wherein Doke referred to this part of speech as 'Radical', classifying it under the part of speech 'Descriptive' (Doke 1927:35).

bringing forth the term 'descriptive complement', Bishop (1922:425) attempted to place these words in a grammatical class of their own, thereby departing from the contemporary tendency of regarding them grammatically as nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, etc. On this basis, he was on the same trend as Doke (1935:118), who also recognized that they belong to a class of their own and labelled them as ideophones. The significant point to note is that while the term ideophone became widely used, the term 'descriptive complement' as used by Bishop never gained publicity. Fromkin and Rodman (1978:139) state that,

Each word must include other information as well. Part of the dictionary representation of a word must include whether it is a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, a preposition, a conjunction. That is, it must specify what grammatical category, or syntactic class, it is in.

The problem with ideophones is not so much finding a term for them but to specifically categorise them as a syntactic class. Doke (1935:118) besides labelling them as ideophones, accorded them syntactic status by grammatically classifying them with adverbs as descriptives. Bishop on the other hand, even though he used the term 'descriptive complement', did not explicitly state which syntactic category these words belong to.

1.5.3 Modern trends towards categorising the ideophone as a grammatical class

The modern tendency is to regard the ideophone as a predicative and consequently to classify it with the verb. This is contrary to Doke's (1935:118) classification of the ideophone with the adverb. Fortune (1962:4), like Watkins (1937:85), also realised the relationship that exists between the ideophone and the verb, stating:

In Shona, the form it is most profitable to compare the ideophone with is not the adverb but the verb.

and substantiated his view by stating that most things can be expressed in one of two ways, either verbally or ideophonically. Kunene (1965:10) later supported Fortune's standpoint and went so far as to suggest that two distinct types of predicates in Bantu should be recognized, the narrative type and the dramatic type. The narrative type would refer to verbal predication and the dramatic type to ideophonic predication.

Some of the recent investigators of the ideophone have also made statements subscribing to the predicative orientation. For example, Neethling (1972:8) in his MA dissertation states that,

In hierdie studie word by Fortune en Kunene se sienswyse aangesluit nadat hierdie studie ook aangetoon het dat die ideofoon hoofsaaklik predikatief gebruik word.

Weakley (1973:5) also subscribes to the predicative orientation, for he writes as follows:

The general contention of the verbal properties of the ideophone is also supported in this dissertation ...

Voeltz (1971:150) also recognises the predicative nature of ideophones and writes as follows:

First of all, I consider ideophones to be [+ IDEO] and [+ VERB]. The need for the feature IDEO is clear. There is no sense in which we can eliminate this feature, or whereby we can avoid recognizing a lexical category ideophone. The phonological evidence alone would bring this out.

Secondly, I consider ideophones to be verbs. I can point to some of the evidence: (i) Ideophones ... participate in the process of extensions, a process which in Bantu languages is clearly verbal in nature ... (ii) Semantically and syntactically, ideophones are clearly verbs in that they take objects, i.e. are transitive, have stative notions ..., are intransitive, etc. (iii) Ideophones, just like verbs, may be modified by adverbs or enclitics.

What is interesting about the predicative orientation concerning ideophones is that Doke, the protagonist of the adverbial-descriptive orientation, did also recognise the predicative nature of the ideophone (Doke and Mofokeng, 1957:337). He stated, for example:

In Bantu, the ideophone is a special part of speech, resembling, to a certain extent, in function the adverb, together with which it is classified as a descriptive; but unlike which it may, in some languages, be used as a predicate.

Doke and Mofokeng gave the following example of the predicative use of the ideophone in South Sotho: Lerata TLI! (The noise is deafening) (p. 337). Unfortunately, they did not cite more languages which may use the ideophone as a predicative and those which may use it as an adverb.

The predicative nature of ideophones seems not to be a feature of the Bantu language family only, but a basic feature in all languages

which use ideophones. For example, Bynon (1970:78)¹ wrote as follows:

... an exemplifier can operate without the presence of any verb to express the action being exemplified.

1.5.4 Suggested approach in defining the ideophone

Samarin (1967(b):36) states that "What we need are experiments to test the 'definability' of ideophones purely from contextual material." Samarin (1971:133) contends that "... these words must stand apart because of some phonological, morphological, or syntactic feature (or set of features)." Consequently, Samarin (1965:117) suggests that every investigator into these words should attempt to answer the question: "Exactly what are the ideophones?" He goes on to suggest that,

... this question must be answered for only one language at a time in the same way that all the other morpheme or word classes are investigated.

However, Newman (1968:108) maintains that the question: "What are the ideophones?" should be kept apart from the question: "How do the ideophones function?" Newman is of the opinion that the question: 'What are the ideophones?' can, and should be answered, "... independent of any specific language to permit the comparison of a wide range of similar phenomenon in different languages." On the question: 'How do ideophones function?' Newman (1968:108) states that this question "... must be answered separately for each language."

¹ Bynon wrote on Berber ideophones, a non-Bantu language, but used the term 'exemplifier' to refer to this class of words.

In this thesis, the question: 'Exactly what are ideophones?' is answered for Tsonga on the phono-semantic level in Chapters 2 (phonetic and phonological characteristics), 3 (morphological characteristics) and 5 (semantic characteristics). The question on 'function' is answered in Chapter 4.

1.6 Emphasis in this investigation

In this investigation, emphasis is on the syntax of the ideophone. Junod (1907 and 1927), Bishop (1922) and Jaques (1941) did not attempt a syntactic investigation of the word. Their contribution has mainly concerned its phonological and semantic features. On the whole, paying less attention to the syntax of the ideophone in the study of the word has been the general tendency, as Newman (1968:107) has also observed and states as follows: "Most studies of ideophones focus almost exclusively on the phonological and semantic features of these words." However, Fortune (1962, 1971 Shona), Fivaz (1963 Zulu), Neethling (1971 Xhosa) and Von Staden (1974 Zulu) among others, have given attention to the syntax of ideophones in the respective languages.

1.7 Methods of research in this investigation

Samarin (1970:29) is of the opinion that the text collecting method¹ in the investigation of the ideophone yields better results. Applying this method, Samarin (1970:29) collected several recordings

¹ The text collecting method is that which collects texts in which ideophones occur.

of the spider tales in natural setting around the fire at night. He then observed the use of ideophones in the texts he collected. Giving a brief assessment of his research methods, including among others the text collecting method, Samarin (1970:30) states that: "A great deal has been learned, much of it of the kind that has escaped other students of African languages to this date."

In line with Samarin (1970:29), the text collecting method has been used in this investigation. In the research carried out for my Master's degree (1973), over eighty recordings of Tsonga folktales were made. It was noted that a total of over four hundred and thirty ideophones and ideophonic expressions were used in these folktales. Conclusions reached in this study, particularly on the syntax of the ideophone, have been based mainly on the material from this source. This has made it possible to observe the use of ideophones in expressive or affective speech in Tsonga. To supplement this material, the list compiling method has been used. Over one thousand, seven hundred ideophones were listed out of the *Tsonga-English Dictionary* compiled by Cuenod (1967). Ideophones were also listed from current Tsonga literature, where the syntactic use of ideophones was also observed.

S U M M A R Y

The intention in this study is to investigate Tsonga ideophones synchronically to establish their phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics. Reviews of the definition of the ideophone as a grammatical category reveal that defining the ideophone as a syntactic category has not been easy for the early Bantuists. This is evidenced by the number of terms brought forth. Although Doke (1935:118) introduced the term ideophone, he associated this word with the adverb as a syntactic category. The modern tendency is to

associate the ideophone with the verb. The impression gained in reviewing previous contributions is that the focus, in the study of this word, has mainly been on its phono-semantic features. There has however been of late some intense research on syntax as well. It is felt that the word should be defined on the basis of its grammatical function, although not exclusively. For this reason, emphasis in this investigation is on the syntax of the word.

C H A P T E R 2

The Phonetics and Phonology of Tsonga Ideophones

2.0 Introduction

Ideophones form a subcategory of the normal words of Tsonga. Consequently, they exhibit certain peculiarities in relation to the sound system. Their sound system will be referred to as the subsystem in this thesis. The sound system of the other word categories of the language will be referred to as the main system.

2.1 Vowels

2.1.1 Vowels in the main system

(*vide* appendix 2, p.250, for vowels in the main system of Tsonga.)

2.1.2 Vowels in the subsystem

Phonetically, the subsystem, like the main system, employs the seven varieties of vowels, namely,

a [a] low back vowel

e.g. bāka! [bāka] (of waving aside with hand)

i [i] high front vowel

e.g. ntlī! [ntlī] (of choking)

u [u] high back vowel

e.g. bu! [bu] (of falling down)

e [e] half-close front vowel

e.g. khē! [khē] (of chopping)

- e [ɛ] half-open front vowel
e.g. rhwe! [r^hɛ] (of lying helpless on the floor)
- o [o] half-close back vowel
e.g. bōdō! [bōdō] (of piercing through)
- o [ɔ] half-open back vowel
e.g. goo! [gɔ:] (of looking glum, not knowing what to do)

2.1.3 Vowel length

2.1.3.1 The Concept 'mora'

Before discussing vowel length in ideophones, it is fitting at this stage to consider the concept 'mora'. Hartmann and Stork (1972:145) define a mora as "The smallest unit for measuring quantity or length in a prosodic system. The mora is usually shorter than a syllable." Tucker (1962:128) defines a mora as "... a tone bearing unit of length." Ladefoged (1975:224) defines a mora as "... a unit of timing", and goes on to add that "Each mora takes about the same length of time to say." Ladefoged (1975:224) regards a vowel by itself as "... another type of mora ...".

Tsonga vowels of one mora

From the above definitions of the mora, particularly Ladefoged's (1975:224) principle of regarding a vowel by itself as a mora, as well as his (1975:224) statement that a mora takes about the same length of time to say, Tsonga vowels realised with level tones (i.e. high or low) in

normal Tsonga words are regarded as being of one mora in this study.

Syllables with vowels of one mora are symbolised as CV.

Tsonga vowels of two morae

Vowels of two morae are regarded as long vowels. Such vowels in Tsonga are realised with rising or falling tones.¹ Long vowels also occur in the final syllable of stative or inchoative ideophones.² Syllables with vowels of two morae are symbolised as CVV; however, Tucker (1962:132) warns that "... these (CVV syllables) are not phonetically disyllables ..." and gives as reason the fact that in their articulation "... there is only one impulse, and not two."

2.1.3.2 Vowel length in the main vowel system

Vowels in the main vowel system of Tsonga are short due to the fact that, generally, Tsonga has short syllables, hence short vowels. These vowels are one mora in length. Long vowels occur only in the penultimate syllable of the word as well as in vowels realised with falling tone. These vowels may be regarded as two morae. For example, in the word munhu [mu:nhu] (CVVCV) (person), the /u/ in the syllable /mu/ is in the penultimate position and hence longer than the /u/ in the syllable /nhu/. In the phrase hi yena [hi jɛ:na] [HFH] (CV CVVCV) (it is he), the vowel in the syllable /ye/ is two morae as it is realised with falling tone.

¹ 'Rising' and 'falling' tones are the result of the clustering of high and low tones.

² 'Inchoative' ideophones are ideophones which express a stative situation which has begun but has not yet been completed.

2.1.3.3 Vowel length in the subsystem

In the subsystem, both long and short vowels are encountered but they occur in different environments from those in the main system.

(a) Long vowels

Long vowels in the subsystem are generally realised (i) in the final or only syllable of stative i.e. inchoative ideophones, and (ii) with rising and falling tones occurring in certain ideophones.

(i) Long vowels in the final syllable

- e.g. mbaa! (CVV) (of being comfortably seated)
ntséé! (CVV) (of being speechless due to fright)
honoo! (CVCVV) (of staring absent-mindedly)
vidzidzidzii! (CVCVCVV) (of being dark and threatening,
as weather)
pálátsátsáá! (CVCVCVCVV) (of being bare and cloudless,
as weather).

(ii) Long vowels with the rising and falling tones

- e.g. bvúu! (CVV) [F] (of snatching away something)
nkwaá! (CVV) [R] (of opening, as door)
khúfáa! (CVCVV) [HF] (of spilling out, as water)
gabaá! (CVCVV) [LR] (state of being surprised, as person)

(b) Short vowels

Short vowels in the subsystem occur with certain ideophones signifying quick and brisk actions. Note the following examples:

<u>nká!</u>	[ŋká]	(of being firm or hard)
<u>ncwí!</u>	[nt _w í]	(of cutting briskly)
<u>khígi!</u>	[khígi]	(of suddenly stumbling against something)
<u>gógógó!</u>	[gógógó]	(of knocking, as at the door)
<u>pinyuluku!</u>	[pi _n uluku]	(of suddenly turning over)
<u>khwéke!</u>	[kh _w éke]	(of jolting to a halt; of hooking)

2.1.4 Whispered vowels

Some ideophones are whispered, being an attempt to 'exemplify'¹ the sound source. Except for being unvoiced, whispered vowels are the same as ordinary Tsonga vowels. Whispered ideophones are symbolized by a broken line drawn under the ideophone,

e.g. /a/	<u>kh<u>w</u>ax<u>w</u>ax<u>w</u>axa ---!</u>	[k <u>h</u> a <u>ɹ</u> ak <u>h</u> a <u>ɹ</u> a]	(noise of ruffled material like plastic material when crushed in the hands)
	<u>h<u>w</u>ay<u>w</u>ay<u>w</u>aya ---!</u>	[<u>h</u> a <u>ɹ</u> aj <u>h</u> a <u>ɹ</u> a]	(rustling noise made by leaves of e.g. green mealies in the breeze)
/e/	<u>f<u>e</u>nt<u>e</u>f<u>e</u>nt<u>e</u> ---!</u>	[f <u>e</u> nt <u>e</u> f <u>e</u> nt <u>e</u>]	(of soft falling, e.g. rain)
/i/ & /u/	<u>fi<u>i</u>xu<u>i</u>fixu ---!</u>	[fi <u>i</u> fu <u>i</u> fu]	(of water churning up, as spring water out of the ground)
/u/	<u>hu<u>u</u>huu ---!</u>	[<u>h</u> u: <u>h</u> u:]	(hissing sound made by a snake)

2.2 Consonants

2.2.1 Consonants in the main system

(*Vide* appendix 3, p.251, for a phonetic inventory of Tsonga consonants.)

¹ *Vide* app. 35, p.291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

2.2.2 Consonants in the subsystem

The subsystem employs all the consonantal speech sounds used in the main system. Over and above these, the subsystem employs three speech sounds which do not feature in the main system.¹ They are the following:

- [ɸ] bilabial voiceless fricative
- [ʒ] prepalatal voiced fricative
- [x] velar voiceless fricative

Orthographic representations

Since these speech sounds occur only in the subsystem, they are not provided for in the Tsonga practical orthography. Baumbach (1974:8) represents two of these sounds in the following way:

- [ʒ] by 'jj', as in jja [ʒa] (of falling with a thud)
- [x] by 'hh', as in the following ideophones:
 e.g. hhátáwu! [xatawu] (of keeping quiet quickly)
hha! [xa] (of vomiting)

Nobody has suggested a Tsonga orthographic representation for the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]. The Venda orthographic symbol fh for this speech sound has been adopted in this study, e.g. fhu [ɸu] (of being completely finished).

The above symbols, [ɸ], [ʒ] and [x], represent all the extra speech sounds occurring exclusively in the subsystem. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that, by and large, Tsonga ideophones make use of the speech sounds of the main system of Tsonga. Deviations from this are insignificant.

¹ *Vide* app. 3, p.251. The three speech sounds are parenthesized in the chart of Tsonga consonants.

2.3 Phonology

2.3.1 Vowel phonemes

2.3.1.1 Vowel phonemes in the main system

The main system employs five vowel phonemes,

/a/ = [a]

/i/ = [i]

/u/ = [u]

/e/ = [e][ɛ]

/o/ = [o][ɔ]

Allophones in the phonemes /e/ & /o/

The reason for the allophones [e] and [ɛ] in the case of /e/ and [o] and [ɔ] in the case of /o/ is as follows: in the context where /e/ and /o/ precede close vowels /i/ and /u/, vowel raising takes place and the half-close vowels [e] and [o] are employed. In all other instances where the mid-vowels occur, the half-open varieties, [ɛ] and [ɔ], are employed,

e.g. éndlêvéni [éndleβéni] (in the ear)

cf. ndlevé [ndlɛβɛ̃] (ear)

énkómbéni [ɛŋkómbéni] (on the wooden spoon)

cf. nkómbé [ŋkómbɛ̃] (wooden spoon)

mbéwú [mbéwú] (seed)

cf. mbeva [mbɛβa] (mouse)

mhofu [mɔɔfu] (eland antelope)

cf. mhondzo [mɔɔŋdʒɔ] (poison)

2.3.1.2 Vowel phonemes in the subsystem

In the subsystem, like in the main system, five vowel phonemes have to be recognized,

/a/ = [a]

/i/ = [i]

/u/ = [u]

/e/ = [e][ɛ]

/o/ = [o][ɔ]

2.3.1.3 Distribution of the mid-vowels in the phonology of Tsonga ideophones

(a) Half-close /e/ and /o/

Half-close vowels /e/ and /o/ occur (i) when preceding the closed vowels /i/ and /u/; for example,

n'wétsi! [n_wétsí] (of shining)

hiketsi! [híketsi] (of lying dead)

mpóti! [mpóti] (of being very noisy)

tlóvósi! [tlóβósi] (of being overcome by troubles)

pétlu! [pétlu] (of chipping off)

leleku! [leleku] (of staggering as if under a heavy load)

dlomú! [dlomú] (of falling into deep water)

foxomú! [foʃomú] (of oozing out)

(ii) in broad outline when the ideophone embodies high tones only:

/e/ e.g. khé! [khé] (of chopping)

dlélélé! [dlélélé] (of standing on one foot bending the knee)

pénéméné! [pénéméné] (of being visible from all sides)
péngéléngéndé! [péngéléngéndé] (of falling down and rolling over, as empty tin plate)

/o/ e.g. ró! [ró] (of striking a blow with a short stick)
jóndó! [dzóndó] (of walking with long strides)
gógógó! [gógógó] (of knocking e.g. at the door)
pónómónó! [pónómónó] (of getting into, as person into the house)

There may be variations in pronunciation where the phonemes /e/ and /o/ occur in high tones in ideophones with long vowels.

e.g. ntséé! [ntsé:] (of feeling self-pity)
n'wéé! [n'wé:] (of becoming clear, as at break of day)

(b) Half-open /e/ and /o/

Provided that they do not precede the close vowels /i/ and /u/, the half-open vowels /e/ and /o/ are realised (i) when the ideophone embodies low tones only; (ii) when the ideophone embodies both high and low tones in its syllables (applicable to polysyllabic ideophones only); (iii) when the ideophone embodies either a rising or a falling tone; and (iv) when they (half-open vowels) occur before the open back vowel /a/. Note the following examples:

(i) Low tones only

/e/ e.g. mhe! [mɛɛ] (of falling hard on the ground)
chese! [tʃhɛɛ] (of loosening, as tight rope)
bebebe! [bɛbɛbɛ] (of waking up with a start)
tleveléle! [tɛɛɛlɛlɛ] (of getting physical pain from fright as when startled)

/o/ e.g. <u>ntho!</u>	[nthɔ]	(of dripping down, as drops of rain)
<u>fohlo!</u>	[fɔɬɔ]	(of being well seated)
<u>lokohlo!</u>	[lɔkɔɬɔ]	(of being extremely tired)
<u>horotsotso!</u>	[hɔrɔtsɔtsɔ]	(of failing to make good a boast)

(ii) High and low tones

e.g. <u>phéve</u>	[phɛ̂βɛ]	(of landing on one's buttocks in a wet marshy place)
<u>gentlé!</u>	[gɛntlɛ̂]	(of clattering and rumbling over uneven surface, as wagon)
<u>ntlóko!</u>	[ntlɔ̂kɔ]	(of showing disapproval by clicking one's tongue)
<u>jovó!</u>	[dʒɔ̂βɔ]	(of pecking, as hen)

(iii) Rising and falling tones

e.g. <u>bveé!</u>	[ɔvɛ́ɛ]	[R]	(of breaking wind loudly)
<u>mbhoó!</u>	[mbhɔ́ɔ]	[R]	(of obscuring completely)
<u>nsée!</u>	[nsɛ̀ɛ]	[F]	(of squirting, as blood from wound)
<u>nkhúléé!</u>	[ŋkhú́lɛ̀ɛ]	[F]	(of having an agreeable smell)

(iv) Before the open back-vowel /a/

e.g. <u>khémpfa!</u>	[khɛ̂mpfa]	(of being well seated or settled)
<u>hleyá</u>	[ɬɛ̂jã]	(of being seated leaning to the side)
<u>chóla!</u>	[tʃhɔ́la]	(of plunging suddenly into high grass)
<u>xobyá!</u>	[ɬɔ̂bjã]	(of walking circumspectly)

2.3.2 Consonantal phonemes

2.3.2.1 Consonantal phonemes in the main system¹

Phoneme clusters are derived from the main consonantal phonemes by systematically compounding secondary phonetic features with them. For example, the Tsonga /p/ can be palatalized, hence /py/ [pj]; aspirated, hence /ph/ [ph]; pre-nasalized, hence /mp/ [mp]; palatalized and aspirated, hence /phy/ [pjh]; pre-nasalized and palatalized, hence /mpy/ [mpj]; pre-nasalized and aspirated, hence /mph/ [mph]; pre-nasalized and palatalized and aspirated, hence /mphy/ [mpjh], etc.

2.3.2.2 Consonantal phonemes in the subsystem

The subsystem employs all the possible phoneme clusters in the main system.²

2.3.2.3 Nasal compounds in phoneme clusters of the subsystem

Nasal compounds do occur in the phoneme clusters of the subsystem but no apparent morphophonological reason accounts for their presence. Just as in the main system, nasal compounds in phoneme clusters of the subsystem are also homorganic.

Note the following examples:

/mpáku/	[mpáku]!	(of puffing up smoke)
/ntho/	[ntho]!	(of dripping)
/nká/	[ŋká]!	(of being stiff and firm, as planted pole)

¹ *Vide* app. 3, p. 251, for Tsonga consonantal phonemes

² *Vide* par. 2.2.2, p. 39.

<u>/ncāku/</u>	[ɲtʃāku]	(of chewing)
<u>/mfūu/</u>	[ɲfūu]	(of heaping in one place)
<u>/nswa/</u>	[ɲsa]	(of disappearing)

There is only one characteristic feature of nasal compounds in the subsystem. In nasal compounds with voiceless consonants, the nasal can be omitted in most cases with no loss of semantic significance of the cluster; thus the examples of the ideophones given above can have the following acceptable variants:

<u>/mpāku/</u>	~	<u>/pāku/</u>	(of puffing smoke)
<u>/ntho/</u>	~	<u>/tho/</u>	(of dripping)
<u>/nkā/</u>	~	<u>/kā/</u>	(of being firm)
<u>/mfūu/</u>	~	<u>/fūu/</u>	(of heaping in one place)
<u>/nswa/</u>	~	<u>/swa/</u>	(of disappearing)

On the other hand, when homorganic nasals are omitted in compounds with voiced consonants, this omission does not cause a variant but two semantically distinct words.

Note the following examples:

<u>/mbaa/</u>	[mba:]	(of sitting down comfortably)
~	<u>/ba/</u>	[ba] (of lying down to rest but not asleep)
<u>/ndondondo.../</u>	[ndɔndɔndɔ...]	(of sinking)
~	<u>/dɔdɔdɔ.../</u>	[dɔdɔdɔ...] (of e.g. fruit dropping down in an irregular way)
<u>/ngūngūngū.../</u>	[ŋgūŋgūŋgū...]	(of stinking)
~	<u>/gūgūgū.../</u>	[gūgūgū...] (of tapping on a receptacle to make last few bits of contents drop out)

/mbvĕe/	[mɓvĕɛ]	(of having a disagreeable smell)
- /bvĕe/	[ɓvĕɛ]	(of echoing rudely someone's response to a call)

2.3.3 Phoneme sequence in the main system

Phonemes in Tsonga combine to form syllables of words in the sequence consonant (C) and vowel (V). Every consonantal phoneme cluster is regarded as a unit phoneme. A unit consonantal phoneme is represented by the symbol C and a vowel phoneme by the symbol V. In phoneme clusters embodying nasals, the nasal (N) always precedes the other phonemes. The sequence in, for example the phoneme cluster as contained in the word ntlhārī (a genius), is as follows: /NCVCV/. However, syllabically the word is represented as CV/CV, where each CV unit represents a syllable.

The majority of words in Tsonga begin with a consonant. However, comparatively few words do have a vowel in the initial position of the word, e.g. -oxa (roast) ... V/CV, -engetela (add) ... V/CV/CV/CV. In these instances, the initial vowel serves as a syllable.

2.3.4 Phoneme sequence in the subsystem

The syllables of the subsystem are identical with the syllables in the main system.

2.3.4.1 Vowels as syllables

In the subsystem, instances of vowels serving as syllables in the initial position or as monosyllables are encountered, but on a very limited scale. Here are a few examples:

<u>oō!</u>	... V	(of vomiting)
<u>ibibi!</u>	... V/CV/CV	(of crying in desperation while wriggling to free oneself)
<u>īwīi!</u>	... V/CV	(of falling on one's back due to laughter)
<u>oīī!</u>	... V/CV	(of picking up and/or collecting)
<u>ūlū!</u>	... V/CV	(sound of swallowing liquid)

2.3.4.2 Sequence of repeated identical phonemes

i.e. Identical phoneme repetition

Identical phoneme repetition is one of the main characteristic features of the phonology of Tsonga ideophones. It occurs in most polysyllabic ideophones. The phenomenon of repetition is characterized by the repetition of identical phonemes in syllables of a single polysyllabic ideophone. Two types of repetition are recognised, complete and partial. Complete repetition is where the same phoneme (or phonemes) in a single polysyllabic ideophone is repeated in every syllable. Partial repetition is the repetition of some of the phonemes embodied in a single ideophone. Vowels are used to a great extent in identical phoneme repetition.

Vowel repetition is conventionally known as assonance. Assonance can take place independently of consonant repetition. On the other hand, consonant repetition can only be realised with assonance when it is found in the repetition of the same syllable. For this reason, the phenomenon of repetition will be considered from the point of view of assonance. Repetition of syllables, however, is not characteristic only of ideophones but can also occur in other parts of speech, e.g. -vāvā, v. (painful), (*ri)gāgā, n. (unripe fruit). Assonance in the context of the ideophone in this study is divided into two sections, (a) complete assonance and (b) partial assonance.

(a) Complete assonance

Complete assonance is by far the most extensively used form of repetition in Tsonga polysyllabic ideophones since sixty per cent of the ideophones collected demonstrate it. Complete assonance may be realised in the following phonological patterns of sequences:

(1) with complete repetition of identical consonants,

- e.g. gwāgwāgwā...! (of shivering due to feeling cold)
ntshentshentshe...! (of running backwards)
bobobo...! (of pouring out profusely)
bebebe! (of suddenly rousing from sleep)
sūsūsusu! (of pushing something or someone over)

(2) with partial repetition of identical consonants which can be initial or final,

- e.g. cōcōngo! (of running with stately leaps, as giraffe)
xōxōlōko! (of appearing suddenly and unexpectedly)
barara! (of lying sprawled)
vidzidzi! (of being dark and threatening)
cālālālā...! (of sticking out, as ribs of emaciated person)

(3) with consonants in alliterative sequence,

- e.g. gālāgala! (of climbing quickly, as riding on a bicycle)
tikitiki! (of being firmly secured)
hālāhala! (of looking searchingly in all directions)
nyelenyêlê! (of disappearing)

(b) Partial assonance

Partial assonance may be: (i) initial, (ii) final or (iii) initial and final.

(1) Initial partial assonance

- e.g. dzēdzēngu! (of standing at one place for a long time undecided what to do)
bvībvīnyā! (of being unkempt, as hair of person)
gāgāju! (of biting something hard, like raw carrot)
jāvāringā! (of stopping suddenly, as animal sensing danger)
byonyongeto! (of pouncing upon and overpowering)

(2) Final partial assonance

- e.g. mpfūtānga! (of falling to the ground with a crash)
pinyuluku! (of overturning and rolling over)
khwēxūnūku! (of becoming loose through being forced)
bukwananaa! (of lying on one's stomach)
khuvaxaxaa! (of falling to the ground onto one's knees when struck)

(3) Initial and final partial assonance

- e.g. xalamuku! (of coming round after a swoon)
pémbémúku! (of regaining thoughts)
khíndlí múku! (of waking up with a start)
kākātlúlu! (of pulling apart with teeth, claws, curved thorn, etc.)
púpútsāla! (of looking bad or dying due to exposure to hardships)

2.3.5 Metathesis in Tsonga ideophones

Metathesis is not a significant feature in Tsonga ideophones.

Only the following instances were encountered:

- e.g. jovoloto! ~ jolovoto! (of pecking, as hen)
yoko! ~ koyo! (of being heavily laden, as tree with fruit)
tshambuluto ~ tshalambuto! (of stretching out e.g. hand when receiving something)

2.3.6 Variants

2.3.6.0 Introduction

Many ideophones have variants. Initially prevalence of variants was attributed to dialectal reasons. This is not necessarily the case. It is possible for the same ideophone to have different forms in the same dialect. Reasons for this are not clear. The fact established is that one of the characteristics of most of these words is the lack of rigidity in their phonemic and phonological shape.

Variants occur as a result of phoneme substitution. One phoneme in an ideophone is replaced by another. What is prevalent to a significant degree in Tsonga ideophones is the rate at which phoneme substitution takes place to produce variants. However, certain features remain constant with regard to variants; they are (a) number of syllables, (b) tonal patterns of the syllables and (c) manner of articulation, i.e. tempo in uttering the segments. Phoneme substitution may be of vowels or consonants.

2.3.6.1 Vowel phoneme substitution and variants

All or some of the vowels in one ideophone may be substituted by other vowels resulting in variants. The consonants in these instances remain unchanged,

- e.g. tshapu! ~ tshepu! (of being viscous)
quyūu! ~ qiyīi! (of plunging into water)
cālālā! ~ cōlōlō! (of projecting or sticking out, as ribs in emaciated person)
halakahla! ~ holokohlo! (of making a rattling crash, as bundle of dry reeds flung to the ground)

2.3.6.2 Consonant substitution and variants

Substitution of consonants in ideophones resulting in variants can be divided into two sections, (a) regular substitution and (b) irregular substitution. In the case of regular substitution, voiceless consonants are replaced with voiced consonants¹ while in the case of irregular substitution, consonants are replaced at random.

(a) Regular substitution

Voiceless vs voiced consonants

- e.g. pāa! ~ bāa! (of being white)
tlomū! ~ dlomū! (of plunging into water)
khīndla! ~ gīndla! (of shrugging one's shoulders)
cūu! ~ jūu! (of being red)
khinyā! ~ ginyā! (of twisting one's waist when dancing)

¹ In some cases there is a slight difference in meaning between the ideophones using the voiceless consonants and those using the voiced counterparts. *Vide* par. 5.6.2.4 (a), p.220.

(b) Irregular substitution

e.g. <u>mp̄ha!</u>	~	<u>ntshwa!</u>	(of being full to the brim)
<u>kwētsī!</u>	~	<u>n'wētsī!</u>	(of shining)
<u>calawā!</u>	~	<u>nalawā!</u>	(of reviving, as after a swoon)
<u>hākāhaka!</u>	~	<u>hāyāhaya!</u>	(of remaining suspended high up, as e.g. ball in branches of a tree)
<u>jekejeke!</u>	~	<u>zengezenge!</u>	(of being helpless, dejected)

2.3.6.3 Variants by nasal displacement or metathesis

e.g. <u>nkātlā!</u>	~	<u>kāntlā!</u>	(of catching, as mouse-trap catching a rat)
<u>nkhisa!</u>	~	<u>khinsa!</u>	(of kneeling)
<u>nkūcu!</u>	~	<u>kūncu!</u>	(of having all left)
<u>ntsēte!</u>	~	<u>tsēnte!</u>	(of squirting out saliva through front teeth)
<u>mpōti!</u>	~	<u>pōnti!</u>	(of being intense in degree, e.g. noise or dust)

Variants may also occur by means of optional use of a homorganic nasal.¹

2.3.6.4 Variants by optional use of aspiration

Variants may also occur by means of optional use of aspiration.

However, not many instances of such cases were encountered,

e.g. <u>nkā!</u>	~	<u>nkhā!</u>	(of being firm and stiff)
<u>nābya!</u>	~	<u>nhābya!</u>	(of leaping forward)
<u>kwīpīnīnī!</u>	~	<u>khwimbinini!</u>	(of being short)
<u>kotle!</u>	~	<u>khotle!</u>	(of fitting exactly or snugly)

¹ *Vide* par. 2.3.2.3, pp.44-45, for examples.

2.4 Suprasegmental features

Suprasegmental features, i.e. tone and length operative in the main system, reveal certain characteristics in the subsystem.

2.4.1 Tone

2.4.1.0 Introduction

Tone in any language is a vast study. Consequently it would be presumptuous and outside the scope of this thesis to delve deeply into all the aspects of tone in Tsonga. Only the general basic tonal features in Tsonga will be considered, and against this background tone in the subsystem will be examined.

Tsonga is a tone language. Fromkin and Rodman (1978:86) define tone languages as "... languages that use pitch of individual syllables to contrast meaning." In Tsonga, words with similar phonological shape can be contrasted by tone alone,

e.g. -têngā (HH) (pure, as water free from pollution)

-tenga (LL) (try a case, as in court)

Shane, (1973:14) defines tone languages as "... languages in which each syllable has associated with it, a particular pitch level." Similarly, every syllable in Tsonga words is associated with a particular pitch level, be it high, low or falling.

Further, Tsonga is a register-tone language with two level registers, high (H) and low (L). Pike (1945:5) defines a level tone as "... one in which ... the pitch of a syllable does not rise or fall during its production."

Tsonga tones behave in a similar manner. However, Tsonga has a tonal glide from high to low when a low tone occurs between two high tones.

2.4.1.1 Tonemes in the main system

Basically, Tsonga has two tonemes, /H/ and /L/.

(a) /H/ in the main system

e.g. hūkū [HH] (chicken)

(b) /L/ in the main system

e.g. ku tirha [L LL] (to work)

(c) Toneme clusters in the main system

The falling tone

It sometimes occurs that /H/ and /L/ form a cluster realised with a vowel in a single syllable. In such cases there is a tonal glide from high to low. This is what is generally referred to as falling tone:¹

e.g. vā kōnā [H FH] (They are present).

NB. The main system exhibits only one toneme cluster, /HL/, which results in a falling tone.

¹ In the main system in Tsonga, the falling tone always occurs instead of a low tone between two high tones, provided the syllable embodying a low tone does not incorporate a voiced or an aspirated consonant, in which case it remains a low tone.

2.4.1.2 Tonemes in the subsystem

Basically, the subsystem, like the main system, has two tonemes, /H/ and /L/. Over and above these, it has toneme clusters /H+L/, which results in a falling tone, and /L+H/, which results in a rising tone.

(a) /H/ in the subsystem

As in the main system, /H/ in the subsystem has one tone, [H].

It is realised with vowels in mono- and polysyllabic ideophones,

- e.g. khě! [H] (of chopping)
vāngā! [HH] (of flashing)
lākāhlā! [HHH] (of lying down due to exhaustion)

(b) /L/ in the subsystem

/L/ in the subsystem, as in the main system, has one tone, [L].

- e.g. do! [L] (of dropping down, e.g. fruit)
jaja! [LL] (of alighting)
bebebe! [LLL] (of waking up from sleep)
gibii! [LLL] (of rumbling, like thunder)

(c) Toneme clusters in the subsystem

(i) /LH/ cluster

This is generally called rising tone [R] and is characteristic of the subsystem only. It is generally realised with the only vowel of monosyllabic ideophones. The vowel is always long, hence two morae. The pitch glides from the low tone of the first mora rising to the high tone of the second mora,

- e.g. nkwaā! [LH̄ i.e. R] (of opening, as door)
mphaā! [LH̄ i.e. R] (of slipping past through an opening,
as rat)
mphuū! [LH̄ i.e. R] (of forgetting completely)
ngheē! [LH̄ i.e. R] (of becoming lit)
ntshiī! [LH̄ i.e. R] (of going out, as light)

(ii) /HL̄/ cluster

This is generally referred to as falling tone [F]. The falling tone in the subsystem occurs in two environments. The first environment is where the falling tone occurs between two high tones. This is mainly realised in reduplicated ideophones derived from disyllabic ideophones with [LH] tonal pattern, provided the low toned syllable between the high tones does not embody a depressor consonant,¹ in which case it remains a low tone:

- e.g. < njengā! [LH] (of wobbling)
> njenjengānjêngā! [LLHFH] (of wobbling many times or of many
objects wobbling irregularly)
< voyī! [LH] (of bending)
> vovoyīvōyī! [LLHFH] (of one thing swaying many times or
of many things swaying irregularly)

The second environment is where the falling tone is realised with the syllable embodying the long vowel of two morae. This long vowel always occurs in the only or final syllable of the ideophone,

- e.g. bvūu! [HL̄] (of snatching)
khēe! [HL̄] (of striking a death blow)
pfindīi! [L HL̄] (of falling and rolling over)
hluthūu! [L HL̄] (of kicking someone in the stomach)
khūfāa! [H HL̄] (of spilling over, as water)

¹ Cf. Louw, 1968:95.

2.4.1.3 Contrastive nature of /H/, /L/ and /HL/ i.e. /F/(a) /H/ contrasting with /L/

/H/ and /L/ can contrast in monosyllabic as well as in polysyllabic ideophones. Note the following examples:

<u>dūú!</u>	[<u>H</u> H]	(of remaining silent)
<u>duu!</u>	[<u>L</u> L]	(of spreading, as rumour)
<u>xātsā!</u>	[HH]	(of shivering in cold)
<u>xātsa!</u>	[HL]	(of scintillating in morning sun, e.g. dew)
<u>gagāga!</u>	[LHL]	(of falling on one's back)
<u>gagaga!</u>	[LLL]	(of having heart palpitations as a result of being frightened)

(b) /HL/ i.e. /F/ contrasting with level tones

The level tone generally contrasting with [F] is [L],

e.g. <u>tlhīi!</u>	[<u>H</u> L] i.e. [F]	(of snapping, as rope)
<u>tlhi!</u>	[L]	(of propping or supporting)
<u>bvūu!</u>	[<u>H</u> L] i.e. [F]	(of snatching away)
<u>bvu!</u>	[L]	(of heaping up in one place)
<u>khūu!</u>	[<u>H</u> L] i.e. [F]	(of knocking down something)
<u>khu!</u>	[L]	(of sipping liquid in small amounts)
<u>tlhūu!</u>	[<u>H</u> F] i.e. [F]	(of throwing missiles at something high up to cause it to fall)
<u>tlhu!</u>	[L]	(of being alone of one's kind among others, as boy among girls)

2.4.1.4 Tonal patterns in Tsonga ideophones(a) Monosyllabic ideophones

The following tonal patterns can be realised in monosyllabic ideophones: high (H), low (L), rising (R) and falling (F).

Note the following examples:

(1) High (H) [˥]

<u>gē!</u>	[gē]	(of being very dry, as land)
<u>pyē!</u>	[pjē]	(of yelping, as dog)
<u>ngē!</u>	[ŋgē]	(of sounding, as bell)
<u>tlhō!</u>	[tlhō]	(of breaking something brittle, like an eggshell)
<u>gō!</u>	[gō]	(of striking e.g. on head with a hard object)

(2) Low (L) [˩]

<u>ge!</u>	[ge]	(of being within easy reach)
<u>pye!</u>	[pje]	(of passing very loose stools)
<u>nge!</u>	[ŋge]	(of saying something)
<u>tlho!</u>	[tlhɔ]	(of pushing something sharp into something soft)
<u>tlhu!</u>	[tlhu]	(of being of only one of a kind among others)

(3) Rising (R) or ([H) [˨˨˩]

e.g. <u>nthwaā!</u>	(of suddenly running in front of others in a race)
<u>nkwaā!</u>	(of opening, as door)
<u>nchaā!</u>	(of looking bright, clever and honest)
<u>mbhoō!</u>	(of obscuring completely)
<u>mphaā!</u>	(of being wide open, as door)

(4) Falling (F) or (HL) [˘]

e.g. khêe! (of dealing a death blow with some hard object)

nhêe! (of being swollen, as limb)

phîi! (of lifting a heavy object)

nsâa! (of person falling on a hard surface)

nhlâa! (of hitting, e.g. stick against something hard so that it breaks into splinters)

(b) Disyllabic ideophones

Disyllabic ideophones reveal six tonal patterns. They are the following:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------|---------------------|-------|---|
| (1) | /HH/ | e.g. <u>gântlâ!</u> | [˘ ˘] | (of closing with a bang, e.g. door) |
| (2) | /LL/ | e.g. <u>gidya!</u> | [˘ ˘] | (of alighting) |
| (3) | /HL/ | e.g. <u>khwêke!</u> | [˘ ˘] | (of getting hooked and jerked along) |
| (4) | /LH/ | e.g. <u>khinyâ!</u> | [˘ ˘] | (of feeling an abrupt jerk as when accidentally stepping into a hole) |
| (5) | /LF/ | e.g. <u>kabvûu!</u> | [˘ ˘] | (of biting and tearing off skin and flesh, as dog biting e.g. person) |
| (6) | /HF/ | e.g. <u>bûnsêe!</u> | [˘ ˘] | (of having an agreeable smell) |

(c) Trisyllabic ideophones

Trisyllabic ideophones reveal five tonal patterns. They are the following:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------------------|---------|---|
| (1) | /HHH/ | e.g. <u>ngâlāvâ!</u> | [˘ ˘ ˘] | (of falling on the ground, as empty utensils) |
| (2) | /LLL/ | e.g. <u>phaphara!</u> | [˘ ˘ ˘] | (of suddenly becoming aware of something) |

- (3) /HHL/ e.g. gāgāju! [ˉ ˉ ˉ] (of taking a big bite of something hard, like e.g. a raw carrot)
- (4) /LLH/ e.g. khelewā! [- - ˉ] (of walking rolling from side to side due to fatigue)
- (5) /LHL/ e.g. gagāga! [- ˉ -] (of falling on one's back)

(d) Quadrisyllabic ideophones

Quadrisyllabic ideophones show seven tonal patterns. They are the following:

- (1) /HHHH/ e.g. kwĩmbĩnĩnĩ! [ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ] (of jerking tight, as noose of snare)
- (2) /LLLL/ e.g. pfhalakaxa! [- - - -] (of appearing suddenly)
- (3) /HHLL/ e.g. hĩyāhiya! [ˉ ˉ - -] (of covering oneself with e.g. shawl or part of one's dress)
- (4) /LLHH/ e.g. nyelenyélé! [- - ˉ ˉ] (of disappearing)
- (5) /HHHL/ e.g. tlātlālāla! [ˉ ˉ ˉ -] (of flinging down)
- (6) /LHHH/ e.g. bulúmúkū! [- ˉ ˉ ˉ] (of waking up with a start)
- (7) /LHFH(M)/ e.g. punāvũnā [- ˉ ˘ ˉ] (of remaining quiet and dejected)

(e) Quinquesyllabic ideophones

Quinquesyllabic ideophones exhibit five tonal patterns.

(N.B. The alternative falling tone marked (*) in patterns four and five below depends on whether the ideophone incorporates a voiced or voiceless consonant. If voiced and/or aspirated, it will be a low tone. If voiceless, it will be a falling tone):

- (1) /HHHHH/ e.g. gwāngwālākāhlā! [ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ] (sound of a thunderclap very near)
- (2) /HHHHL/ e.g. gīcīmbūlēle! [ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ] (of unearthing e.g. large potatoes)
- (3) /LLLLL/ e.g. cakaravanda! [- - - - -] (of falling back dead)
- (4) /LLHLH ~ LLHFH/
 e.g. bibikūbikū! [- - ˉ - ˉ] (of being in turmoil, as troubled water)
*kukumékūmé! [- - ˉ ˘ ˉ] (of many people nodding their heads)
- (5) /LHLHL ~ LHFHL/
 e.g. tlhitlhībutlhību! [- ˉ - ˉ -] (of many strings snapping irregularly)
*ncincīkīncīki! [- ˉ ˘ ˉ -] (of many things dangling irregularly)

(f) Six-syllable ideophones

The few six-syllable ideophones that occur in Tsonga are derived from the reduplication of disyllabic and trisyllabic ideophones. The reduplication takes place with no modification of the tonal pattern of the trisyllabic unit. It is thus not necessary to give examples of tonal patterns of six-syllable ideophones because their tonal patterns are actually the tonal patterns of the trisyllabic ideophones reduplicated.

2.4.1.5 Tonal patterns in derived ideophones

Ideophones can be derived from (1) other ideophones or (2) from verbs.¹ These derived forms exhibit certain tonal characteristics.

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.3, p.117.

Tonal patterns of derived ideophones from these sources will be considered separately.

(a) Ideophones derived from other ideophones

Observing the tonal patterns of ideophones derived from other ideophones makes the invariable nature of the ideophone become apparent. The general tendency is for the original form to retain its normal tonal pattern. Deviations from this principle are very slight. Tones of affixes tend to be assimilated to the tone of the syllables in the original form. In examining these tonal patterns, derived ideophones will be divided into two groups, (a) tonal patterns of ideophones derived from ideophones by affixes, and (b) tonal patterns of ideophones derived from ideophones by reduplication.

(i) Derived by suffixation

(aa) Derived from monosyllabic ideophones with level tones

The formula governing the tonal pattern of the derived ideophone from monosyllabic ideophones by suffixation is as follows:

The tone of the suffixed syllable (or syllables) is assimilated to the tone of the initial syllable of the original ideophone.¹

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (a) (i), pp.107-108, for method of derivation.

Note the following examples:

< H > HH (2-syl)

e.g. < bō! [˦] (of piercing through)

> bōdō! [˦ ˨] (s.m.)

< L > LL (2-syl)

e.g. < swa! [˨] (of being submerged)

> swata! [˨ ˨] (s.m.)

(bb) Derived from monosyllabic ideophones with falling tone¹

The formula governing the tonal pattern of such derived ideophones is as follows:

The original ideophone loses its falling tone and assumes a high tone. The suffixed syllable assumes a low tone.

Note the following examples:

< F > HL

e.g. < rāa! [˦] (of falling on hard surface)

> rātla! [˦ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

< dlūu! [˦] (of being exposed)

> dlūnya! [˦ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

< māa! [˦] (of hitting with an open hand)

> māka! [˦ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

< pfōo! [˦] (of deserting)

> pfōyo! [˦ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (a) (i), p.107, for method of derivation, and p.109, for examples.

- (cc) Derived from disyllabic ideophones with high or low or with both high and low tones

The formula governing the tonal pattern of such derived ideophones is as follows:

The high tone on the first syllable of the disyllabic ideophone is repeated up to the penult of the derivation. This is a general rule of tone repetition also found in the main system.

Note the following examples:

< HL > HHL (3-syl), HHLH (4-syl)

e.g. < yūyu! [˥ ˨] (of hurling insults at someone)

> yūyūna! [˥ ˥ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

< gīci! [˥ ˨] (of unearthing)

> gīcīmbūle! [˥ ˥ ˥ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

< LL > LLL (3-syl)

e.g. < tserhe! [˨ ˨] (of standing firmly on both feet)

> tserherhe! [˨ ˨ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

< vohlo! [˨ ˨] (of being flat, as empty purse)

> vohlohlo! [˨ ˨ ˨] (s.m. but with intensity)

- (dd) Derived from disyllabic ideophones by suffixing recurring partials¹

In these instances, the disyllabic original operand

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (a)(i)(cc), p.111, for method of derivation and for the concept 'recurring partials.'

generally has identical tones in all the syllables. The formula governing the tonal pattern in such instances is as follows:

The suffixed partials assume the tone of the operand.¹

Note the following examples:

< LL > LLLL

e.g. < byata! [- -] (of being short, of crouching)

> byatananaa! [- - - -] (s.m. but with intensity)

< bveke! [- -] (of sitting dejectedly)

> bvekenenee! [- - - -] (s.m. but with intensity)

(ii) Derived by infixing²

The tonal pattern of such derived ideophones is as follows:

All the infixed syllables assume the tone of the initial syllable of the operand, i.e. the original form. The tone in the second syllable of the operand is displaced to the last syllable.

Note the following examples:

HL > HHL (3-syl), HHHL (4-syl) etc.

e.g. < wāya! [ˉ ˉ] (of splashing water)

> wāvāya! [ˉ ˉ ˉ] (s.m. but with intensity)

< kīdyo! [ˉ ˉ] (of swallowing liquids)

> kīlīkīdyo! [ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ] (s.m. but with intensity)

¹ The term 'operand' in this context means 'original form'. *Vide* par. 3.1.2 (c), p.105, for further information about this term.

² *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (a) (iv), p.107, for method of derivation.

LH > LLH (3-syl)

e.g. < kobyá! [- ˊ] (of making splashing noise, as fish in little water)

> kolobyá! [- - ˊ] (s.m. but with intensity)

< tlomú! [- ˊ] (of setting, e.g. sun)

> tlokomú! [- - ˊ] (s.m. but with intensity)

(iii) Derived from other ideophones by reduplication

(aa) Trisyllabic ideophones derived from two-morae monosyllabic ideophones¹

The formula governing the tonal pattern of such derived ideophones is as follows:

The added initial syllable always assumes a low tone irrespective of the tonal pattern of the operand. The operand retains its tonal pattern.

The formula can be summarised as follows: Low tone (L) + tonal pattern of operand (0) reduplicated, hence L + 0 + 0.

F > LFF

e.g. < phōo! [ˊ] (of breaking, e.g. stick)

> phophōophōo! [- ˊ ˊ] (of stick breaking many times or of many sticks breaking irregularly)

< phīi! [ˊ] (of lifting a heavy object)

> phiphīiphīi! [- ˊ ˊ] (of a subject lifting an object many times or of many subjects lifting objects irregularly)

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (b) (i), p.115, for method of reduplication.

R > LRR

- e.g. < nthwaā! [↘] (of suddenly running ahead of others)
- > nthwanthwaānthwaā! [↘ ↘] (of suddenly running ahead of others many times or of many subjects running ahead of others irregularly)
- < mphyāā! [↘] (of slipping past through an opening)
- > mphyamphyāāmpHYāā! [↘ ↘] (of one subject slipping past through an opening many times or of many subjects slipping past through an opening irregularly)

(bb) Quinquesyllabic ideophones derived from disyllabic ideophones¹

The formula governing the tonal pattern of such derived ideophones is similar to the one for derived ideophones from two-morae monosyllabic ideophones outlined in par. 2.4.1.5 (iii) (aa) above.

Note the following examples:²

< HH > LHHH

- e.g. < ngōlō! [ˉ ˉ] (of getting into something)
- > ngongōlōngōlō!²[ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ] (s.m. many times or irregularly)
- < kōcō! [ˉ ˉ] (sound of stones as in an empty tin can)
- > kokōcōkōcō! [ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (b) (i), p.115, for method of derivation.

² Note that the meaning of derived forms in all examples in these instances implies that the subject performed the action many times or many subjects performed the same action in an irregular manner. The meaning of the derived forms will be symbolized thus: s.m. many times or irregularly.

< LL > LLLL

e.g. < kapa! [- -] (of riding on something with legs astride)

> kakapakapa! [- - - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

< dluva! [- -] (of perching, as bird)

> dludluvadluva! [- - - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

HL > LHLHL ~ LHFHL

e.g. < phōko! [- -] (of clapping hands)

> phophōkōphōko! [- - ~ - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

< tlāku! [- -] (of lapping, as dog)

> tlatlākūtāku! [- - ~ - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

< khūgu! [- -] (of tripping and falling)

> khukhūgukhūgu! [- - - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

LH > LLHLH ~ LLHFH

e.g. < kangé! [- -] (of timidly stretching out hand to receive something)

> kakangékângé! [- - - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

HF > LHFHF

e.g. < khūfāa! [- ~] (of splashing large quantities of water, as e.g. waves)

> khukhūfāakhūfāa! [- - ~ - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

- < khātsāa! [ˀ ˩] (of going away)
 > khakhātsāakhātsāa! [ˀ ˩ ˀ ˩] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

LF > LLHFF

- e.g. < pfindīi! [ˀ ˩] (of falling and rolling over)
 > pfipfindīpfindīi! [ˀ ˩ ˀ ˩] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

- < hluthūu! [ˀ ˩] (of kicking someone in the stomach)
 > hluhluthūhlūthūu! [ˀ ˩ ˀ ˩] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

(cc) Six-syllable¹ ideophones derived from disyllabic ideophones

The formula governing the tonal pattern of such derived ideophones is as follows:

The added initial syllable always assumes a low tone irrespective of the tonal pattern of the operand. The operand itself retains its tonal pattern.²

Note the following examples:

HH > LHHLHH

- e.g. < ngōlō! [ˀ ˩] (of going into something)
 > ngongōlōngongōlō! [ˀ ˩ ˀ ˩] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

¹ *vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (b) (i) (aa), footnote 3, p.115, for method of derivation of such six-syllable ideophones.

² The principle involving the tonal pattern of such derived ideophones is similar to the one maintaining for trisyllabic ideophones derived from two-morae monosyllabic ideophones discussed in par. 2.4.1.5 (a) (iii) (aa), p.66.

LL > LLLLLL

- e.g. < gudlu! [_ _] (of starting up, as animal startled)
 > gugudlugugudlu! [- - - - -] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

LH > LLHLLH

- e.g. < khojō! [_ ~] (of quickly throwing something into one's mouth)
 > khokhojōkhokhojō! [_ ~ ~ ~ ~] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

HL > LHLLHL

- e.g. < thāmu! [~ _] (of leaping forward)
 > thathāmuthathāmu! [~ ~ ~ ~] (s.m. many times or irregularly)

(dd) Six-syllable¹ ideophones derived from trisyllabic ideophones

The tonal pattern of the derived six-syllable ideophone from a trisyllabic ideophone is the tonal pattern of the trisyllabic ideophone reduplicated. If the original form has a tonal pattern of, for example LHH, the tonal pattern of the derived form will be LHH x 2, hence LHHLHH:

- e.g. < jokōlō! [_ ~ ~] (of chatting cheerfully)
 > jokōlōjokōlō! [_ ~ ~ ~ ~] (chatting of many people)
 < chakala! [_ _ _] (of making a rustling noise)
 > chakalachakala! [- - - - -] (of making continuous rustling noise)
 < lākāhlā! [~ ~ ~] (of lying down due to exhaustion)
 > lākāhlālākāhlā! [~ ~ ~ ~ ~] (of many people having lain down irregularly due to exhaustion)

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (b) (ii), pp.116-117, for such six-syllable ideophones.

(b) Ideophones derived from verbs¹

The verb 'ideophonizing' morphemes -í, -o and -íyâní have inherent tones.²

The tonal pattern of ideophones derived from verbs by suffixing these morphemes is that the last syllable of the verb loses its tone in favour of that of the morpheme. The tones of each of these 'ideophonizing' morphemes are as follows:

- í : High tone
- o : Low tone
- íyâní : High-Falling-High tones

(i) -í

LL or LLL verb > LH (2-syl), LLH (3-syl) ideophone

- e.g. < -jika [LL] (make a turn)
 > jikí! [LH] (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')
- < -tshovela [LLL] (harvest)
 > tshovelí! [LLH] (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')

HH or HHH verb > HH (2-syl), HHH (3-syl) ideophone

- e.g. < -swéká [HH] (to cook)
 > swékí! [HH] (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')
- < -tíméká [HHH] (to be extinguished)
 > tímékí! [HHH] (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.3, p.117, for method of derivation of such ideophones.

² Semantically, -i indicates repetitive 'exemplification' of an action, while -o and -iyani only indicate 'exemplification' without anything more. *Vide* par. 3.1.2.3 (a) and (b), pp.117-118, for further discussions. *Vide* app. 35, p.291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

(ii) -oHHHL verb > HHHL ideophone

- e.g. < -kōnyōmōka [HHHL] (to break)
 > kōnyōmōko! [HHHL] (s.m. with 'exemplification')
- < -ndzēngényēka [HHHL] (to walk unsteadily, as thin person)
 > ndzēngényēko! [HHHL] (s.m. with 'exemplification')

LLLL verb > LLLL ideophone

- e.g. < -soholoka [LLLL] (to twist)
 > soholoko! [LLLL] (s.m. with 'exemplification')
- < -nalavuta [LLLL] (to stretch one's legs when seated)
 > nalavuto! [LLLL] (s.m. with 'exemplification')

(iii) -īyānī

If -īyānī is suffixed to a monosyllabic ideophone, that ideophone assimilates to the high tone of the initial -ī- of -īyānī. If suffixed to ideophones of more than two syllables with low tones, tonal anticipation¹ occurs. The result is that all the tones of the syllables, except the initial syllable of the verb, assimilate to the high tone of -ī-. Of course if the tonal pattern of the verb concerned is composed of high tones only, the tone of the initial syllable will be a high tone. The principle of tonal anticipation is best observed in verbs with low tones.

¹ Tonal anticipation means when the speaker anticipates rather early in the word a tone which is on a syllable towards the end of it.

H or HH or HHH verbs > HFH, HHFH, HHHFH ideophones respectively

e.g. <	<u>-bā</u>	[H]	(to beat)
>	<u>bīyānī!</u>	[HFH]	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<	<u>-vēkā</u>	[HH]	(to put away)
>	<u>vēkīyānī</u>	[HHFH]	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<	<u>-hlōngōlā</u>	[HHH]	(to chase away)
>	<u>hlōngōlīyānī!</u>	[HHHFH]	(s.m. with 'exemplification')

L or LL or LLL verbs > HFH, LHFH, LHHFH ideophones respectively

e.g. <	<u>-na</u>	[L]	(to rain)
>	<u>nīyānī!</u>	[HFH]	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<	<u>-tirha</u>	[LL]	(to work)
>	<u>tirhīyānī!</u>	[LHFH]	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<	<u>-khinsama</u>	[LLL]	(to kneel)
>	<u>khinsāmīyānī!*</u>	[LHHFH]	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<	<u>-rhendzeleka</u>	[LLLL]	(to turn round)
>	<u>rhendzélékīyānī!*</u>	[LHHHFH]	(s.m. with 'exemplification')

2.4.1.6 Intonational behaviour of the ideophone

One of the intonational characteristics of the ideophone is that unlike other words, its tonality is not affected by its position in the sentence. It is not subjected to tonal assimilation. It retains its basic tonal pattern, in or out of context. Compare the following sentence with

*The principle of tonal anticipation is clearly illustrated in these examples where the last tone of -īyānī is anticipated in the previous syllable in khinsāmīyānī and in the previous two syllables in rhendzélékīyānī.

the verb -hatima (flash, as of lightning) which has the basic tonal pattern of LLL.

If -hatima is used in the same context with its corresponding ideophone hati! [h̄ati] (of flashing), which also has a syllabic tonal pattern of LL, the following happens:

verb : -hatima [LLL]

(1) Sentence : Tilo rī hātīmā ngōpfu (The lightning flashes strongly)

Tonality : LL H HHH HL

ideophone: hati! [LL]

(2) Sentence : Tilo rī ri ↓ HATI, ↓ ngopfu (The lightning flashes strongly)

Tonality : LL H L LL LL

N.B.: the basic tonal pattern of the adverb ngopfu is /LL/.

In sentence (1), the verb -hatima has its tone assimilated to that of the subject concord /rī/ whose tone is /H/, hence /HHH/.

The adverb ngopfu (much) whose basic tonal pattern is /LL/ has also been subjected to tonal assimilation, hence /HL/.

In sentence (2), the aux. v. /ri/ (say) whose tone is /L/, as well as the ideophone hati! whose tone is /LL/ do not have their tone assimilated to that of the subject concord /rī/, whose tone is /H/.¹

2.4.1.7 The pronounced juncture

An important prosodic feature is that which Moore (1968:13) calls the 'pronounced juncture.' This refers to the pauses before and after the ideophone has been uttered. The 'pronounced juncture' interrupts

¹ Compare also the following example where the aux. v. stem -ri is deleted:

Vānā MBAA éhānsī (Children sat down)
 HH L HHH

the intonational flow of the sentence. The pronounced juncture is indicated thus ↓, hence in the sentence Homú yí ri ↓ PHÓMU, ↓ ematini (The ox plunges into the water), there is a slight pause before and after the uttering of the ideophone 'phómu!'

2.4.2 Length

(*Vide* par. 2.1.3, p.35 et seqq., where vowel length is discussed).

S U M M A R Y

Ideophones form a subcategory of Tsonga words. Phonetically and phonologically they constitute the subsystem while the other words of Tsonga constitute the main system. Although the subsystem is not far removed from the main system, the subsystem has characteristics peculiar to itself. Phonemically, both the main and subsystems employ five vowel phonemes each. In the subsystem, long vowels in the final syllable are a characteristic feature, while vowels in the main system do not show this phenomenon. The subsystem employs all the consonantal phonemes and phoneme clusters of the main system, but, over and above these, it employs three extra consonantal phonemes. The phonology of the subsystem is characterised by assonance and consonant repetition. While the main system is characterised by two level tones, /H/ and /L/ and one falling tone (tonal cluster \overline{HL}), the subsystem also employs the two level tones and the falling tone, but besides these it employs the rising tone. Tsonga ideophones show a variety of tonal patterns. One other unique characteristic of the Tsonga ideophone is its tonality. Its tonality is not affected by its position in the sentence. It always retains its tonal pattern in or out of the context of the sentence. It is also characterised by a small pause before and after its articulation in a sentence.

C H A P T E R 3

Morphological characteristics of the ideophone

The structure of the Ideophonic Phrase

3.0.1 Introduction

The basic principle advanced in this thesis concerns the concept of the Ideophonic Phrase (IP) as a syntactic category in Tsonga, structurally composed of the auxiliary verb stem -ri and the ideophone. Further, it is advanced that the IP is used as a predicative Phrase¹. For this reason, it is best also to consider its internal structure in this chapter. It is intended to consider the internal structure of the IP first, and then the morphology of each of its constituents, i.e. the aux. v. stem -ri and the ideophone.

3.0.2 Some theories on morphology

In linguistic circles, two major categories of morphology are recognised, the inflexional and the derivational. Derivational morphology is also known by the term lexical morphology. Brown & Miller (1980:171) define inflexional morphology as syntactic rules by which a lexeme² and its associated grammatical morphemes are realised. Allerton (1979:231) defines inflexional morphology as that type of morphology where ".... inflexional affixes shape a particular lexeme to play its required

¹ The principle of the IP as a predicative phrase will be dealt with in detail in chapter 4.

² A lexeme is a head word form of a family of related words of the same grammatical category. For example, the following English verbs, writes, wrote, written, writing are members of the lexeme WRITE.

part in the sentence." Brown & Miller (1980:171) on the other hand define derivational morphology as a set of rules by which new lexemes may be formed. Derivational morphology is equated with word formation.

3.0.3 Words and morphemes

Words are composed of formatives linguistically referred to as morphemes. Robins (1971:192) defines morphemes as "... minimal grammatical units." Fromkin & Rodman (1978:142) also define a morpheme as "... the minimal linguistic sign, a grammatical unit in which there is an arbitrary union of sound and meaning and which cannot be further analysed."

Morphemes can be FREE or BOUND. A free morpheme is one which can be used by itself as a word, for example Tsonga id. {mbaa!} (sit down). A bound morpheme is a morpheme which in its use has always to be attached to other morphemes, e.g. the noun root morpheme {-nhu} in the Tsonga word va-nhu (people).

Some morphemes serve as roots and stems while others as affixes. Free morphemes may appear as roots and stems in which case they constitute complete words, for example, the Tsonga conjunctive kambe (but).

Root morphemes may also be encountered as bound morphemes, e.g. {-von-} in the Tsonga verb -vona (see), {-nhu} in the Tsonga noun va-nhu (people).

Affixes are by and large bound morphemes. For example, in the word xi-kany-ana (small fruit of marula tree), {xi-} serves as the singular class prefix bound morpheme and {-ana} as the diminutive suffix bound morpheme. {-kany-} in this case serves as the bound root morpheme of the noun kanyi (fruit of the marula tree). Prefixes and suffixes are called affixes.

3.0.4 Forms of affixes

There are two forms of affixes, derivational and inflexional. Allerton (1979:212) defines derivational affixes as morphemes or formatives which "... tend to determine the major syntactic class of the word they form." Derivational affixes are restricted to the domain of lexical categories. On the other hand, inflexional affixes, to use Aronoff's (1976:2) words "... encompass purely grammatical markers (signifying) tense, aspect, person, number, gender, case, etc." In other words, inflexional affixes shape a particular word to render it serviceable in the sentence.

As far as Bantu languages are concerned, it is more appropriate to speak of grammatical morphology rather than inflexional morphology, since Bantu languages are mainly agglutinating in character. Grammatical morphology¹ is a morphosyntactic phenomenon expressed mostly by prefixal and suffixal morphemes. Consequently, it is also appropriate to refer to affixes in Bantu languages as grammatical rather than inflexional.

3.1 Structure of the IP

Having defined the major morphological categories, i.e. grammatical and derivational morphology, we shall now consider the structure of the IP as well as the morphology of its constituent parts, i.e. the auxiliary verb stem -ri (henceforth referred to simply as the auxiliary) and the ideophone. The auxiliary will be discussed under grammatical morphology because it assumes the verbalizing function of the IP. On the other hand, the morphology of the ideophone will be treated under derivational morphology, whereby longer forms of ideophones are derived from shorter forms and new ideophones from other word forms, especially verbs.

¹ Grammatical morphology is that process as a result of which a speech category, e.g. the verb, assumes different forms in the different moods and tenses during its syntactic use in the language.

The internal structure of the IP

The IP as a syntactic category consists of two constituents, the auxiliary and the ideophone. Note the IP in the following sentence (N.B. The IP occurs within parentheses):

(1) Ximanga (xí ri NHÁBYA!)
 (aux id)

i.e. The cat leaps forwards

3.1.1 The morphology of the auxiliary of the IP

The basic constituent of the auxiliary of the IP is the auxiliary verb stem -ri with its semantic import 'do' or 'act' in the context of the IP. Its morphology is grammatical and it incorporates the subject concord (sc). So basically, the auxiliary of the IP consists of the sc and the aux. verb stem -ri.

Since the IP can take the place of a predicative, it is its auxiliary which assumes the responsibility of putting it in the different moods, tenses and conjugations. However, the auxiliary verb stem -ri 'do' in Tsonga cannot take, for example, perfect,¹ passive or other suffixes, unlike for example, its Zulu counterpart -thi, which is capable of doing so, e.g.

passive	:	<u>-thiwa</u>
neuter	:	<u>-theka</u>
applied	:	<u>-thela</u>
reciprocal	:	<u>-thana</u>
causative	:	<u>-thisa</u>

For this reason, the aux. v. stem -ri 'do' in Tsonga employs different kinds of auxiliary morphemes or formatives which differ from mood to mood, tense to tense, aspect to aspect and conjugation to conjugation. The nature and

¹ However, my promoter maintains that the auxiliary verb stem -ri in Tsonga can be made perfect in the form of -te.

order of the morphemes in certain such instances can be numerous and involved.

3.1.1.1 The order of the morphemes of the auxiliary of the IP

The basic order of the morphemes of the auxiliary of the IP is as in the normal¹ verbs of the language, i.e. sc + v, hence in this instance sc + ri. Note the following example (N.B. The auxiliary of the IP is indicated by a solid line drawn under all the relevant morphemes. A description of each morpheme is given under each morpheme for easy recognition):

(2) Mhunti (yí ri TLÚKWA!)
 subj sc aux id)
 v
 lit. The buck (it 'does' JUMP)
 aux

i.e. The buck jumps

(tlúkwa!, id., of jumping)

As far as the order of the other auxiliary morphemes is concerned (i.e. morphemes besides the sc and the auxiliary verb stem -ri), it should be noted that in most cases, all the morphemes always come between the sc and the auxiliary verb stem -ri.² Note the form of the auxiliary in the past tense, perfective aspect, in the sentence below:

¹ A normal verb is a verb which can stand on its own. An auxiliary verb is a verb which cannot stand on its own and always requires a complement to complete the predication.

² There are exceptions though, viz. in the case of (a) negative conjugations which employ the negative formative a-, in which case this formative precedes the sc, e.g. Mhunti (a yí ri TLÚKWA!) i.e. 'The buck does not jump'
 neg sc aux id
 morph

and (b) the oc and the reflexive ti-, which occur immediately after the aux. v. stem -ri, just before the ideophone.

- (3) Mhunti (yí tē (ri)¹ TLÚKWA!)
 Subj sc asp aux id)
 mo v
 lit. The buck (it has 'done' JUMP)
 aux

i.e. The buck has jumped.

3.1.1.2 The infinitive part of the auxiliary of the IP

The infinitive consists of the infinitive prefix ku- (to) and the auxiliary verb stem -ri 'do'. The infinitive prefix ku- always immediately precedes the verb stem -ri.

Note the following example:

- (4) (ku (ri) PHŌMU), ematini
 (inf aux)
 (pref v id)
 lit. (to 'do' PLUNGE) into the water
 i.e. to plunge into the water

Whenever the infinitive prefix ku- is employed, the auxiliary verb stem -ri 'do' may be deleted in surface realisations resulting in the following compound morphological structure of an infinitive ideophonic phrase:
ku PHOMU! (to plunge into the water).

3.1.1.3 The morphology of the auxiliary of the IP in the different moods - nature and order of the morphemes

To come back to the nature and order of the morphemes of the

¹ Whenever a morpheme in the auxiliary is parenthesized, this signifies that it may be deleted in surface realisations.

auxiliary of the IP in the different moods, tenses,¹ aspects² and conjugations, full details of such are outlined in the tables provided in the appendices. Here, only a summary of these morphemes and their order is given. Tables in the appendices should be consulted in case a closer look is required. (N.B. A distinction is made between the plain auxiliary of the IP and the auxiliary which embodies the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o.)³

(a) IP in the Indicative Mood

(i) Plain IP⁴

Positive conjugation

Summary⁵

<u>Present tns</u>	: (<u>sc̄ + -ri</u> + id)
<u>Past tns</u> (perf. asp)	: (<u>sc̄ + tē + (-ri)</u> + id)
<u>Future tns</u>	: (<u>sc̄ + tā + ku + (-ri)</u> + id)

In the present tense (incompl. asp.), the auxiliary verb stem -ri may not be deleted in surface realisations. It is or may be deleted in the perfect aspect of the past tense and in the incomplete aspect of the future tense. Note the perfect aspectual morpheme -te- and the future tense morpheme -ta- in the incomplete aspect of the

¹ *Vide* appendices 33A and 33B, pp.281 & 288, for a brief outline of Tsonga tenses and aspects.

² *Ibid*

³ *Vide* app. 33A, par. 7, pp.284-285, for detailed discussion of the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o.

⁴ The Plain IP is the IP which does not incorporate the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o.

⁵ *Vide* app. 4, p.252, for detailed examples.

future tense. The future tense morpheme is always followed by the infinitive Ideophonic Phrase.

Negative conjugation

Note that the negative conjugation always has two alternatives, A & B.¹

Alternative A

Summary²

<u>Present tns</u>	: (a + sċ + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id)
<u>Past tns</u> (perf. asp)	: (a + sċ + -ēndlāngi + ku + (-ri) + id)
<u>Future tns</u>	: (a + sċ + ngâ + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id)

Alternative A starts with the negative morpheme a- realised with a low tone. It always employs the verb stem -endla (do) in its negative form, hence -endli (not do) in the present tense, -endlangi (has not done) in the past tense (perf. asp.), and the negative morpheme -nga- followed by -endli, contracted to ngendli (will not do) in the future tense. The verb stem -endla (do) in all its negative forms comes after the sc and before the infinitive Ideophonic Phrase in all the instances of the perfect aspect.

Alternative B

Summary³

¹ Alternative A is plain negation. Alternative B is a kind of negation used when the speaker intends disproving of the ideophone mentioned in the positive.

² *Vide* app. 5, p.253, for detailed examples.

³ *Vide* app. 6, p.254, for detailed examples.

<u>Present tns</u>	: (<u>a + sċ + -ri + id</u>), ---
<u>Past tns</u> (perf. asp)	: (<u>a + sċ + tē + (-ri) + id</u>), ---
<u>Future tns</u>	: (<u>a + sċ + ngā + tā + kŭ + (-ri) + id</u>), ---

Alternative B also starts with the negative morpheme a- realised with a low tone. This alternative does not employ the verb stem -endla (do). An interesting point to note about this alternative is that it needs an 'antithetic' IP¹ in the positive as complement. It will be noticed that this form is made by placing the negative formative a- before the positive form. However, in the Future tense, the negative formative -nga- is employed, placed between the sc and the future formative -ta-. Note that unlike in Alternative A, the auxiliary verb stem -ri always occurs in the present tense in this alternative.

(ii) -oIP²

Positive conjugation

Summary³

<u>Present tns</u> (restr. asp)	: (<u>sc-ō + (-ri) + id</u>)
<u>Past tns</u> (imperf.+ restr. asp)	: (<u>ā + sc-ō + (-ri) + id</u>)
<u>Future tns</u> (restr. asp)	: (<u>sċ + t-ō + (-ri) + id</u>)

¹ An 'antithetic' clause in this study refers to a clause in the positive which acts as complement of a preceding clause in the negative.

² The -oIP is that IP which incorporates the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o. (*Vide* app. 33A, par. 7, pp.284-285, for detailed discussion of the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o).

³ *Vide* app. 7, p.255, for detailed examples.

When the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o is incorporated, the auxiliary verb stem -ri is or may be deleted in surface realisations in all the tenses. In the past tense, two aspects are grouped,¹ the imperfective and the restrictive; hence the use of the imperfective aspectual morpheme a-.²

Negative conjugation

Alternative A

Summary³

Present tns : (a + sċ + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id)
Past tns (imperf. asp) : (ā + sċ + nga + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id)
Future tns : (a + sċ + ngā + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id)

Alternative A above employs the verb stem -endla (do) in the negative form hence -endli (not do) in all the tenses. The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o does not occur in the negative constructions where the 'antithetic' clause is not employed. Note that the form of the past and future tenses are almost identical. They only differ in tone on certain morphemes.

Alternative B

Summary⁴

¹ *Vide* app. 33A, par. 9, p.287, for the concept 'grouping of aspects'.

² *Vide* app. 33A, par. 6, p.284, for discussion of the imperfective aspectual morpheme a-.

³ *Vide* app. 8, p.256, for detailed examples.

⁴ *Vide* app. 9, p.257, for detailed examples.

<u>Present tns</u>	: (a + sċ-o + (-ri) + id), ---
<u>Past tns</u> (imperf. asp)	: (ā + sċ + ng-ō + (-ri) + id), ---
<u>Future tns</u>	: (a + sċ + ngā + t-ō + (-ri) + id), ---

Alternative B above is the form where the 'antithetic' clause is employed as complement. Note that the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o is incorporated in these instances. In the present tense, it is incorporated in the sc, hence sc-o. In the past tense, it is incorporated in the sc, hence sc-o. In the past tense, it is incorporated in the negative morpheme -nga-, hence -ngo-. In the future tense, it is incorporated in the future tense morpheme -ta-, hence -to-.

(iii) -loIP¹

Positive conjugation

Summary²

<u>Present tns</u> (stv. asp)	: (sċ + lō + (-ri) + id)
<u>Past tns</u> (imperf.+ stv. asp)	: (ā + sċ + lō + (-ri) + id)
<u>Future tns</u> (stv. asp)	: (sċ + tā + vā + sċ + lō + (-ri) + id)

When the stative aspectual morpheme lo- is incorporated, the auxiliary verb stem -ri is or may be deleted in surface realisations. Note that in the future tense, the sc is employed twice. -va, the auxiliary verb stem 'to be', is also employed in the future tense and comes after the future morpheme -ta- and just before the second sc.

¹ *Vide* app. 33A, par. 8, pp. 285-286, for discussion of the stative aspectual -lo.

² *Vide* app. 10, p. 258, for detailed examples.

Negative conjugationAlternative ASummary¹

Present tns : (a + sċ + -ēndlāngi + ku + (-ri) + id)

Past tns (imperf. asp) : (ā + sċ + nga + -ēndlāngi + ku + (-ri) + id)

Future tns : (sċ + tâ + vā + sċ + nga + -ēndlāngi + ku + (-ri) + id)

In Alternative A above, the stative aspectual morpheme lo- does not feature in the negative conjugations. The verb stem -endla (do) in its perfect negative form hence ēndlāngi/-ēndlānga (has not done) is employed in all the tenses. The past tense employs the imperfective aspect, hence the aspectual morpheme ā-. The future form of the negative does not employ the negative morpheme a- which generally precedes the sc in negative constructions of the Indicative Mood,² i.e. ... a + sċ + ngā + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id ... Note that in this form of the negative, the sc is employed twice. This form also employs the verb 'to be', i.e. -va, as well as the negative morpheme -nga-.

Alternative BSummary³

¹ *Vide* app. 11, p. 259, for detailed examples.

² *Vide* app. 5, p. 253, for examples in the Indicative Mood.

³ *Vide* app. 12, p. 260, for detailed examples.

<u>Present tns</u> (stv. asp)	: (<u>a + sċ + lō + (-ri)</u> + id), ---
<u>Past tns</u> (imperf.+ stv. asp)	: (<u>ā + sċ + nga + lō + (-ri)</u> + id), ---
<u>Future tns</u> (stv. asp)	: (<u>sċ + tã + vã + sċ + nga + lō + (-ri)</u> + id), ---

Alternative B above is the form which requires an 'antithetic' IP in the positive as complement. The stative aspectual morpheme lo- is employed in all the tenses. In the past tense, the imperfective aspect is employed. The future form does not start with the negative morpheme a-, characteristic of the negative conjugation of the Indicative Mood.

- (iv) The -o(lo)IP where the restrictive and stative aspectual morphemes -o and lo are incorporated in the '-o(lo) + na'¹ (as soon as) binding expression.

Positive conjugation

Summary²

<u>Present tns</u> (restr. asp)	: (<u>sc-ō + na + ku + (-ri)</u> + id) ---
<u>Past tns</u> (stv. asp)	: (<u>sċ + lō + na + ku + (-ri)</u> + id) ---
<u>Future tns</u> (restr. asp)	: (<u>sċ + tō + na + ku + (-ri)</u> + id) ---

The -o + na (as soon as) phrase always comes after the sc followed by the infinitive part of the IP. In the present tense (restr. asp), the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o is incorporated in the sc. In the past tense, the stative aspectual morpheme lo- is employed.

¹ *Vide* app. 34, p.289, for the '-o na' (as soon as) binding expression.

² *Vide* app. 13, p. 261, for detailed examples.

In the future tense, the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o is incorporated in the future formative ta, hence to.

Negative conjugation

Alternative A

Summary¹

Present tns (restr. asp) : (sc-ō + na + kā(lâ) + sċ + ngâ + -ēndli + ku + (ri) + id)

Past tns (stv. asp) : (sċ + lō + na + kā(lâ) + sċ + ngâ + -ēndli + ku + (ri) + id)

Future tns (restr. asp) : (sċ + tō + na + kā(lâ) + sċ + ngâ + -ēndli + ku + (ri) + id)

Alternative A starts with the sc and not with the negative morpheme ā-. In the present tense, the sc is incorporated in the '-o + na' (as soon as) phrase. The sc is free of the '-o(lo)' morphemes in the past and future tenses.² In all the tenses, the '-o(lo) + na' (as soon as) phrase is followed by the deficient verb -kaġa (not), which is generally contracted to -ka. This is followed by the negative morpheme -nga-, followed by the verb stem -endli (not do), followed by the infinitive part of the IP.

Alternative B

Summary³

¹ *Vide* app. 14, p.262, for detailed examples.

² In the case of the past tense, lo- is used after the sc and there is no sandhi contraction. In the case of the future tense, the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o is not added to the sc but to ta- with the necessary sandhi contraction tō form to-.

³ *Vide* app. 15, p.263, for detailed examples.

(-o + na IP)

Present tns (restr. asp): 1. (a + sc-ō + na + ku + (-ri) + id)

(oIP)

2. (sc-ō + (-ri) + id)

(antithetic -oIP)

3. (sc-ō + (-ri) + id)

(-o + na IP)

Past tns (stv. asp) : 1. (a + sċ + lō + na + ku + (-ri) + id)

(oIP)

2. (sc-ō + (-ri) + id)

(antithetic -lo IP)

3. (sċ + lō + (-ri) + id)

(-o + na IP)

Future tns (restr. asp) : 1. (a + sċ + tō + na + ku + (-ri) + id)

(oIP)

2. (sc-ō + (-ri) + id)

(antithetic -oIP)

3. (sċ + tō + (-ri) + id)

(N.B. figures refer to clauses.)

Alternative B employs the negative morpheme a- in all the tenses, placed before the positive form in clause 1.

3.1.1.3 (b) IP in the Potential Mood

(i) Plain IP

Positive conjugation

Summary¹

¹ *vide* app. 18, p. 266, for detailed examples.

The auxiliary part of the IP in the Potential Mood may be plain or may incorporate the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o. Morphemes in the auxiliary of the plain IP are as follows:

(sc + ngā + kŭ + (-ri) + id)

The potential morpheme -nga- which is employed in this instance comes after the sc and is followed thereafter by the infinitive ideophone. The auxiliary verb stem -ri is or may be deleted in surface realisations.

(ii) -oIP

Positive conjugation

Summary¹

(sc + ng-ō + (-ri) + id)

The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o in this instance is incorporated in the potential morpheme -nga-, hence -ngo-. The auxiliary verb stem -ri is, or may be deleted in surface realisations in this instance. Note that unlike in the plain IP of the Potential Mood above, the potential morpheme -ngo- in this instance is not followed by the infinitive ideophone.

Negative conjugation

Both the plain IP and the -oIP in the Potential Mood employ the same form in the negative conjugation.

¹ *Vide* app. 18, p. 266, for detailed examples.

Alternative ASummary¹

Note that this Alternative has two versions.

Version 1

(sc + ngā + kāla/kā + sc + ngā + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id)

Version 2

(sc + ngē + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id)

Version 1 above among other things employs two sc's as well as two forms of the negative potential morphemes, i.e. -nga + kala (cannot) and -nga- (can). Version 2 employs one sc and one form of the negative potential morpheme, i.e. -nge- (cannot).

Alternative BSummary²

(sc + ngē + swī + -kōti + ku + (-ri) + id)

Unlike in the Indicative Mood, this Alternative does not require the 'antithetic' IP as complement. The form of the negative conjugation in this instance is more or less the same as that of Version 2, Alternative A above. The only difference is that Alternative B in this instance employs the auxiliary verb stem

¹ *Vide* app. 19, p.267, for detailed examples.

² *Vide* app. 20, p.268, for detailed examples.

-kota (able) in the negative, hence -koti (unable). This is preceded by the morpheme swi-, an 'indefinite' object¹ occurring in infinitive constructions. The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o does not feature in the negative conjugation of this mood, hence " ... xi + ngé + swí + kóti + ku + (-ri) + id" (it cannot ...).

3.1.1.3 (c) IP in the Imperative Mood

Positive conjugation

There are two versions of IP's in the positive conjugation of the Imperative Mood. Here follow the summaries² of both versions:

Version 1: (sc + ngé + (-ri) + id)

Version 2: (-ēndlā + kū + (-ri) + id)

Version 1 among the other morphemes employs the auxiliary morpheme -nge- which has a high tone. The verb stem -ri is or may be deleted in surface realisations. Version 2 employs the verb stem -endla (do) used imperatively which assumes the form -endlani (you all do) when used with plural subjects, e.g. ... endlani ku (ri) id ...

Negative conjugation

The negative conjugation has also two versions. Here follow the summaries³ of both versions:

¹ *vide* app. 20, p.268, for explanatory notes on the concept 'indefinite object concord'.

² *vide* app. 16, p.264, for detailed examples.

³ *vide* app. 17, p.265, for detailed examples.

Version 1: (sc + nge + -rĩ + id), ---

Version 2: (sc + nga + -ëndli + (ku + (-ri) + id)

The morphemes of Version 1 of the negative conjugation of the Imperative Mood above appear to be similar to those of Version 1 of the positive conjugation.¹ However, they are not the same. They differ tonally. While the auxiliary morpheme -nge- in the positive conjugation has a high tone, that of the negative conjugation has a low tone. Further, the auxiliary verb stem -ri in the positive conjugation has a low tone and may be deleted in surface realisations. On the other hand, it has a high tone in the negative conjugation and may not be deleted in surface realisations. Another important point is that the negative of this Version (Version 1) needs an 'antithetic' complement in the form of an IP in the positive conjugation of the Imperative Mood.²

Version 2 of the negative conjugation above employs among the other morphemes, the verb stem -endla (do) in its negative form, hence -endli (not do). The auxiliary verb stem -ri is or may be deleted in surface realisations in this version.

3.1.1.3 (d) IP in the Dependent Mood

Positive conjugation

Summary³

(sċ + kŭ + (-ri) + id)

¹ Cf. summaries of Versions 1 and 2, positive and negative, above.

² *vide* app. 17, p. 265, for detailed examples.

³ *vide* app. 21, p. 269, for detailed examples.

The morphemes are very simple in this instance. The auxiliary of the IP consists of the sc, followed by the infinitive.

Negative conjugation

Summary¹

(sċ + ngā + ěndli + ku + (-ri) + id)

The negative form of the IP in the Dependent Mood always employs the verb stem -endla (do) in its negative form, hence -endli (not do) followed by the infinitive ideophone. Note the use of the negative morpheme -nga- after the sc.

3.1.1.3 (e) IP in the Relative Clause

(N.B. With Class 1, all the different persons, both singular and plural, are shown, since the form of the sc differs in every instance. However, this is done only in the present tense and not in the other tenses as this might be unwieldy. The rest of the classes are used in the 3rd person only, in both the singular and plural forms.)

Positive conjugation

Summary²

¹ *vide* app. 21, p. 269, for detailed examples.

² *vide* app. 22, p. 270, for detailed examples.

Present tenseClass 1

Sing. { 1st Person: --- (lō(yī) + sċ-ndzī* + ngē + (-ri) + id)¹
 2nd " : --- (lo(yi) + sċ-ū* + ngē + (-ri) + id)
 3rd " : --- (lo(yi) + sċ-ā* + ngē + (-ri) + id)

Class 2

Plu. { 1st Person: --- (lā(vā) + sċ-hī* + ngē + (-ri) + id)
 2nd " : --- (lā(vā) + sċ-mī* + ngē + (-ri) + id)
 3rd " : --- (lā(vā) + sċ-vā* + ngē + (-ri) + id)

Other classes (e.g. class 7)Summary²

3rd Person: --- (lē(xī) + sċ + ngē + (-ri) + id)

Past tns (perf. asp)

--- (lē(xī) + sċ + nge + tē + (-ri) + id)

Future tense:

--- (lē(xī) + sċ + nga + tā + kū + (-ri) + id)

The auxiliary of the IP in the Relative Clause embodies the demonstrative pronoun of the first position. The second syllable of this demonstrative pronoun embodies an element which corresponds

* The sc's differ in every person thus the actual form of the sc used in that instance is placed after the symbol sc.

¹ As done consistently everywhere in this thesis, the relative pronouns referring to first and second persons are classified under classes 1 and 2 because these relative pronouns belong to these classes.

² *vide* app. 24, p.272, for detailed examples.

to the class prefix of the antecedent of the predicate of the Relative Clause. Note the following example:

<u>Antecedent</u>	<u>IP in the Relative Clause</u>
(5) <u>Ximanga</u>	(<u>lĕxĩ</u> xĩ ngĕ (ri) THĀMU!)
<u>Subj</u>	(<u>dem</u> <u>sc</u> aux aux <u>id</u>)
	(<u>pro</u> <u>mo</u> <u>v</u>)
lit. <u>The cat</u>	(<u>this it</u> 'does' SPRING FORWARD)
i.e. The cat which <u>springs forward</u> .	

It will be observed that the sc following the demonstrative pronoun is similar in form to the class prefix (prefix of the antecedent) as well as to the last element of the demonstrative pronoun. Of course this is not the case with the sc in class 1 singular (all persons) and plural (first and second persons).¹ In the Tsonga orthography, the sc is suffixed to the contracted form of the demonstrative pronoun, hence e.g. lexi (< --- lexi xi). This latter construction is generally referred to as the relative concord in traditional Tsonga grammars. It is translated in English by the relative pronouns which/who, as the case may be. Note that in class 1 third person singular, the vowel of the first syllable of the demonstrative pronoun is deleted, hence la (< --- loyi a).² Of interest to note is also the absence of the relative suffix -ka in the IP, a morpheme generally suffixed to the verbal relative in such instances.

¹ *Vide* summary examples of Class 1, present tense, above.

² *Vide* summary example above, Class 1 singular, third person.

Negative conjugationSummary¹Present tenseClass 1

Sing.	1st Person:	---	<u>lô(yí) + sċ-ndzĩ + nga + -ēndlĭkĩ + (kú + (-ri) + id)</u>
	2nd "	:	<u>lô(yí) + sċ-ũ + nga + -ēndlĭkĩ + (kú + (-ri) + id)</u>
	3rd "	:	<u>lo(yi) + sċ-ā + nga + -ēndlĭkĩ + (kú + (-ri) + id)</u>

Class 2

Plu.	1st Person:	---	<u>lā(vā) + sċ-hĩ + nga + -ēndlĭkĩ + (kú + (-ri) + id)</u>
	2nd "	:	<u>lā(vā) + sċ-mĩ + nga + -ēndlĭkĩ + (kú + (-ri) + id)</u>
	3rd "	:	<u>lā(vā) + sċ-vā + nga + -ēndlĭkĩ + (kú + (-ri) + id)</u>

Past tns (perf. asp)²

--- lē(yí) + sċ + nga + -endlāngĭkĩ + (kú + (-ri) + id)

Future tense³

--- lē(yí) + sċ + nga + ta + kāla/kā + sċ + ngā + ēndli
+ (ku + (-ri) + id)

It will be noticed that in the negative conjugation, the Relative Clause employs the form which incorporates the verb stem -endla (do) in its negative form, hence -endli (not do), to which is suffixed the relative morpheme in the form of -ki, hence -endliki.

¹ *Vide* app. 23, p.271, for detailed examples.

² *Vide* app. 25, p.273, for detailed examples.

³ *Ibid.*

The negative verb stem -endli appears with no relative morpheme in this instance. The sc and the auxiliary morpheme -nga- are employed twice in the negative construction of the future tense.

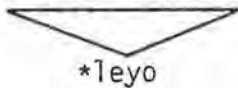
- 3.1.1.3 (f) Order of morphemes where the infinitive IP acts as base of the possessive construction brought into relative relationship with its antecedent.

N.B.: The second element of the demonstrative pronoun of the 1st position which serves as relative concord, corresponds with the class prefix of the antecedent.

Positive conjugation

Summary¹

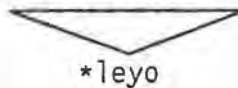
e.g. lēyī + yā + ku + (-ri) + id



Negative conjugation

Summary²

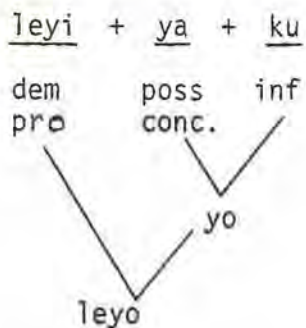
e.g. lēyī + yā + ku + kâla/kâ + sċ + ngâ + -ēndli + ku + (-ri) + id



*The underlying structure of the relative concord leyo is as follows:

¹ *Vide* app. 26, p.274, for detailed examples.

² *Vide* app. 27, p.275, for detailed examples.



The possessive concord and the infinitive morpheme ku- coalesce, hence yo- in this instance < ya ku-. The coalesced possessive concord is incorporated with the contracted demonstrative pronoun, hence leyo in this instance. Note further examples from other classes:

class 3: lowo < lowu wo < lowu + wa + ku

class : lero < leri ro < leri + ra + ku

class 7: lexo < lexi xo < lexi + xa + ku

The positive conjugation of the infinitive part of the IP brought into relative relationship with its antecedent is done by means of the relative concord which is considerably contracted. Because the auxiliary verb stem -ri is or may be deleted in the infinitive part of the IP, the IP generally consists of the relative concord and the ideophone, hence, e.g. --- leyo DLOKODLOKO! (with which for poking at).

The morphemes in the negative conjugation are quite involved. The relative concord is followed by the auxiliary verb -kala (not) which is generally contracted to -ka, followed by the verb stem -endla in the negative, hence -endli (not do), followed by the infinitive part of the IP, as in e.g.

léyō kā yĩ nga éndli ku (-ri) --- (which does not do---)

3.1.1.4 The oc, the reflexive ti- and the adverbial ka-

There are certain morphemes in the IP which come between the auxiliary verb stem -ri and the ideophone. They are the following:

(a) the oc, (b) the reflexive morpheme ti-, and (c) the adverbial morpheme ka-.¹

(a) The oc in the IP

Where the IP takes an object, the oc may be incorporated in the IP.

Note the position of the oc in the following instances:

Positive conjugationSummary²

Present tns : --- (sċ + ri oċ + id)

Past tns (perf. asp): --- (sċ + tĕ + (-ri) oċ + id)

Future tns : --- (sċ + tă + ku + (-ri) oċ + id)

It will be observed that the oc follows immediately after the auxiliary verb stem -ri. In constructions, it has the tendency to occur with the ideophone. Cf. the immediate constituents (IC) in the IPs of the following IPs (N.B. ICs are underlined together):

(6a) (yi ri xi BVONYONGETO!)

(_{sc} ^{aux}v oc id)

lit. (it 'does' it POUNCE UPON)

i.e. (it pounces upon it)

¹ Illustrations of these morphemes will be confined to the plain IP of the Indicative Mood only.

² *vide* app. 28, p.276, for detailed examples.

(6b) *(yi ri xi BVONYONGETO!)
 (sc ^{aux}v oc id)

lit. (as in (1) above)

i.e. (" " " ")

The strings in the IP in sentence (6a) are relevant constituents in a way that the strings in sentence (6b) are not.

Negative conjugation

Alternative A

Summary¹

Present tns : --- (a + sċ + ôc + êndli ku + (ri) id)

Past tns (perf. asp): --- (a + sċ + ôc + endlāngi ku + (ri) id)

Future tns : --- (a + sċ + ngâ + oċ + êndli ku + (ri) id)

This is where the verb stem -endla (do) in the negative is used, hence -endli (does not), followed by the infinitive part of the IP (i.e. the infinitive + ideophone). The oc in this instance follows after the sc and precedes the verb stem -endli (does not). This position of the oc is, as expected, before the verb stem.

Alternative B

Summary²

* To pause after the oc in this instance is to break the IC consisting of the oc + id.

¹ *Vide* app. 29, p.277, for detailed examples.

² *Vide* app. 30, p.278, for detailed examples.

Present tns : --- (a + sċ + ri oċ + id)

Past tns (perf. asp): --- (a + sċ + tē + (ri) oċ + id)

Future tns : --- (a + sċ + ngā + tā + kû + (ri) oċ + id)

This is the form which requires an 'antithetic' clause in the positive as complement. It should be remembered that this alternative is the positive form¹ preceded by the negative formative a-. Consequently, the oc's position is as in the positive conjugation, i.e. after the verb stem -ri and immediately before the ideophone.

(b) Order of morphemes in IP with reflexive ti-

Positive conjugation

Summary²

Present tns : (sċ + ri + tī- id)

Past tns (perf. asp): (sċ + tē + (ri) + tī- id)

Future tns : (sċ + tā + ku + (ri) + tī- id)

Negative conjugation

(Same as in the ordinary negative conjugation of the Indicative Mood,³ except that the reflexive ti- is employed immediately before the ideophone.)

¹ *vide* app. 28, p.276, for the positive form.

² *vide* app. 31, p.279, for detailed examples.

³ *vide* app. 5, p.253, for examples in the Indicative Mood.

(c) Order of morphemes in IP with the adverbial morpheme ka-Positive conjugationSummary¹Present tns : (sċ + ri + ka- id)Past tns (perf. asp): (sċ + tē + (ri) + ka- id)Future tns : (sċ + tã + ku + (ri) + ka- id)Negative conjugation

(Same as in the ordinary negative conjugation of the Indicative Mood,² except that the adverbial ka- is employed immediately before the ideophone.)

3.1.2 The morphology of the ideophone

Before the morphology of the ideophone is discussed, it should be made clear that distinction between two types of ideophones is made, namely, (a) those it has been decided to call primitive ideophones and (b) deverbative ideophones.

(a) The concept 'Primitive ideophones'³

Primitive ideophones are ideophonic stems which seem not to derive from any other word category, e.g.

¹ *Vide* app. 32, p.280, for detailed examples.

² *Vide* app. 5, p.253, for examples in the Indicative Mood.

³ Junod (1927:165) was the first to make this distinction. He also made use of the terms 'primitive' and 'derivative'. *Vide* par. 1.4.2, p.6.

- mhe! (of hitting hard on the ground)
bāvhu! (of arriving suddenly)
jokōlō! (of chatting cheerfully, endlessly)
phōrōvōrō! (of eventually getting in)

(b) The concept 'Deverbative ideophones'

These are ideophones derived from verbs mainly by suffixing the ideophonizing morphemes -i and -iyani.

- e.g. < -nghēnā, v. (enter), > ngheñi! id. (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')¹
 < -khōmā, v. (touch), > khōmiyani! id. (s.m. with 'exemplification')

The discussion on the morphology of the ideophone is centred mainly on the primitive ideophonic stems. The term ideophone will merely be referring to the primitive stems generally. Where it is necessary to distinguish between primitive and deverbative ideophones, this distinction will be indicated.

(c) The concepts 'operand' and 'derivand'

There are terms related to derivation by affixation. They are the following: 'operand' and 'derivand'. Matthews (1974:124) defines 'operand' as the form that affixation is applied to, and 'derivand' as the form which results when the process or operation is applied.

3.1.2.1 The morpheme 'ideophone'

Morphologically, ideophones are simple words. Brown & Miller (1980:176) define a morphologically simple word as a word which "... consists of a single free morph." Ideophones are free morpheme root word forms irrespective of the number of syllables they may contain. Hence the ideophones

¹ *Vide* footnote 2, p.71.

<u>bvu!</u>	(of snatching) (1*)
<u>bōdō!</u>	(of piercing through) (2*)
<u>gebedze!</u>	(of hanging loosely) (3*)
<u>khākhānānā!</u>	(of being dry and shrivelled) (4*)
<u>péngéléngéndzé!</u>	(of falling and scattering all over, as crockery) (5*)

are all simple words in the sense that they each consist of a single morpheme signifying the concept 'ideophone'¹. It is possible with some ideophones to derive longer forms from existing shorter forms by affixation or reduplication. In such derivations, the shorter forms remain intact, except in cases of infixation. This points to the fact that basically, primitive ideophonic stems are invariable. In fact, invariability is one of their basic characteristics. Ideophones do not take derivational extensions as, for example, the verb with its rich verbal extensions. Neither do ideophones take diminutive extensions as nouns do. The only noticeable morphology of the ideophones exists on the level of derivation, hence derivational morphology. We recognise two types of derivations of ideophones, (a) derivation of ideophones from other ideophones, and (b) derivation of ideophones from verbs.

3.1.2.2 Derivation of ideophones from ideophones

Derivation of ideophones from ideophones can be divided into two categories, (a) derivation by affixation and (b) derivation by reduplication.

*The figures signify the number of syllables each respective ideophone contains.

¹ The concept 'ideophone' refers to individual words (not phrases) used in the Ideophonic Phrase syntactically occurring after the auxiliary of the IP.

(a) Derivation by affixation

Derivation by affixation in this context refers to derivation by affixing a segment whose phonological shape has no correspondence with any of the segments in the original shorter form. It is possible to affix segments to certain ideophones and thus derive new longer forms. However, not many ideophones are derived in this manner. Of the few ideophones which exhibit this tendency, the majority are monosyllabic. Polysyllabic ideophones involved in this phenomenon are mainly disyllabic. As far as semantic distinctions are concerned, longer forms in such instances signify intensified aspects of actions. (N.B. Since semantically, the shorter and longer forms bear the same meaning which at times either differ only in the degree of intensity or are simply a variant, the meaning of the longer forms will simply bear: 'same meaning', abbreviated as 's.m.' Where some form of intensity is suggested, the phrase 'with intensity' - abbreviated 'w.i.' - will be used).

(i) Derivation by suffixation(aa) Suffixing a new segment or segments to the operand

In this particular process of derivation, the tendency is to add one syllable, and to a lesser extent, three syllables to certain monosyllabic ideophones. The added syllables are so to say empty morphemes in that they have no special meaning on their own. The syllables added are not identical with the syllables inherent in the ideophone. The phonetic shape of the syllables added seems to be divergent so that it is difficult to categorize them. What is of interest is

that in most cases, the vowel in the added syllable is identical with the vowel in the operand. However, this is not always the case. Examples of these suffixations are given below:

Monosyllabic ideophones with high or low tones

Identical vowels in the operand and suffix

- byā! (of breaking water surface, e.g. fish)
 > byākā! (s.m. but w.i.)
- swa! (of being submerged)
 > swata! (s.m.)
- ntlī! (of choking)
 > ntlīkī! (s.m.)
- thwi! (of being straight or upright)
 > thwixi! (s.m.)
- rō! (of closing securely)
 > rōdō! (s.m. but w.i.)
- hu! (of pulling under)
 > hudu! (s.m. but w.i.)

Non-identical vowels in the operand and suffix

- tshwā! (of passing swiftly)
 > tshwātī! (s.m.)
- nyā! (of disappearing)
 > nyāmē! (s.m.)

Monosyllabic ideophones with falling toneIdentical vowels in operand and suffix

e.g.

pfōo! (of breaking e.g. stick)> pflōtlo! (s.m. but w.i.)rāa! (of falling on a hard surface)> rātla! (s.m. but w.i.)wāa! (of spilling over forcefully)> wāya! (s.m. but w.i.)dlūu! (of being naked)> dlūku! (s.m.)māa! (of hitting with an open hand)> māka! (s.m. but w.i.)phāa! (of slapping)> phāka! (s.m. but w.i.)Non-identical vowels in operand and suffixpfāa! (of splitting e.g. plank)> pfāntu! (s.m.)mpfāa! (of tearing open)> mpfārhu! (s.m.)pīi! (of attacking in great numbers)> pīnya! (s.m. but w.i.)

- dlūu! (of being exposed)
 > dlūnya! (s.m.)

(Note tonal behaviour of the following):

- phīi! (of carrying heavy object)
 > phikūu! (s.m. but w.i.)

(bb) Derivation by suffixing three different syllables
 (monosyllabic ideophones)

Only the following instances were encountered:

Identical vowels

High tone

e.g.

- mfē! (of scattering)
 > mfélémētē! (s.m.)

Low tone

- pfha! (of arriving suddenly)
 > pfhalakaxa! (s.m.)

Non-identical vowels

Falling tone

- pīi! (of adding ingredients liberally in food, e.g. salt)
 > pītsīngēto! (s.m.)

(cc) Derivation by suffixing recurring partials

Certain disyllabic ideophones have a distinctive characteristic tendency of suffixing certain identical two-syllable suffixes. Moore (1968:24) refers to such units of suffixes or endings as 'recurring partials'. It has been found fitting to adopt this term. The phenomenon of suffixing recurring partials is restricted to ideophones which signify a stative situation, i.e. the inchoative ideophones.¹ The vowels in these suffixed recurring partials are always identical with the last vowel of the operand. Although these recurring partials have some general recurrence, they cannot be accorded a morphemic status because one cannot deduce a productive morphological rule on their use. Besides, there is no clear-cut semantic distinction between the shorter form and the longer form except on the broad generalized basis of intensification and/or finality. To a certain extent, these recurring partials can be categorized. The following units of recurring partials seem prevalent:

(1) -lVlV, (2) -nVnV and (3) -tVtV.

However, one may come across many other forms of recurring partials besides the above-mentioned.

¹ Inchoative ideophones are ideophones capable of expressing an action or a process or a stative situation which has begun but has not yet been completed.

(1) -lVlV

-lVlV might probably be looked upon as a suffixal extension which has been added to the ideophone; however, it is difficult to use this -lVlV in a productive manner. Perhaps it can be given a 'submorphemic' status. In such a case, it might be similar to one of those 'fossilized' extensions one can get with verbs, e.g. -nyamalala (to disappear). However, this will need more research. This applies also to the other forms given in this paragraph.

Note the following examples:

byatla! (of lying down flat)

byatlalala! (s.m.)

pava! (of lying on one's stomach)

pavalala! (s.m.)

(from a one-syllable ideophone)

ba! (of lying down on one's stomach for a short while to rest)

babalala! (s.m.)

The following quadrisyllabic ideophones embody recurring partials. However, no known extant two-syllable forms have been encountered. It may be that with further research, their disyllabic forms may be established:

navalala!¹ (of being prostrate, stretched out)

yakalala! (of lying scattered about, as leaves)

yavalala! (of being disordered, as unkempt hair)

pāpālālā! (of being abandoned)

¹ There is a verb -nava (stretch one's legs) but no ideophone *nava!, neither is there a verb *-navalala, so that the derivation of the ideophone navalala! is dubious. The same applies to all the other ideophones following navalala!

kokololo! (of feeling helpless and dejected)
n'ón'óíóíó! (of watching from a distance after having been chased away)
cucululu! (of squatting)

(2) -nVnV

e.g.

bvuta! (of crouching)
bvutanana! (s.m.)
bukwa! (of lying on one's stomach)
bukwanana! (s.m.)
bveke! (of sitting disparagingly)
bvekenene! (s.m.)
byata! (of being short, of crouching)
byatanana! (s.m.)
tluntla! (of squatting)
tluntlanana! (s.m.)

(3) -tVtV

e.g.

pfhoro! (of coming to a standstill, e.g. schemes or projects)
pfhorototo! (s.m.)

(ii) Derivation by infixing a new segment or segments to operand

There are the following instances of disyllabic ideophones where the new ideophone is derived by means of infixing an added syllable:

e.g.

tlomú! (of setting, e.g. sun)
tlokomú! (s.m.)

fohlo! (of being comfortably seated)

fokohlo! (s.m.)

In the following example, two syllables have been infixes:

hohlo! (of collapsing)

holokohlo! (s.m.)

(b) Derivation of ideophones by means of reduplication

Matthews (1974:127) describes reduplication as a morphological process of repetition. Reduplication may be complete or partial. Complete reduplication is the repetition of the entire word form and partial reduplication is the repetition of certain segments of the word form. Partial reduplication may be initial or final. It is initial when the first syllable of the word is repeated, and final when repetition involves the last syllable.

Reduplication or repetition of ideophones

Longer forms of ideophones can be derived from shorter forms by the process of reduplication. In these instances, the whole or part of the short form is reduplicated. Semantically, ideophones thus derived refer to repeated actions or states or to a performance of a similar action by numerous subjects in a somewhat irregular fashion.¹

In discussing derivation of ideophones by reduplication, monosyllabic and polysyllabic ideophones will be discussed separately.

¹ Repetition is a concept closely related to reduplication and does not specifically refer to the number of times when a linguistic unit is repeated. In the case of reduplication, it is only done once, so that two forms appear. But we shall make no specific distinction here because the term reduplication ad infinitum can also be used.

(i) Derivation by the reduplication or repetition of mono- and disyllabic ideophones(aa) General reduplication or repetition

A general principle underlying reduplication in mono- and disyllabic ideophones can be summarised by the following rule: The only (in monosyllabic ideophones) or initial (in disyllabic ideophones) syllable of the operand (i.e. original form of the ideophone) is reduplicated and initially placed before the operand. The operand itself is reduplicated. Note the following examples:

- khô! (H) (of knocking on a hard surface with a hard object)
- > khokhōkhô! (LHH) (of knocking on hard surface with a hard object many times or of many subjects knocking hard surfaces with hard objects irregularly)
- bvūu¹ (HL) (of snatching)
- > bvubvūubvūu! (LHLHL) (of snatching many things or of many subjects snatching things irregularly)
- mphyāā² (LH) (of quickly going out)
- > mphyamphyāāmphyāā! (LLHLHL) (of going out many times or of many subjects going out irregularly)
- khōhlo³ (HL) (of coughing)
- > khokhōhlokhōhlo! (LHLHL) (of coughing many times or of many subjects coughing irregularly)

¹ When the vowel of the monosyllabic ideophone being reduplicated is two morae in value, the vowel of the added initial syllable becomes one mora in value.

² Ibid.

³ Note that the disyllabic ideophone may be reduplicated into a trisyllabic ideophone by the same principle and the whole derived form reduplicated, resulting into a six-syllable ideophone:

e.g. khōhlo! (of coughing)
khokhōhlokhokhōhlo! (of coughing many times or of many subjects coughing in an irregular manner).

gentlé! (LH) (of rumbling over stones, as wagon)

> gengtélégentlé! (LLHLH) (of rumbling over stones now and again or of e.g. many wagons rumbling over stones irregularly)

(bb) Reduplication or repetition ad infinitum

Certain disyllabic forms of ideophones referring to protracted or continuous actions and processes are generally reduplicated or repeated ad infinitum ad libitum to convey the idea of the continuity of an action or a process. Generally, such disyllabic forms are repeated at least twice.

Note the following examples:

vángá! (of shining)

> vángá-vángá ...! (of shining continuously)

kétí! (of flickering)

> kétí-ketí ...! (of flickering continuously)

ningi! (of swaying)

> ningi-ningi ...! (of swaying continuously)

tseká! (of being unsteady)

> tseká-tséká ...! (of being continuously unsteady)

khúlu! (of flowing down)

> khúlû-khúlu ...! (of flowing down continuously)

(ii) Derivation by reduplication of trisyllabic ideophones

Productive reduplication in the case of trisyllabic ideophones is complete reduplication. The whole ideophone is reduplicated

in toto. Semantically, the derivand serves as a form of intensification, or of many subjects performing the same action in an irregular manner,

e.g.

kolobyā! (of making a splashing noise)

> kolobyākolobyā! (of making splashing noises continuously or of many subjects making splashing noises in an irregular manner)

jokōlō! (of chatting cheerfully)

> jokōlōjokōlō! (of chatting cheerfully endlessly or of many people chatting cheerfully in an irregular manner)

chakala! (of making a rustling noise)

> chakalachakala! (of making a rustling noise continuously or of many things making rustling noises in an irregular manner)

leleku! (of staggering)

> lelekuleleku! (of staggering many times or of many people staggering in an irregular manner)

3.1.2.3 Derivation of ideophones from verbs

Ideophones can be derived from Tsonga verbs by replacing their positive terminative vowel morpheme {-a} with {-ī} or {-īyānī}.

(a) Ideophonizing morpheme -ī

This morpheme may be suffixed to di- and polysyllabic verbs only.

Semantically it indicates the 'exemplification'¹ of repetitive action and for that reason the ideophone is usually repeated more than once,

e.g. -vōnā (see) vōnī! > (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')
-susa (remove) susī! > (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')
-hākēlā (pay) hākēlī! > (s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')

¹ *vide* app. 35, p.291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

<u>-halata</u>	(pour out)	> <u>halatí!</u>	(s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')
<u>-fúnéngéta</u>	(cover)	> <u>fúnéngétí!</u>	(s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')
<u>-ololoka</u>	(stand upright)	> <u>ololokí!</u>	(s.m. with repetitive 'exemplification')

(b) Ideophonizing morpheme -íyāní

This morpheme may be suffixed to both mono-, di- and polysyllabic verbs. Semantically, on the other hand, it indicates only 'exemplification' without anything more to it. Note the following examples:

<u>-fā</u>	(die)	> <u>fīyāní!</u>	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<u>-na</u>	(fall, as rain)	> <u>nīyāní!</u>	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<u>-lōngā</u>	(gather requirements for the journey)	> <u>lōngīyāní!</u>	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<u>-rheta</u>	(slip)	> <u>rhetīyāní!</u>	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<u>-hākēlā</u>	(pay)	> <u>hākēlīyāní!</u>	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<u>-dlokodla</u>	(poke)	> <u>dlokōdlīyāní!</u> ¹	(s.m. with 'exemplification')
<u>-kāngētēla</u>	(open the hand to 'receive')	> <u>kāngētēlīyāní!</u>	(s.m. with 'exemplification')

3.2 Morphological relationship of the ideophone with other word categories of the language

Tsonga ideophones show some morphological relationship with verbs and nouns in the language. In this morphological relationship, ideophone-verb relationship seems to be more significant than ideophone-noun relationship.

¹ Note retrogressive tonal assimilation in the example concerned.

3.2.1 Ideophone-verb relationship

The morphological relationship between the ideophone and the verb in Tsonga seems more involved than overtly appears. Consequently, delving deeply into such relationship would be outside the scope of this thesis. Several linguists have made statements on the morphological relationship between the two word categories in other Bantu languages, but no detailed study has been made so far. The following linguists, however, may be cited in passing as having commented on such a relationship. For instance, Ziervogel (1969:151) maintains that the (N. Sotho) ideophone has no particular form but "... its root is often identical with that of a corresponding verb stem." Voeltz (1971:151) contends that (Zulu) ideophones and verbs originate from a -CVC- core. Von Staden (1974:200) is of the opinion that (Zulu) ideophones are morphologically based on the verb for he states that ideophones are "... verkorte vorms van die werkwoordbasis." By implication, Voeltz (1971:151) thinks along the lines of Von Staden (1974:200), for he (Voeltz) states that "... we know of no ideophones (in Zulu) which do not allow the derivation of verbs from them." Making general statements such as those made by for example Ziervogel (1969:151), Voeltz (1971:151) and Von Staden (1974:200) above would not be appropriate for Tsonga because observations reveal that over sixty percent of Tsonga ideophones in the collected data have no cognate verbs.¹ Consider the following examples:

<u>nhwĩĩ!</u>	(of staring aimlessly)
<u>bi!</u>	(of being completely finished)
<u>bamfē!</u>	(of running away in all directions)
<u>hōntlo!</u>	(of being full of people, as house)
<u>gebedze!</u>	(of hanging loosely)

¹ The estimate given here is based on the representative 1 800 ideophones on which this study is based.

- takaswī! (of walking with a limping gate)
khuvaxaxa! (of falling onto one's knees, succumbing)
khākhānānā! (of being dry and shrivelled)

The above examples have no cognate verbs.

On the other hand, the morphological relationship that exists between certain ideophones and certain verbs can be categorized as follows:

- (a) All verbs can be ideophonized by the morphemes -ī and -īyānī;
- (b) Some ideophones can share common radicals with verbs, verbalized and ideophonized by vowels;
- (c) Certain verbs can be formed from some ideophones by means of Radical theories.

3.2.1.1 Verbs ideophonized by the morphemes -ī and -īyānī

All verbs in Tsonga, with no exception, can be made ideophones by the suffixation of the morphemes -ī and -īyānī.¹ In all such instances, the verb is basic.

3.2.1.2 Certain verbs and ideophones sharing a common radical

In Tsonga, there are instances where the ideophone and the verb share a common radical. Kunene's (1978:92) stand (South Sotho) that the radical is neither verbal nor ideophonic in these instances would be applicable here. In such instances, verbalizing and ideophonizing morphemes are suffixed to the common radical to derive other verbs or ideophones as the case may be. The verbalizing or 'ideophonizing' morphemes in these instances are vowels. In the case of verbs, the verbalizing morpheme is -a. With

¹ *vide* par. 3.1.2.3, pp.117 and 118 above, for examples.

ideophones, all the five standard vowels, i.e. {-a, -e, -i, -o, -u} are used. Semantically, the derived ideophone and verb from such common roots bear the same meaning. However, the ideophone has an added feature of 'exemplification'.¹ In most cases the ideophonic and verbal derivands differ tonally.

Note the following examples:

- (a) Ideophonizing morpheme {-a}
 Verbalizing morpheme {-a}

Note that in this instance, the ideophonizing and verbalizing morphemes have the same vowel. However, the vowels belong to different morphemes. The one helps the root to form ideophones while the other helps the root to form verbs.

<u>root</u>	<u>ideophone</u>	<u>verb</u>
e.g.		
gāndl- (stamp)	gāndlā! (s.m.)	-gāndlā (s.m.)
khāp- (spill over)	khāpa! (s.m.)	-khāpā (s.m.)
gōdy- (strike, as snake)	gōdya! (s.m.)	-gōdyā (s.m.)
thūmbh- (discover)	thūmbha! (s.m.)	-thūmbhā (s.m.)

- (b) Ideophonizing morpheme {-e}
 Verbalizing morpheme {-a}

<u>root</u>	<u>ideophone</u>	<u>verb</u>
e.g.		
swāth- (touch)	swāthē! (s.m.)	-swāthā (s.m.)
kwiny- (fold)	kwinye! (s.m.)	-kwinya (s.m.)

¹ *Vide* app. 35, p.291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

<u>root</u>		<u>ideophone</u>		<u>verb</u>
pyetl-	(step on sticky substance)	pyetle!	(s.m.)	-pyetla (s.m.)
phyúphy-	(calm)	phyúphyê!	(s.m.)	-phyúphyã (s.m.)
tsét-	(squirt, e.g. saliva)	tsête!	(s.m.)	-tsétã (s.m.)

- (c) Ideophonizing morpheme {-i}
- Verbalizing morpheme {-a}

The ideophonizing morpheme /-i/ in this instance is similar to the morpheme /-i/ referred to in par. 3.1.2.3 (a), p.117, above. The difference which exists between the ideophonizing morpheme /-i/ and the other ideophonizing vowel morphemes is that /-i/ may be suffixed to any di- or polysyllabic verb while this is not the case with the other vowel ideophonizing morphemes. See relevant paragraph for examples.

- (d) Ideophonizing morpheme {-o}
- Verbalizing morpheme {-a}

<u>root</u>		<u>ideophone</u>		<u>verb</u>
e.g.				
tsîmb-	(close eyes)	tsîmbo!	(s.m.)	-tsîmbã (s.m.)
kākātlúl-	(wrench apart)	kākātlúlo!	(s.m.)	-kākātlúla (s.m.)
súrhúkêt-	(twist)	súrhúkêto!	(s.m.)	-súrhúkêta (s.m.)
pítsíngét-	(add liberally, e.g. salt in food)	pítsíngêto!	(s.m.)	-pítsíngêta (s.m.)

- (e) Ideophonizing morpheme {-u}
 Verbalizing morpheme {-a}

<u>root</u>		<u>ideophone</u>		<u>verb</u>	
e.g.					
gub-	(dancing a rhythmic war dance)	gubu!	(s.m.)	-guba	(s.m.)
huhl-	(move stick in tube)	huhlu!	(s.m.)	-huhla	(s.m.)
vun-	(wither)	vūnu!	(s.m.)	-vuna	(s.m.)
guguts-	(nibble, as rat)	gugutsu!	(s.m.)	-gugutsa	(s.m.)

3.2.1.3 Certain verbs can be formed from certain ideophones by means of Radical Conversion theories

Cantrell (1967:102), in his investigation of the verbal root in Xhosa, devoted a chapter to ideophonic roots. Basically, Cantrell (1967:102) recognizes ideophonic roots. Cantrell (1967:108) further noticed that certain ideophonic roots can be converted into verbs by use of certain verbalizing morphemes. Cantrell (1967:108) termed the morphemes 'Radical Conversion Extensions'. In line with Cantrell's theories, we have established twelve morphemes which serve as Ideophone Verbalizing Extensions in Tsonga. They are the following: -K-, -L-, -M-, -MB-, -NDZ-, -NG-, -NY-, -S-, -X-, -RH-, -T- and -V-. (They are written in capital letters to distinguish them from the neuter -eka, applied -ela, causative -isa, verbal extensions, etc.) These extensions are suffixed to ideophonic root morphemes followed by the verbalizing morpheme -a. In the process of suffixing these extensions in the majority of instances, the ideophone remains intact. No part of the ideophone undergoes any modification. Note the following examples (N.B. Only one example is cited in respect of each ideophone verbalizing extension):

<u>Verbalizing extension</u>	<u>Ideophone</u>		<u>Derived Verb</u>		
-K-	<u>phove!</u>	(of yielding)	<u>-phoveka</u>	(phove-k-a)	(s.m.)
-L-	<u>khōhlo!</u>	(of coughing)	<u>-khóhlólá</u>	(khohlo-l-a)	(s.m.)
-M-	<u>korha!</u>	(of bending forward)	<u>-korhama</u>	(korha-m-a)	(s.m.)
-MB-	<u>gwi!</u>	(of pulling taut)	<u>-gwimba</u>	(gwi-mb-a)	(s.m.)
-NDZ-	<u>gōgōgō...!</u>	(of knocking)	<u>-góngóndzá</u>	(gongo-ndz-a) ¹	(s.m.)
-NG-	<u>bvūu!</u>	(of snatching)	<u>-bvunga²</u>	(bvu-ng-a)	(s.m.)
-NY-	<u>tlhīi!</u>	(of snapping)	<u>-tlhīnyā</u>	(tlhi-ny-a)	(s.m.)
-S-	<u>khōkhōkhō..!</u>	(of taping)	<u>-khōkhōsā</u>	(khokho-s-a)	(s.m.)
-X-	<u>fuku!</u>	(of pushing soil upwards)	<u>-fukuxa</u>	(fuku-x-a)	(s.m.)
-RH-	<u>dzwi!</u>	(of pinching)	<u>-dzwirha</u>	(dzwi-rh-a)	(s.m.)
-T-	<u>bukū!</u>	(of hitting)	<u>-bukuta</u>	(buku-t-a)	(s.m.)
-V-	<u>dlii!</u>	(of poking at)	<u>-dliya</u>	(dli-v-a)	(s.m.)

These ideophone verbalizing extensions are capable of combining in their operation. Note the following examples:

<u>Combined Verbalizing extensions</u>	<u>Ideophone</u>		<u>Derived Verb</u>		
-K- + -NY-	<u>pfutla!</u>	(of breaking)	<u>-pfutlakanya</u>	(pfutla-k-a-ny-a)	(s.m.)
-V- + -NY-	<u>ngūndū!</u>	(of ruffling through goods)	<u>-ngūndūvānya</u>	(ngundu-v-a-ny-a)	(s.m.)
-NG- + -L-	<u>vīsi!</u>	(of wearing a threatening look)	<u>-vīsingāla</u>	(visi-ng-a-l-a)	(s.m.)

¹ With ideophones expressing continued action, only two syllables are retained when verbs are derived from such ideophones. Note the nasalization of the second syllable in the derived verb in this instance.

² Note that the ideophone loses its falling tone when the verbalizing extension is suffixed.

In line with Cantrell's (1967:108) theories, we are inclined to believe that where the ideophone has a cognate verb, the ideophone is basic, and that the verb was derived from the ideophone via Cantrell's Radical Conversion theories as examples above indicate, except in the case where ideophones are derived from verbs by suffixing the morphemes -i or -iyani.¹ However, the point as to which of the two words is basic (i.e. verb or ideophone) is a matter which needs further research before an authoritative statement on this issue can be made.

3.2.2 Ideophone-noun relationship

Deideophonic nouns can be derived from ideophones by prefixing noun prefixes to ideophones. In some cases, deideophonic nouns are not derived directly from ideophones but the latter are verbalized first by verbalizing extensions. Very few ideophones can be converted into deideophonic nouns. In the data, only four per cent of the ideophones could be converted into deideophonic nouns. In all instances of affixations, the ideophone remains intact. It maintains its invariable characteristic.

Noun Classes of deideophonic nouns

Deideophonic nouns may occur in the following classes:

1a/1-2	(MU-VA)
3-4	(MU-MI)
5-6	(RI-MA)
7-8	(XI-SWI)
9-10	(YIN-TIN)
14	(VU)

¹ *vide* par. 3.1.2.3, p. 117 .

3.2.2.1 Class 1a-2a (~ - VA)

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>gōgōgō...!</u> (of pecking, as bird)	<u>sing.</u> <u>gōgōsāni</u> (woodpecker, < deideophonic verb -gōgōsā + nominalizing suffix -āni) ¹
	<u>pl.</u> <u>vāgōgōsāni</u> (woodpeckers)

Some deideophonic nouns in class 1a employ the prefix n'wa-. This prefix is generally prefixed to words referring to certain specific character traits, giving the idea of 'daughter/son of' such a character trait. Note that the prefix n'wa- is retained in the plural.

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>yingīyingī!</u> (of being restless)	<u>sing.</u> <u>n'wāyingīyingī</u> (n'wā-yīngī-yīngī) (a restless person)
	<u>pl.</u> <u>vān'wāyingīyingī</u>
<u>kokorholo!</u> (of being obstinate)	<u>sing.</u> <u>n'wākōkōrholo</u> (n'wā-kōkōrholo) (a person who rejects all advice)
	<u>pl.</u> <u>vān'wākōkōrholo</u>

Deideophonic nouns referring to birds and to certain animals named after certain traits expressed by certain ideophones also make use of the prefix 'n'wa-.

¹ *Vide* footnote 1, p.124, for form of ideophone in this instance. Note also the verbalizing extension -S- in -gogo-S-a followed by the nominalizing suffix -ani. We regard -ani as a nominal suffix. This morpheme looks very much like the diminutive suffix -ana/-ani, but this -ani has not a diminutive meaning. The reason one is tempted to call it a nominalizing suffix is because it is used among others with nouns derived from verbs, which in some cases are again derived from ideophones.

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>pēku</u> ...! (of lifting covering to expose covered object)	<u>sing.</u> <u>n'wāpēkupēku</u> (n'wa-pēku-pēku) (species of bird with curved beak) <u>pl.</u> <u>vān'wāpēkupēku</u>
<u>tshekū</u> ...! (of turning back suddenly on one's tracks, as buck sensing danger)	<u>sing.</u> <u>n'wātshekūtshekū</u> (n'wa-tshekū-tshekū) (Sandpiper - kind of bird haunting open wet sandy places) <u>pl.</u> <u>vān'wātshekūtshekū</u>

Inanimate objects which have characteristics which can be expressed ideophonically can also make use of the prefix 'n'wa-' when deriving nouns from such relevant ideophones,

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>cucululu!</u> (of being in a crouching and squatting position)	<u>sing.</u> <u>n'wācūcūlūlu</u> (n'wā-cūcūlūlu) (plant which does not spread, as ground nuts) <u>pl.</u> <u>vān'wācūcūlūlu</u>
<u>dēwu!</u> (of swinging like a pendulum)	<u>sing.</u> <u>n'wādēwūlāni</u> (n'wa-dewu-l-ani) (swing for children) <u>pl.</u> <u>vān'wādēwūlāni</u>

Sometimes a deideophonic noun may be derived via a deideophonic verb, hence the ideophone verbalizing suffix,¹

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>dlodlodlo</u> ...! (of running fast and close to the ground)	<u>sing.</u> <u>n'wādlodlōma</u> (n'wā-dlodlō-ma) (thrush, < deideophonic verb -dlodloma) (run close to the ground) <u>pl.</u> <u>vān'wādlodlōma</u>

¹ *vide* par. 3.2.1.3, p.124, for ideophone verbalizing extensions.

3.2.2.2 Class 3-4 (MU-MI)

Ideophones referring to action are generally converted into nouns in this class,

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>khūlukhūlu</u> ...! (of flowing e.g. water)	<u>sing.</u> <u>nkhūlūkhūlu</u> (mu-khūlu-khūlu) ¹ (a shallow place in the river where water flows extremely fast)
	<u>pl.</u> <u>mikhūkūkhūlu/minkhūlūkhūlu</u>
<u>ntlékentlêke</u> ...! (of carrying to and fro)	<u>sing.</u> <u>ntlékentlêke</u> (mu-tlêke-tlêke) ² (the act of carrying something to and fro)
	<u>pl.</u> <u>mintlékentlêke</u>

The following examples employ the class prefix of class 3 plus a suffix,

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>jompā</u> ...! (of see-sawing)	<u>sing.</u> <u>mujompāna</u> (mu-jompā-āni) ³ (balance board for see-sawing)
	<u>pl.</u> <u>mijompāni</u>
<u>dēwu</u> ...! (of swinging like a pendulum)	<u>sing.</u> <u>mudēwūlāni</u> (mu-dēwū-l-āni) (the swing)
	<u>pl.</u> <u>midēwūlāni</u>

3.2.2.3 Class 5-6 (RI-MA)

Deideophonic nouns in class 5 employ the zero prefix. For this reason, the ideophone and the deideophonic noun are morphologically identical,

¹ This word can also be in class 9,
e.g. sing. nkhulukhulu
pl. tinkhulukhulu, etc.

² Ibid.

³ Note the direct suffixing of the nominalizing suffix -ani to the ideophone without the ideophone verbalizing extension.

IdeophoneDeideophonic noun

e.g. <u>dlōnyo!</u>	(of poking at someone's eye)	<u>sing.</u> <u>dlonyō</u> (* <u>ri-dlonyō</u>) (a bulging eye)
		<u>pl.</u> <u>madlonyō</u>
<u>gegerhele!</u>	(of being deaf to argument)	<u>sing.</u> <u>gegerhele</u> (* <u>ri-gegerhele</u>) (a hard headed man)
		<u>pl.</u> <u>magegerhele</u>

Zero prefix plus nominalizing suffix -ani,

IdeophoneDeideophonic noun

e.g. <u>debyā ...!</u>	(of walking slackly as if having no bones)	<u>sing.</u> <u>debyānī</u> (* <u>ri-debyā-ānī</u>) (young plant with green stem)
		<u>pl.</u> <u>madebyānī</u>
<u>phaxa...!</u>	(of walking heavily but silently)	<u>sing.</u> <u>phaxani</u> (* <u>ri-phaxa-ani</u>) (sandal of an ox-hide)
		<u>pl.</u> <u>maphaxani</u>

Some deideophonic nouns in this class are used in the plural form only,

IdeophoneDeideophonic noun

e.g. <u>kāmpfu!</u>	(of spitting chewed food)	<u>makāmpfu</u> (ma- <u>kāmpfu</u>) (spat of chewed food)
<u>bvonyō!</u>	(of doing work hurriedly and poorly)	<u>mabvonyō</u> (ma- <u>bvonyō</u>) (the habit of doing something shoddily)

Disyllabic ideophones signifying protracted action are generally reduplicated and commonly employ class 6 prefix ma-,

*Prefix shown to indicate class of derived noun.

IdeophoneDeideophonic noune.g. ěntshi! (of sneezing)maěntshiěntshi (ma-ěntshi-ěntshi)
(gift to someone who uttered the word
'maentshientshi' in response to one's
sneezing)fehle ...! (of food looking
appetisingly fatty
and smelling
agreeably)mafehlefehle (ma-fehle-fehle)
(well fried and appetising
food)3.2.2.4 Class 7-8 (XI-SWI)IdeophoneDeideophonic noune.g. bamu! (sound of gun) sing. xibamu (xi-bamu) (gun)pl. swibamugūbu! (sound of drum) sing. xigūbu (xi-gūbu) (drum)pl. swigūbu

In the following examples, repeated action is signified. Note the repetition of the syllable three times in monosyllabic ideophones and two times in disyllabic ideophones:

Monosyllabic ideophonese.g. thuthuthu! (sound of
motor cycle) xithuthuthu (xi-thuthuthu)
(motor-cycle)mbvhōmbvhōmbvhō ...! (sound of
beetle) ximbvhōmbvhōmbvhō (xi-mbvhōmbvhōmbvhō)
(beetle)Disyllabic ideophonespěku! (of flapping) xipěkupěku (xi-pěkupěku)
(a van, a bakkie)pelūu! (of revolving) xipelūpēlū (xi-pelūpēlū)
(a revolving fan)

Class prefix plus suffixes

e.g. <u>damā!</u> (of sticking)	<u>xidamārhelāni</u> (xi-damā-rh-el-āni) ¹ (sp. of lizard)
<u>khīyā!</u> (of laughing simultaneously)	<u>xikhīyānī</u> (xi-khīyā-ānī) (simultaneous loud laughter of women)

3.2.2.5 Class 9-10 (YI(N)-TI(N))

(Note the zero prefix of the deideophonic noun)

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>ngūdūngūdū ...!</u> (of making hollow sound as beating an empty box)	<u>sing.</u> <u>ngūdūngūdū</u> (*yi-ngūdūngūdū) (chaos, jumble, confusion) <u>pl.</u> (No plural form)

3.2.2.6 Class 14 (VU-)

Deideophonic nouns generally referring to action use this class.

<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Deideophonic noun</u>
e.g. <u>bvurubvuru ...!</u> (of startling and running away)	<u>vubvurubvuru</u> (vu-bvurubvuru) (the act of startling and running away)
<u>cho cho cho ...!</u> (of making a rustling sound - as on dry leaves)	<u>yuchochocho</u> (vu-chochocho) (the rustling sound on dry leaves)
<u>chakala!</u> (of making a rustling noise, as lizard on dry leaves)	<u>yuchakalachakala</u> (vu-chakala- <u>chakala</u> (the rustling sound) dry leaves)

¹ Note the applied verbal extension -el- after the ideophone verbalizing extension -rh-.

* Prefix shown to indicate class of derived noun.

S U M M A R Y

The principle of the Ideophonic Phrase (IP) as a predicative phrase is recognised in this thesis. Structurally the IP consists of the auxiliary verb stem -ri and the ideophone. The morphology of the verb stem -ri in the different moods is examined. Numerous auxiliary morphemes are used with the auxiliary verb stem -ri in the different moods. Morphologically, the ideophone is a simple word in the sense that it is a single morpheme root word. Longer forms of ideophones may be derived from shorter forms by partial or complete reduplication. Ideophones may also be derived from verbs by the suffixation of the morphemes -i or -iyani. Certain ideophones seem to share common roots with verbs. However, Cantrell's Radical Conversion theories point towards the fact that where ideophones have cognate verbs, ideophones are basic. Many deideophonic nouns may be derived from ideophones by use of class prefixes. In the majority of such derivations, the ideophone remains intact, maintaining one of its basic characteristics, that of being invariable.

C H A P T E R 4

Syntax of the Tsonga ideophone

4.0 Introduction

Many Bantu languages employ ideophones in their syntax. What perhaps differs from language to language is the way in which they are accommodated in the syntax of the language. Broadly speaking, the South Eastern Bantu languages as outlined by Doke (1954:233) accommodate the ideophone in their syntax in more or less a similar manner. The use of the ideophone in these languages is linked with a verb stem which in its normal use means 'say'. In Tsonga, it is the verb stem -ri¹ (-thi in Nguni languages and -re in Sotho languages). The crux of the matter in understanding how ideophones are accommodated in the syntax of these languages lies in the status one accords this verb stem in the context of the ideophonic construction, i.e. whether one regards it as a full predicate on its own or whether one regards it as an auxiliary verb. A statement on this verb stem in one of these Bantu languages will to a certain extent be applicable to the others, although there might be some differences with regard to its grammatical morphology.

It should be stated outright that there are some significant differences between the use of the Zulu verb stem -thi and the Tsonga verb stem -ri. The outlining of these differences shall be confined to the context of the ideophone. The differences are the following:

¹ *vide* par. 3.1.1, p.79.

- (a) The Zulu -thi may assume a perfect form, hence -the.¹ The Tsonga -ri cannot.
- (b) The Zulu -thi permits derived forms.² The Tsonga -ri does not permit these forms.
- (c) Where the construction in Zulu includes an object, the verb stem -thi, like any normal verb takes the object concord which always precedes this verb. Compare Doke's (1955:143) example:

- (1) wa mu thi TANKLA!
 sc oc v id
 lit. he him 'do' KICK
 i.e. he kicked him (in the stomach)
 (tānkla! Zulu id., of kicking in the stomach).

The Tsonga aux. v. stem -ri does not incorporate the object concord. The oc in this instance immediately precedes the ideophone.³

- (d) Similarly, the Zulu reflexive -zi as in

- (2) wa zithi GŌQO!
 sc mo v id
 refl.
 lit. he himself 'do' FOLD
 i.e. he folded himself
 (gōqo! Zulu id., of folding oneself)

is part of the verb stem -thi, while the Tsonga reflexive -ti- comes

¹ Cf. Doke, 1955:144

² Ibid., p.146. *vide* also par. 3.1.1, p.79, for examples.

³ In Tsonga, the oc, the reflexive ti- and the adverbial ka- are never used in an auxiliary verb.

immediately before the ideophone.¹

(e) The Zulu -thi may not be deleted in the same manner in the different tenses of e.g. the indicative mood - Note the following Zulu examples:

(3) Present tns : Izimvu zithi BUDUBUDU ...!
(The sheep pour out)

(4) Past tns (perf. asp): Izimvu zithe BUDUBUDU ...!
(The sheep have poured out)

(5) Future tns : Izimvu ziyothi BUDUBUDU ...!
(The sheep will pour out)
(budubudu ... Zulu id., of pouring out)

On the other hand, Tsonga -ri may be deleted in all the tenses except in the present tense of the indicative mood.²

The above cursory illustrations of the Zulu verb stem -thi in the context of the ideophone exhibit characteristic features of a normal verb while the Tsonga -ri has lost all these characteristics. For this reason, the problem the investigators of the syntax of the Zulu ideophone had with regard to the verb stem -thi in this context is not underestimated.

There is no doubt that the verbal characteristics of this verb stem influenced the investigators into according it the status of a normal verb in this context. For instance, Doke (1955:158) referred to -thi as functioning "... as the normal verb when associated with ideophones ...", despite the fact that earlier on, Doke (1955:158) had described it as "... a highly idiomatic defective verb ...".

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.4 (b), p. 103.

² *Vide* app. 4, p. 252.

Notwithstanding the verbal characteristics of the Zulu verb stem -thi, regarding this verb stem as an auxiliary verb in the context of the ideophonic construction as it is done in the case of the Tsonga -ri in this investigation seems to work equally well.¹ Consequently, this verb stem and the ideophone are regarded as a syntactic category which we choose to call the Ideophonic Phrase (IP) as will be illustrated subsequently. Doke's (1955:143) statement, that "it is preferable ... to treat --- wamuthi tankla as one (predicate ... CTDM)" strengthens our standpoint, namely that of regarding the verb stem -ri and the ideophone as a syntactic category. This applies to the Zulu verb stem -thi and the ideophone as well.

To date, attempts at outlining the syntax of the ideophone in Bantu languages appear to have been mainly in the Nguni languages, as evidenced by the works of the following linguists, Doke (1955, Zulu), Fivaz (1963, Zulu), Voeltz (1971, Zulu), Neethling (1972, Xhosa), Weakley (1973, Xhosa) and Von Staden (1974, Zulu).

Doke (1955:142) was the first linguist to discuss the syntax of the ideophone in detail. His views will be outlined at length since they seem to have formed the basis of subsequent investigations of this aspect of the ideophone in Bantu languages. Doke (1955:142) observed then that the ideophone in Zulu was generally associated with the verb stem -thi which he defined as "... a highly idiomatic defective verb" (p.158). In relation to ideophones, Doke (1955:158) regards -thi as "... the normal verb associated with ideophones when it may assume objectival concords." Doke's (1955:142) basic assumption was that "... the most usual syntactical function of the ideophone is as a descriptive complement to a special idiomatic use of the verb stem -thi." It is in Doke's (1955:143) analysis of his example sentence

¹ *Vide* par 4.2.2, pp.142 et seqq.

on the use of -thi when associated with ideophones where it becomes clear what status he accorded this verb stem in that context.

Doke's (1955:143) example sentence (Zulu):

(6) Wamuthi TÁNKLA, isisu ngonyawo
(He kicked him in the stomach)

Doke (1955:143) gave two alternative methods of analysing sentence (6) above syntactically:

Alternative 1

Subject : (Yena)
 Predicate: wamuthi TÁNKLA!
 Object : (i) (Yena) (principal)
 (ii) isisu
 Extension of Predicate: ngonyawo.

Alternative 2

Subject : (Yena)
 Predicate: wamuthi
 Object : (i) (Yena) (principal)
 (ii) isisu (subsidiary)
 Extension of Predicate: (i) TÁNKLA! (ideophone)
 (ii) ngonyawo (instrumental).

It is evident that the two alternative methods of analysing the example sentence (6) above contradict each other. As regards Alternative 1, the ideophone tánkla! (of kicking) is part of the predicate as "... a descriptive complement" to the "... special idiomatic use of the verb -thi" (Doke, 1955:142).

The verb stem -thi in this context cannot be a predicate on its own.

Alternative 2 is in line with Doke's (1955:158) assertions, i.e. that of regarding the verb stem -thi as a "... normal verb when associated with ideophones."

The question which may be asked is – is -thi a normal verb, i.e. a full verb in the context of the ideophone? Consequently, has wamuthi in Alternative 2 the force of a complete predicate? Can one stop at wamuthi in this context when predicating? From a semantic point of view, one cannot. An ungrammatical sentence results. Note the following example:

(7) *wamuthi isisu

sc oc v n

lit. he him 'do' the stomach

i.e. he 'did' him stomach.

However, Doke (1955:143) himself seemed ill at ease with Alternative 2, for he concluded these illustrations with the remark quoted earlier on, namely, that it is preferable to treat wamuthi TÁNKLA as one predicate. This statement by Doke (1955:143) is considered as his intuitive perception that from the semantic point of view, -thi in the context of the ideophone is not a normal verb. What is interesting (and encouraging) is that in subsequent examples, Doke (1955:144, par. iii) in his linguistic genius, treated -thi and the ideophone as a single predicate.

Doke's (1955:143) analysis of Alternative 1 is acceptable. Analysis 2 is unacceptable in that the predicate is ungrammatical in the context of the ideophone. Alternative 1 is taken as the basis of the argument advanced in this thesis.

Fivaz (1963:145) recognises -thi in the context of the ideophone as a 'normal' verb, i.e. as a complete predicate, for in his Zulu example sentence,

(8) Ngizothi FAHLAFAHLA amazwane ...

(I am going to say just a few words ...)

he states that "... amazwane (a few words) could conceivably be treated as the object of -thi ...". His regard of the verb stem -thi fits in with Doke's (1955:143) syntactic analysis Alternative 2.

Voeltz (1971:143) regards -thi in the context of the ideophone as a normal verb and prefers to extend it to be in the class of verbs which permit sentential objects. Doke (1973:279) refers to the use of the verb stem -thi in sentences such as Umfana wathi ukubuka (The boy merely looked) as the ideophonic use of this verb stem. Doke (1973:270) states in the footnote that it is preferable to treat the infinitive in this instance as the object of the verb -thi. This implies that -thi is regarded as a full predicative in this instance. Voeltz (1971:143) follows this school of thought. He states that Doke's (1973:270) standpoint "... is not at all inconsistent with our (Voeltz's ... CTDM) position ...", i.e. that the infinitive is clearly the object of -thi (with) a deeper sentential source. In other words, Voeltz (1971:143) regards -thi in the context of the ideophone as a normal verb.

Neethling (1972:28) regards -thi as an auxiliary verb, for he states "... Die ideofoon in Xhosa is as komplement tot die hulpwerkwoord /thi/." Like Doke (1955:143) in his syntactic analysis Alternative 1, Neethling (1972:28) regards -thi as follows: "... Die volledige predikaat word gesamentlik uit die hulpwerkwoord /thi/ plus die ideofoon gekonstitueer ...".

Although Neethling did not develop this idea, his last statement is wholeheartedly supported in this investigation. Similarly, the Tsonga verb stem -ri is regarded as an auxiliary verb in the context of the ideophone.

Neethling's (1972:29) statement that the full predicate is formed by the two constituents jointly, as in "uthi MANGA" (Hy is verbaas), is fully supported.

Weakley (1973:16) distinguishes between the verb stem -thi which means 'say' as in Xhosa

(9) uthi HAMBA! (he says go)

and the -thi which "... precedes the ideophone (which ... CTDM) carries no meaning itself but acts purely as carrier of the inflectional formatives" as in Xhosa

(10) Yathiwa CHAPHA, yimvula

(It was sprinkled by the rain)

from Yathi CHAPHA, imvula

(There was a sprinkling of rain)

(chapha, Xhosa id., of sprinkling).

Weakley (1973:17) regards -thi in the context of the ideophone as "... an auxiliary verb (which ... CTDM) can carry the various conjugational affixes ...". Weakley (1973:17) in this instance is somewhat in agreement with Doke's (1955:143) syntactical analysis Alternative 1 as well as with Neethling's (1972:28) observations. The principle of regarding -thi as an auxiliary verb in the context of the ideophonic construction is subscribed to in this investigation.

Von Staden (1974:233) regards -thi appearing with ideophones as an auxiliary verb stem. Giving the example

Sizothi PHUMU emthunzini

(We shall rest in the shadow)

(phumu!, Zulu id., of resting)

Von Staden (1974:233) states that "... (dit lyk) prakties ... om alle ideofone, in welke gebruiksgeval ... in beginsel as komplemente van 'n hulpwerkwoord met die stam -thi te beskou ...".

Considering the opinions of the linguists who investigated the syntax of the ideophone in Zulu and Xhosa, it is evident that everyone realised that the syntax of the ideophone in these instances was closely linked with the verb stem -thi. The problem has been to demonstrate clearly the role of this verb stem in the context of this linkage.

The next paragraphs will be devoted to attempting to outline the role of the verb stem -ri in the context of the ideophone as well as the significance of the linkage or relationship between the ideophone and the verb stem -ri in Tsonga.

4.1 The ideophone as a syntactic category

The syntax of the ideophone can best be seen in its proper perspective if its category status is clearly defined. The position of the ideophone as a syntactic category can only be defined if the nature, as well as the role of the verb stem -ri in this context is clearly outlined. In defining the position of the ideophone as a syntactic category, its underlying surface manifestations will be taken into consideration.

4.2 The verb stem -ri4.2.1 The verb stem -ri as a normal verb stem

It is interesting to note that the verb stem -ri can occur as a normal verb of the main clause in sentences such as the following:

(11) Magezi u ri : "tana!"

Subj sc v v

lit. Magezi he says, "come!"

i.e. Magezi says, "come!"

(12) Magezi u ri ndzi ta

Subj sc₁ v sc₂ v

lit. Magezi he says I come

i.e. Magezi says that I should come.

Semantically -ri in this context means 'say'.

4.2.2 The verb stem -ri as an auxiliary verb

Note that the ideophone may also occur in the position immediately after the verb stem -ri. It is intended to demonstrate in this thesis that in the latter case (i.e. in the context of the ideophone), -ri does not function as a normal verb. Note the following sentence with the ideophone tlukwa! (of jumping):

(13) Magezi u ri TLÚKWA!

Subj sc v aux id

lit. Magezi he 'does' JUMP

i.e. Magezi jumps.

In example sentence (13) above, -ri does not play the same role as the -ri in sentences (11) & (12). Neither does it have the same status. In the context of the ideophone,¹ -ri functions in an auxiliary capacity in that it has no independent meaning with the force of a normal verb and besides, it is incapable of predicating on its own apart from its complement, i.e. the ideophone, just as -thi in Doke's (1955:143) Alternative 2 (analysis) cannot predicate on its own.² In the context of the ideophone, predication is effected jointly by the verb stem -ri (-thi in the case of Zulu) and the ideophone. Doke's (1955:142) idea that, in the context of the ideophone, the verb stem -ri (Zulu -thi) is used idiomatically and consequently does not mean 'say' as is the case when used as a normal verb³, is fully supported. In the context of the ideophone, -ri's (Zulu -thi) meaning of 'to say' is lost in the surface structure. Semantically, it expresses 'to act' or 'to do', signifying that the subject 'acts' or 'does' the action implied by the ideophone. In this investigation, the following thesis is advocated, namely, that in the context of the ideophone, the -ri functions in an auxiliary capacity and that together with the ideophone it forms a syntactic unit which is a phrase, and that that phrase represents one syntactic category.

4.2.3 Non-ideophone words and phrases used as ideophones

It should be noted that words and phrases other than ideophones may be used as ideophones in the IP after the auxiliary verb stem -ri. However, verbs are first made ideophones by being inflected⁴ when used in

¹ *Vide* sentence (13), above.

² *Vide* sentence (6), Alternative 2 analysis, p.137.

³ *Vide* sentences (11) and (12), above.

⁴ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.3, pp.117-118, for inflection of verbs into ideophones.

this context. Note the following examples:

Verbs

e.g. -xeka, v. (cut); xeki' deverbative id. (of cutting quickly)

(14) Magezi (u ri XÉKÍ), nyama hi mukwana
 Subj (sc v id) obj AP

lit. Magezi (he 'does' CUT QUICKLY) the meat by knife

i.e. Magezi quickly cuts the meat with a knife.

Nouns

Nouns need not be inflected when used as ideophones in this context. Of interest to note is that nouns used as ideophones in such a context are highly idiomatic in meaning. Note the following example:

(15) Vafana va lo na vona nyoka (vo (ri) MARIBYE!)
 Subj (sc as form) v obj (sc v n)

lit. The boys they 'as soon as' see snake (they 'do' STONES)

i.e. As soon as the boys saw the snake they took (got hold of) stones.

Phrases

Phrases used as ideophones in this context are also highly idiomatic in meaning. Note the following example:

(16) Magezi (u te (ri) VUSIKU SALA ENDLWINI), tolo
 Subj (sc mo asp aux v id phrase) adv

lit. Magezi (he has 'done' NIGHT REMAIN IN THE HOUSE) yesterday

i.e. Magezi left very early in the morning yesterday.

4.3 The concept of the Ideophonic Phrase (IP) as a syntactic category

Culicover (1976:13) defines a syntactic category as "... a group of words or sequences of words in a given language that can replace one another in any sentence of the language whatsoever without affecting grammaticality." He goes on to state that "... if a syntactic category contains single words only, it is a lexical category. When a syntactic category contains sequences of words, it is a phrase category."

With this theory in mind, compare the following sentences embodying the verb stem -nghena (enter) and the ideophone phōmu! (of plunging into the water).

- (17) Homu yi nghena ematini
 Subj sc v loc. n
 lit. The ox it enters into the water
 i.e. The ox enters into water.

- (18) Homu yi ri PHŌMU! ematini
 Subj sc v id loc. n
 lit. The ox it 'does' PLUNGE in the water
 i.e. The ox plunges into the water.

Sentence (17) employs the normal verb -nghena (enter) as predicate of the subject homu (ox), and sentence (18) employs the phrase -ri phōmu ('act' or 'do' plunge) as predicate of the subject homu (ox). The normal verb stem -nghena (enter) can be replaced by the phrase -ri phōmu ('do' plunge) without affecting meaning and grammaticality. Accordingly, -ri phōmu is a phrase which belongs to the same syntactic category as the normal verb stem -nghena (enter) which is a lexical category.

From the above examples, it is clear that the verb stem -ri together with the ideophone constitute a syntactic category, capable of acting as a predicate just like a normal verb. It has been decided to call this syntactic construction 'the Ideophonic Phrase' (IP).

4.4 The structure of the IP

(N.B. The structure of the IP has been discussed in detail in par. 3.1, pp.78-79).

4.5 The IP as underlying surface structure of the syntax of the ideophone

The IP is regarded as the underlying surface structure by means of which the ideophone is incorporated in the syntax of the language. Any consideration of the syntax of the ideophone in Tsonga should take as its point of departure the concept of the IP. Other surface syntactic manifestations of the ideophone shorn of some of the components of the IP should be regarded as surface realisations of transformations as well as deletions with regard to the underlying surface structure phrase.

Since the underlying structure in which the ideophone is incorporated in the syntax of the language is the IP, a review of the syntax of the ideophone will in fact entail a review of the syntax of the IP.

4.6 Transitivity and intransitivity of the IP in Tsonga

Since it has been illustrated that Tsonga ideophones syntactically function like verbs through the IP in surface structure,¹ consequently, some

¹ *Vide* par. 4.3, p.145 sentences (17) and (18).

ideophones bear a transitive feature,¹ i.e. the IP which embodies such ideophones may be followed by objects, while others bear an intransitive feature.

4.6.1 Ideophones with a transitive feature

Ideophones with a transitive feature are particularly those ideophones referring to action, i.e. non-inchoative ideophones. The action of the subject is directed towards the object.

Note the following example sentence with an IP which embodies bvúu! (of snatching), an ideophone with a transitive feature.

- (19) Gama (ri ri BVÚU), xikukwana
 Subj (sc v id) obj
 aux
 lit. The eagle (it 'does' SNATCH) the chicken
 i.e. The eagle snatches the chicken.

Incorporating ideophones with a transitive feature, such IPs may incorporate object concords.² Note the following example:

- (20) Gama (ri ri xi BVÚU), xikukwana
 Subj (sc v oc id) obj
 aux
 lit. The eagle (it 'does' it SNATCH) the chicken
 i.e. (Meaning same as in (19) above.)

(Note that the oc in the IP syntactically comes immediately after the auxiliary verb -ri ('do') and immediately before the ideophone).

¹ Linguistically, features of a word, among other things, refer to the category into which the word belongs, e.g. whether it is a noun or a verb etc., as well as to its other properties such as singularity or plurality, transitivity or otherwise in the case of verbs, etc.

² *Vide* par. 3.1.1.4 (a), p.101 for discussion of the oc in the IP.

It was stated in par. 4.3, p. 145, that the IP, just like the VP, may be used as a predicative phrase. For this reason, it may be conjugated in the positive and negative forms in the different tenses and may syntactically be employed in

- (a) non-finite forms (or sub-moods), i.e.
the Infinitive and the Imperative;
- (b) finite or main moods, i.e.
the Indicative, the Dependent and the Potential;
- (c) qualificative constructions,
such as the Relative construction.

4.7.1 IPs in the non-finite forms (or sub-moods)

The IP is capable of being employed in non-finite forms, i.e. the Infinitive and the Imperative. In Bantu languages, these forms are regarded as non-finite (or sub-moods) because, as Cole (1975:235) maintains they "... never have subject concords."

4.7.1.1 (a) The infinitive IP

The ideophone in most cases is largely employed in the syntax of the Tsonga language after the infinitive form of -ri.¹ Note the following example:

- (22) Homu (yi ta ku (ri) PHÓMU), ematini
The ox will plunge into the water.

¹ *vide* par. 3.1.1.2, p. 81, for discussion on the infinitive form of -ri.

This infinitive form of the IP is encountered in different moods and tenses, for example, in the future tense of the Indicative Mood as in sentence (22) above, in clauses in the Dependent Mood,¹ etc. For this reason, it was found not feasible to make a special table to illustrate its use because it occurs in different moods and constructions.

4.7.1.1 (b) The infinitive IP as a substantive

However, the infinitive IP may function as a substantive. As such, it may take the following syntactical positions:

(i) As object of the verb, e.g.

- (23) Ndzi lava (ku (ri) BAA), switsanana
 Sc v (inf. IP) adv
 lit. I want (to 'do' LIE DOWN) slightly
 i.e. I want to lie down for a short while.

(ii) As complement of the verb, e.g.

- (24) Swa tsakisa (ku (ri) TLÚKWA!)
 Sc v (inf. IP)
 lit. It pleases (to 'do' JUMP)
 i.e. It is pleasant to jump.

Sentence (24) above may also have the following order:

- (25) (ku (ri) TLÚKWA!), swa tsakisa
 (inf. IP) sc v
 lit. (To 'do' JUMP) it pleases
 i.e. It is pleasant to jump.

¹ *Vide* app. 21, p.269.

4.7.1.1 (c) The infinitive IP and the verb stem -endla (do)

The idea expressed by any IP in any context may be expressed by the construction where the infinitive IP serves as object of the verb stem -endla (do). For example, sentence (18) above,

Homu (yi ri PHÓMU), ematini
(The ox plunges in the water)

may equally be expressed thus

(26) Homu yi endla (ku ri PHÓMU), ematini
Subj sc v (IP) loc. n
i.e. The ox it does (to 'do' plunge) the water.

However, this /-endla + infinitive IP/ construction is not generally employed in ideophonic predication, particularly in positive conjugations. Nevertheless, occasionally, one comes across it in certain alternative negative forms¹ as well as in certain passive constructions as will be demonstrated later, where ideophonic predication is involved.

4.7.1.2 (a) Syntax of the IP in the Imperative Mood

The IP may be employed in the imperative of the speaker-addressee type, i.e. where the speaker spells out a proposition to be carried out by the addressee. In this context, the addressee may be regarded as a vocative subject. However, there seem to be divergent opinions in linguistic circles whether or not to regard the vocative as the subject of the imperative predicate. For instance Doke (1955:167), writing on Zulu imperatives, states that "... no vocative may be used as subject of a sentence." On the other

¹ *Vide* app. 5, p.253.

hand, Young (1980:74), writing on English imperatives states as follows:

Whether Voc is a kind of subject or not (and of course it has things in common with subjects) is ultimately a matter of terminology and definition.¹

Coming to Tsonga, when the IP is used in the speaker-addressee imperative, it (the IP) embodies some kind of sc bearing reference to the addressee as will be illustrated subsequently. For this reason, the vocative will be regarded as some kind of subject in this study.

Positive conjugation

There are two versions of the auxiliary of the IP in the imperative.²

Version 1³

The auxiliary of the IP employs the sc of the absolute pronoun and not that of the noun which is used in apposition to the pronoun. Giving the version of the underlying structure of the example given in appendix 16, p. 264, will make this point of the sc of the absolute pronoun clearer; e.g.

(27)	(N'wina) ⁴	<u>Vafana</u>	(mi	nge	(ri)	<u>TLUKWA!</u>
	abs		(abs			
	pro		(pro	aux	aux	
	Subj	Subj	(sc	mo	v	id)
	Subject		IP			
	lit. You	the boys	(you	'do'		JUMP)
	i.e. Boys, <u>jump!</u>					

¹ 'Voc' in the quotation is an abbreviation of 'Vocative'.

² *Vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (c), p.93, for the morphology of the aux. of each of the versions.

³ *Vide* app. 16, p.264, for examples.

⁴ The absolute pronoun referring to the subject is always deleted in surface realisations.

(Note that the surface realisation is as in examples appearing in appendix 16, p. 264).

Version 2

Version 2 does not employ any sc of any kind because it employs the verb stem -endla (do) (or -endlani if plural subject) which is followed by the infinitive ideophone.¹

Note that when imperative predication is done by means of verbs in the positive, no sc of any kind is employed, e.g.

(N'wina)	<u>Vafana</u>	<u>/tlulani!/ /</u>
voc	voc	
(abs pro)	n	VP
(You)	boys	jump!

The sc of the abs. pro. only appears in the negative conjugation, e.g.

(N'wina)	<u>Vafana</u>	<u>/mi</u>	<u>nga</u>	<u>tluli/ /</u>
		abs		
		pro	neg	v
Voc	Voc	/sc	mo	neg /
lit. (You)	boys	you	don't	jump!
i.e.	Boys, don't jump!			

Negative conjugation

The negative conjugation has also two versions.²

Version 1

The constituent elements of the negative are the same as those of the

¹ *vide* app. 16, p.264, for examples.

² *vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (c), p.93, for structure of the auxiliary part of the IP in each version.

positive, the only difference is in the tone of the formative elements. This version needs an antithetic clause¹ in the positive as complement.

Version 2

The sc of the absolute pronoun referring to the subject is used. The main negating factor is the verb stem endla in its negative form, hence -endli.²

(b) The oc in the IP in the Imperative Mood

The oc, as well as the reflexive ti- and the adverbial ka-³ may also be incorporated in the IP in the Imperative and their position is immediately before the ideophone, i.e. after the auxiliary verb stem -ri, as in the Indicative Mood.⁴ Only one example with the oc will suffice, e.g.

- (28) Vafāna (mi ngē (ri) mā KHĪNDLA), makātlā
 abs
 pro aux aux
 Subj (sc mo v oc id) obj
 lit. Boys (you 'do' them SHRUG) the shoulders
 i.e. Boys, shrug your shoulders.

4.7.2 Syntax of the IP in the finite moods

4.7.2.1 Syntax of the IP in the Indicative Mood

The Indicative Mood is a mood used to state what is, has been or

¹ *Vide* app. 17, p. 265, for an example of an antithetic clause in this version of this mood.

² *Vide* app. 17, p. 265, for examples.

³ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.4, pp. 101-104, for discussion of the oc, the reflexive ti-, and the adverbial ka-.

⁴ *Vide* the following appendices for examples showing the position of these morphemes: app. 28, p. 276 for the oc; app. 31, p. 279 for the reflexive ti-; and app. 32, p. 280 for the adverbial ka-.

will be in the positive, or what is not, has not been and will not be in the negative. It may also be used to ask a question about a fact.

In reviewing the IP in the Indicative Mood, the plain IP¹ will be treated first and thereafter the IP which incorporates the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o, i.e. the -oIP.²

(a) Syntax of the plain IP in the Indicative Mood

Positive conjugation³

(i) Syntax of the IP in ordinary positive statements

The syntax of the IP as a predicative in ordinary statements in the Indicative Mood is basically as follows: Subject + Predicate, hence Subject + IP. Note the following examples:

(29) Xinyenyana (xi ri PHATSA!) (Present tns)

Subj (IP⁴)

(The bird perches itself)

(30) Tilo (ri te (ri) HATI!) (Past tns, perf. asp)

Subj (IP⁵)

(The lightning flashed)

(31) Nyama (yi ta ku (ri) MBVÉE!) (Future tns)

Subj (IP⁶)

(The meat will smell bad)

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (a)(i), p.82, for the concept 'plain IP'.

² *Vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (a)(ii), p.84, for the concept '-oIP'.

³ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (a)(i), p.82, for the morphology of the plain IP. Morphology in this context refers to the morphology of the auxiliary of the IP.

⁴ *Vide* app. 4, p.252, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

- (ii) The IP in the Indicative Mood may syntactically occur in subordinate constructions of co-ordination after certain non-influencing conjunctives,¹ e.g. hikuva (because), kasi (yet, though), kambe (but), etc.

(32) Homu leyi /ya vabya/ hikuva (yi ri KHWIJÍ...!)
 dem
 Subj pro / VP / conj (IP²)
 (This cow is sick because it limps)

(33) Tihanci teto /ta dladla/ kasi letiya (ti ri KÁPÁTSA...!)
 dem
 Subj, pro / VP / conj (subj) (IP³)
 (Those horses trot, yet those over there gallop)

(34) Gabaza /u ri a nga rili/ kambe (u ri MFÍKU!)
 Subj /VP and complement / but (IP⁴)
 (Gabaza says that she is not crying but she is sobbing)

- (iii) The IP in the Indicative Mood may syntactically be followed by Adjunct Phrases (APs) e.g. adverbs, locatives and instrumentals. Note the following examples:

(35) Xinyenyana (xi ri PHATSA), emurhini
 Subj (IP⁵) (AP)
 (The bird perches itself on the tree)

¹ Non-influencing conjunctives are conjunctives which do not make the clause they introduce subordinate to the main clause.

² *Vide* app. 4, p.252, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

- (36) Mufana (u te (ri) TUMBÉ), hi yindlu
 Subj (IP¹) (AP)
 (The boy hid himself behind the house)
- (37) Magezi (u ta ku (ri) TÚVI), ni mali ya wena
 Subj (IP²) (AP)
 (Magezi will disappear with your money)
- (iv) The IP may syntactically be used with interrogatives in the Indicative Mood where it is always followed by interrogative APs, such as the following adverbs: kwihi? (where?), rini? (when?), kangani? (how many times?), e.g.
- (38) Nyimpfu (yi ri MÉE), kwihi?
 Subj (IP³) (AP)
 (Where does the sheep bleat?)
- (39) Kondlo (ri te (ri) GUDLUGUDLU), kangani?
 Subj (IP⁴) (AP)
 (How many times did the rat rattle?)
- (40) Hosi (yi ta ku (ri) KAKATSUKU), rini?
 Subj (IP⁵) (AP)
 (When will the chief stand up?)

¹ *vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustrations of such IPs.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Negative conjugation

It should be stated outright that negative IPs are not a preferred feature among Tsonga speakers. Where the ideophone in any positive IP has a cognate verb, the negative form of this cognate verb is used instead. This applies to all IPs in all the moods and tenses. For example, the following positive statement

- (41) Wanuna (u ri KORHA!)
- Subj (IP¹)
- (The man bends forward)

would preferably be negated as follows:

- (42) Wanuna /a nga korhami/
- Subj /sc mo neg v
- VP .
- (The man does not bend forward)

-korhami, v. (not bending forward), negative form of -korhama, v. (bend forward), cognate verb of the ideophone korha! (of bending forward).

However, negative forms where the IP is involved are possible.

There are always two alternative forms of the negative where the IP is involved, i.e. alternatives A & B.

¹ *Vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

Alternative A¹

This is the alternative which employs the verb stem -endla (do) in its negative form, hence -endli (not do), depending on the tense.

N.B. This form of the negative (i.e. alternative A) is rather resorted to in case the ideophone has no cognate verb which can be employed instead.

Alternative B²

This form does not employ the verb stem -endla (do) in its negative form. In this alternative, the negative formative a- is placed at the beginning of the positive form. For example, from the present tense positive Indicative IP³ ... xi ri PHATSA! (it (bird) perches), one gets ... a xi ri PHATSA, (it 'does' not perch). However, this negative form needs a complement in the form of an antithetic⁴ IP in the positive, e.g. ... xi ri id (it 'does' id.). The antithetic IP should bear the ideophone the speaker claims to be the correct one, for example bu! (of dropping on the ground) in the case of examples in appendix 6, p.254.

¹ *Vide* app. 5, p.253, for examples.

² *Vide* app. 6, p.254, for examples.

³ *Vide* app. 4, p.252, for detailed examples.

⁴ The term 'antithetic' has been adopted to refer to the second clause in the positive conjugation because according to the Oxford Dictionary, the term 'antithetic', among other things, means 'contrasted.' In this instance, the antithetic clause, which is in the positive, contrasts with the first clause which is in the negative. (*Vide* app. 6, p.254, for examples.)

Uttering the negative form of the IP only, so to say leaves the utterance hanging and semantically results in a somewhat incomplete sentence. Consequently the sentence

- (43) Xinyenyana (a xi ri PHATSA), ...
 Subj (IP¹)
 (The bird does not perch itself)

although seemingly complete in the English translation, is not complete in Tsonga.

(b) Syntax of the -oIP² in the Indicative Mood

The syntax of the -oIP in the Indicative Mood differs from that of the plain IP³ of the same mood in that while the plain IP is used to state a plain fact, i.e. a fact without the connotation of restriction, the -oIP signifies restriction, i.e. it states that the subject performed no other action or is in no other state other than the one suggested by the -oIP. Another significant difference is that while the clause with the plain IP may be used independently, the -oIP always needs a complement clause, except where it expresses stative situations and protracted or continuous actions or processes. However, as far as the latter is concerned, this bears reference only to the present tense. In the other tenses, i.e. the past and future tenses, the -oIP must have a complement clause. The -oIP may be used in the following instances:

¹ *Vide* app. 6, p.254, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *Vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (ii), p.84, for the concept '-oIP'. Broadly speaking, the -oIP shall refer to all IP's incorporating the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o as well as the stative aspectual morpheme lo-.

³ The plain IP is the IP which does not incorporate the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o.

(N.B. Detailed syntax will be illustrated subsequently):

- (1) where it expresses protracted or continuous actions or processes;
- (2) where it implies restriction while expressing 'simply', 'merely' or 'just' with reference to ordinary actions, i.e. where it is used with non-inchoative ideophones;
- (3) where it expresses stative situations, i.e. where it is used with inchoative ideophones;
- (4) in the -o naIP¹ where it expresses 'as soon as';
- (5) in the complement clause² which follows the '-o na' clause.

(i) Syntax of the -oIP in the Indicative Mood where it expresses protracted or continuous actions or processes³

Positive conjugation

Present tense

The -oIP in such instances may be used independently, i.e. without a complement. The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o in the IP in these instances does not imply 'merely' or 'simply' or 'just', but that the subject is in a state of undergoing a process or is engaged in a protracted action at the time of speaking, e.g.

¹ *vide* app. 34, p.289, for the concept '-o naIP'.

² The complement clause of the '-o naIP' will be considered together with the '-o naIP' and not separately.

³ *vide* par. 2.3.4.2 (a) (1), p.48 and par. 3.1.2.2 (b) (i) (bb), p.116, for the type of ideophones used in IP's expressing protracted or continuous actions and processes.

- (44) Ngati (yo (ri) POPOPO ...!)
 Subj (-oIP¹)
 (The blood is in a state of flowing out profusely)
- (45) Xitofi (xo (ri) VIRI-VIRI ...!)
 Subj (-oIP²)
 (The stove is in a state of being very hot)

Past and future tenses

As stated above, unlike in the present tense, the -oIP expressing protracted or continuous actions in the past and future tenses needs a complement which is generally a clause in the Dependent Mood introduced by subordinating conjunctives such as loko (when). The complement clause may succeed or precede the -oIP. Note the following examples:

Past tense

- (46) Mati (a mo (ri) TÍTÍTÍ ...), loko /hina hi hlamba/
 Subj (-oIP³ Indic. md) conj / Dep. md /
 (The water was ice cold when we washed)
- (47) Loko /hi suka/, mpfula (a yo (ri) WAWAWA ...!)
 conj /Dep. md / subj (-oIP Indic. md)
 (When we left, it was raining very hard)

¹ *Vide* app. 7, p.255, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Future tense

- (48) Nambu (wu to (ri) HOBHOBO ...), loko mpfula /yo na/
 Subj (-oIP¹ Indic. md) conj / -oVP /
 Dep. md

(The river will overflow in case it rains)

- (49) Loko /ro xa/, mumu (wu to (ri) TŪWÁ-TŪWÁ ...!)
 conj / -oVP / subj (-oIP Indic. md)
 Dep. md

(The sun will be very hot should the sky clear)

Negative conjugation

The -oIP in this instance, like other forms of the IP in the Indicative Mood, has two alternative forms, A & B.²

Alternative A³

Note that the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o itself does not feature in the negative of this alternative.

Alternative B⁴

The restrictive aspectual morpheme is retained in the negative of this alternative. Note the antithetic clause with the supposed correct ideophone. The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o is also embodied in the antithetic clause.

¹ *Vide* app. 7, p.255, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *Vide* par. 4.7.2.1, p.159, for detailed discussion of the two alternative versions. The use of alternative A or B is governed by the preference of the different Tsonga speakers. At present it is not easy to discover why a speaker should prefer a particular alternative.

³ *Vide* app. 8, p.256, for examples.

⁴ *Vide* app. 9, p.257, for examples.

(ii) Syntax of the -oIP incorporating non-inchoative ideophones in the Indicative Mood expressing 'simply', 'merely' or 'just'

(aa) Where the -oIP is used unchanged

The -oIP incorporating non-inchoative ideophones in the Indicative Mood may be used with the dependent clause of condition as complement, introduced by the subordinating conjunctive loko (when) to express that the action 'simply', 'merely' or 'just' takes place. (N.B. In the present and future tenses, the -oIP in these instances expresses a habitual action). Note the following examples:

Present tense (Restrictive aspect)

- (50) Ngwenya (yo (ri) MBYAMBYA), ematini loko /yi vona munhu/
 Subj (-oIP¹ Indic. md) loc. n conj /VP Dep. md /
 (The crocodile simply becomes submerged into the water when it notices a person)

Future tense (Restrictive aspect)

- (51) Ngwenya (yi to (ri) MBYAMBYA), ematini loko /yi vona munhu/
 Subj (-oIP²) loc. n conj. /VP Dep. md /
 (The crocodile will simply become submerged into the water when it notices a person)

¹ *Vide* app. 7, p. 255, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *Ibid.*

(bb) Where the -oIP is in the form of a -loIP¹

The -loIP embodying non-inchoative ideophones may be used in the Indicative Mood implying restriction and not stativeness. However, this usage is confined to the past tense only. Note the following example:

- (52) Ngwenya (yi lo (ri) MBYAMBYA), ematini loko /yi vona munhu/
 Subj (-loIP²) loc. n conj / VP Dep. md /
 (The crocodile simply became submerged into the water when it noticed a person)

(iii) Syntax of the -oIP in the form of a -loIP used with inchoative ideophones to express stative situations

The -loIP embodying inchoative (stative) ideophones may be used in the Indicative Mood expressing a stative situation. Note the following examples:

Positive conjugationPresent tense (Stative aspect)

- (53) Manana (u lo (ri) G00!)
 Subj (-loIP³)
 (Mother has worn a dejected look)

¹ A -loIP is another form of the -oIP. It is an IP which incorporates the stative aspectual morpheme lo-. Although the -loIP incorporates the stative aspectual morpheme lo-, there are instances when this IP is not used to express stative situations. This is when it embodies non-inchoative ideophones. *Vide* app. 33A, par. 8, p.285, for the nature of the stative aspectual morpheme lo- as well as for establishing when it may be used in IP's incorporating inchoative and non-inchoative ideophones.

² *Vide* app. 10, p.258, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

³ *Ibid.*

Past tense (Imperfect and Stative aspects)

- (54) Manana (a a lo (ri) G00!)
 Subj (-loIP¹)
 (Mother had worn a dejected look)

Future tense (Stative aspect)

- (55) Manana (u ta va a lo (ri) G00!)
 Subj (-loIP²)
 (Mother will have worn a dejected look)

In most cases (not necessarily always), the -loIP may be followed by associative or agentive adverbial adjuncts.

Note the following examples:

Present tense (Stative aspect)

- (56) Nyoka (yi lo LULALULA), na khumbi
 Subj (IP) (AP)
 (The snake has lain parallel with the wall)

Past tense (Imperfect and Stative aspects)

- (57) Mbita yoleyo (a yi lo MPHA), na byalwa
 dem.
 Subj. pro (IP) (AP)
 (That pot had been full of beer)

¹ *vide* app. 10, p.258, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

² *Ibid.*

Future tense (Stative aspect)

- (58) Saka (ri ta va ri lo NTLWĪ), hi mihandzu
 Subj (IP) (AP)
 (The bag will have been full of fruit)

Negative conjugation of the -loIP

The -loIP has also two alternative forms, A & B.

Alternative A¹

The stative aspectual morpheme -lo- itself does not feature in this alternative of the negative form.

Alternative B²

This form needs an antithetic clause³ with a different ideophone as complement.

- (iv) Syntax of the '-o na'/'-lo na' IP⁴ in the Indicative Mood with an -oIP clause serving as its complement

The -o naIP is always followed by an -oIP (or -oVP) in the Indicative Mood as its complement. The '-o naIP' expresses as follows: 'as soon as the subject simply performs such and

¹ *vide* app. 11, p.259, for examples.

² *vide* app. 12, p.260, for examples.

³ *vide* par. 4.7.2.1 (a) (i), p. 159, alternative B, for the concept 'antithetic clause'.

⁴ *vide* app. 34, p. 289, for the concept '-o na' binding expression. N.B. The '-o na' and 'lo na' IP's shall be referred to as the '-o naIP' for the sake of convenience. It should just be remembered that the past tense forms use the 'lo na IP'.

such an action', then the complement clause completes the idea by expressing as follows: 'the subject thereafter simply/merely/just performs such and such an action'. Note the following examples:

Positive conjugation

Present tense

- (59) Ximanga (xo na ku (ri) N'ÁWÚ), mbyana (yo (ri) HÚU!)
 Subj (-o naIP¹), subj (-oIP)
 (As soon as the cat simply mews, the dog simply barks)

Past tense

- (60) Ximanga (xi lo na ku (ri) N'ÁWÚ), mbyana (yo (ri) HÚU!)
 Subj (-lo naIP²), subj (-oIP)
 (As soon as the cat simply mewed, the dog simply barked)

Future tense

- (61) Ximanga (xi to na ku (ri) N'ÁWÚ), mbyana (yo (ri) HÚU!)
 Subj (-o naIP³), subj (-oIP)
 (As soon as the cat will simply mew, the dog will simply bark)

The -o naIP's and VP's may interact without loss of grammaticality or significant semantic difference. Compare the following examples which convey exactly the same idea:

¹ *vide* app. 13, p. 261, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

No. 1

- (62) Mudyondzisi (u lo na ku GAA),
 Subj. (-o naIP Indic. md)

lit. The teacher (as soon as he had simply appeared)

No. 2

(a ku va NHWÍÍ),
 (IP Dep. md)

(he stared at them)

No. 3

(vo tsutsuma)
 (-oVP Indic. md)

(they simply ran away)

i.e. As soon as the teacher simply appeared and stared at them they simply ran away.

No. 1

- (63) Mudyondzisi (u lo na fika)
 Subj. (-o naVP, Indic. md)

lit. The teacher (as soon as he had simply arrived)

No. 2

(a va languṭa),
 (VP Dep. md)

(he looked at them)

No. 3

(vo BAMFÉE!)
 (-oIP Indic. md)

(they simply scattered)

i.e. As soon as the teacher simply arrived and looked at them they simply scattered.

Negative conjugation of the -o naIP¹

The -o naIP, like other forms of the IP in the Indicative Mood, has two alternative forms of the negative conjugation, i.e. A & B.²

Alternative A³

The -oIP clause which serves as complement of the -o naIP may be

¹ Cf. footnote 4, p.167.

² *vide* par. 4.7.2.1, p.159, for detailed discussion of the two alternative versions.

³ *Vide* app. 14, p.262, for examples.

in the positive form, hence ... yo (ri) id,¹ or in the negative form, e.g. ... yo kala yi nga endli ku (ri) id.²

Alternative B³

The negative -o naIP in this instance is followed by a positive -oIP clause which, according to the speaker, embodies an ideophone which gives his/her audience a wrong impression. The speaker may follow this supposed 'wrong clause' with the interjective e-e! (no), to emphasise his/her point of view. Thereafter, the speaker has to utter the antithetic clause⁴ embodying the ideophone the speaker claims to be giving the correct impression. The antithetic clause in this instance incorporates the -oIP and serves as complement of the -o naIP. It is very common for the positive -o naIP and its -oIP complement, i.e. its antithetic clause, to act as an antithetic unit⁵ of the -o naIP -oIP negative clause as in clauses Nos. 3 and 4 in the following example:

¹ *Vide* app. 14, p.262, clause No. 2.

² *Ibid.*, clause No. 3, i.e. the clause appearing after double bars. Note that it is more or less similar to clause No. 1.

³ *Vide* app. 15, p.263, for examples.

⁴ The concept 'antithetic clause' is discussed fully in par. 4.7.2.1 (a) p.159, alternative B.

⁵ It is termed the antithetic unit because both the -o naIP and the -oIP are jointly used as antithetic clauses.

- (64) Mpfundla (a wu lo na ku (ri) DLÍTI), (wo (ri) DZIRÍBYÁÁ),
 Subj (-o naIP-neg) (-oIP-comp1)
 lit. The hare (not it simply as soon as (it simply 'do' stand
 to 'do' stop) (upright)

antithetic unit

$$\overbrace{\text{e-e, (wu lo na ku (ri) DLÍTI), (wo (ri) CHÓLA!)}}^{\text{antithetic unit}}$$
 (-o naIP-pos) (-oIP-pos)
 no, (it merely as soon as (it simply disappeared
stopped suddenly) into the bush)

- i.e. The hare did not simply stand upright when it merely stopped suddenly, it simply disappeared into the thicket.

Note that the ideophone expressing the supposed wrong action is not in the -o naIP, of clause No. 1, but in its complement, i.e. in clause No. 2. Note also that the alleged correct ideophone appears in the complement of the antithetic unit,¹ and not in the positive of the -o naIP.²

4.7.2.2 IP in the Dependent Mood

The IP in the Dependent Mood always occurs as a subordinate clause of the clause in the Indicative Mood.

Positive conjugation

- (a) The IP in the Dependent Mood may come after the clause in the Indicative Mood, e.g.

¹ Clause No. 4 in sentence (64) above.

² Clause No. 3 in sentence (64) above.

- (65) Mhunti (yi ri TLUKWA), (yi ku (ri) JAJA!)
 Subj (IP¹ Indic. md), (IP² Dep. md)
 (The buck springs forward and lands down)

(b) Sometimes a string of clauses in the Dependent Mood may follow a clause in the Indicative Mood to signify consecutive actions, e.g.

- (66) Nhongo (yi te (ri)⁽¹⁾ BULUMUKU), (yi ku (ri)⁽²⁾ HALÁHALA),
 Subj (Indic. md), (Dep. md)
 (The kudu antelope woke up with a start, looked hither and thither,
(yi ku (ri)⁽³⁾ NHÁBYA), (yi ku (ri)⁽⁴⁾ CHÓLA!)
sprang forward and disappeared into the thicket)

(c) The conjunctive avuya/ivi (and then) may be used to join consecutive IPs in the Dependent Mood; hence sentence (66) above may also appear as follows:

- (67) Nhongo (yi te (ri) BULUMUKU), ivi (yi ku (ri) HALÁHALA),
 (Indic. md) (Dep. md)
 (The kudu antelope woke up with a start and then looked hither and
 thither
ivi (yi ku (ri) NHÁBYA), ivi (yi ku (ri) CHÓLA!)
 (Dep. md) (Dep. md)
and then it leaped forward, and then disappeared into the thicket)

¹ *Vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *Vide* app. 21, p. 269, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

(d) The IP in the Dependent Mood may serve as complement of certain deficient verbs, e.g.

(68) N'wana loyi o tshamela (ku (ri) THUKWA!)
 def. v (IP Dep. md)

(This child keeps on startling)

(69) /U yi bile/ yi kondza (yi ku (ri) KHUVAXAXA!)
 /VP Indic. md/ def. v (IP Dep. md)

(He beat it until it collapsed)

(e) The IP in the Dependent Mood may occur after certain subordinating conjunctives. Note the following examples:

(70) Mudyondzisi /u lava/ leswaku vafana (va ku (ri) KWAVAA!)
 Subj /VP Indic. md/ conj (IP Dep. md ¹)

(The teacher requires that the boys lie on their stomachs)

(71) /Va n'wi miyetile/ loko (a ku (ri) TÓKÓLO!)
 / VP Indic. md / (IP Dep. md)

(They quietened him when he tried to speak)

(f) The IP in the Dependent Mood may interrupt the -o naIP² and its complement. Note the following example:

¹ *Vide* app. 21, p.269, positive conjugation, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *Vide* sentence (60), p.168, for the -o naIP and its complement.

- (72) Ximanga (xi lo na ku N'ÁWÚ), mbyana (yi ku (ri) xi KÉLU),
 Subj (-o naIP), subj. (sc ^{aux} v oc id),
 () (IP Dep. md)

(As soon as the cat simply mewed, and the dog saw it,

(yo (ri) HÚU!)

(-oIP complement)

()

it (the dog) simply barked)

Negative conjugations:

The negative conjugations, like positive ones, also occur after the clause in the Indicative Mood. Note the following example:

- (73) /Ndzi ta celela/ mhandzi (yi nga endli ku (ri) TSEKÁ-TSÊKÁ ...!)
 /VP Indic. md / object (neg. IP¹ Dep. md)
 (I will firmly plant the pole that it no longer sways to and fro)

4.7.2.3 IP in the Potential Mood

The IP may occur in the Potential Mood. The IP in this mood may be plain² or may incorporate the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o.³

Positive conjugation

(a) Plain IP

- (i) The IP in the Potential Mood may occur where the mood is used to make a main expressive statement of ability, e.g.

¹ *vide* app. 21, p.269, negative conjugation, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (i), p.82, for the concept plain IP.

³ *vide* app. 33A, par. 7, pp.284-285, for the concept 'restrictive aspectual -o morpheme'.

- (74) Mpfundla (wu nga ku (ri) TLUKWA!)
 Subj (IP Pot. md ¹)

(The hare can jump)

- (ii) The IP in the Potential Mood may also occur where this mood is used with a clause in the Dependent Mood to produce a conditional construction. The dependent clause in such instances is commonly introduced by the subordinating conjunctive loko (when) with a conditional connotation 'if'. The dependent clause may incorporate an IP or a VP. Note the following example:

- (75) Tandza (ri nga ku (ri) BULU),loko /ri oxiwa/
 Subj (IP Pot. md) conj./VP Dep. md /
 (The egg can (may) burst if it is roasted)

The dependent clause in such instances also usually incorporates the restrictive aspectual morpheme -o in such conditional constructions. Note the following example:

- (76) Vana (va nga ku (ri) BAMFÉ),loko mudyondzisi (o (ri) GAA!)
 Subj (IP Pot. md) conj subj (-oIP Dep. md)
 (The children can run into all directions if the teacher can simply suddenly appear)

(b) -oIP

The -oIP is employed very much in the Potential Mood to express that the subject 'can simply/merely perform such and such an action'. This form of the Potential Mood mostly appears in

¹ *vide* app. 18, p. 266, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

conditional constructions. The -oIP in such cases is always followed by an -oIP in the dependent clause. Syntactically, the general tendency is for the dependent clause to appear first.

Note the following example:

(77) Loko (wo (ri) xi KANYÁ), (xi ngo (ri) PHÓÓ!)
 aux Pot. aux
 Conj (sc-o v oc id), (oc mo v id)
 (-oIP Dep. md) (-oIP Pot. md)

lit. If (you 'do' it STEP ON), (it can 'do' BREAK)
 /merely /merely

i.e. If you merely step on it, it can simply break.

Negative conjugation

There are also two alternative forms, A & B, of the negative of this single form of the Potential Mood.

Alternative A¹

This alternative has two versions.

Alternative B²

Alternative B uses the negative of the verb stem -kota (be able), hence -koti (unable).

Negative IPs in the Potential Mood may also be used in conjunction with dependent clauses (either in the positive or negative form) to produce conditional constructions, e.g.

¹ *vide* app. 19, p.267, for examples.

² *vide* app. 20, p.268, for examples.

- (78) Mpfundla (wu nge endli ku (ri) TLUKWA), loko munhu (a ku (ri) wu GĪ!)
 Subj (Pot. md (neg)) conj subj (Dep. md)
 (The hare cannot jump if a person grips it)

4.8 The IP in qualificative constructions

The IP may occur in the following qualificative constructions:

- (a) the relative construction;
- (b) the possessive construction brought into relative relationship with its antecedent.

4.8.1 The IP in the Relative Clause¹

The IP occurs in the Relative Clause mainly as a predicative phrase of the antecedent of this clause. It is always in the Dependent Mood.

(N.B. The relative clauses for 1st and 2nd persons are reviewed differently from those of other noun classes because of the difference in the formative elements.)²

(a) Relative Clauses in classes 1 & 2³

(N.B. Both positive and negative examples are considered. Only examples in the present tense are given in these instances).

(b) Relative Clauses in other noun classes⁴

¹ *vide* app. 22, p.270, for examples.

² *vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (e), p.95, for discussion of the differences in these morphemes.

³ *vide* app. 22, p.270, for examples in the positive conjugation and app. 23, p.271, in the negative conjugation.

⁴ *vide* app. 24, p.272 (positive), and app. 25, p.273 (negative), for examples in the three main tenses in both cases.

4.8.2 The IP in the Possessive Construction brought into relative relationship with its antecedent¹

The IP may also occur in the Relative Construction in the infinitive form. In such instances the infinitive ideophone serves as base of the Possessive Construction incorporated in the Relative Clause.

4.9 Syntax of the IP incorporating the oc, the reflexive ti- and the adverbial ka-

The oc, the reflexive ti- and the adverbial ka- may appear with ideophones in any mood. However, examples will be confined to the Indicative Mood only.

4.9.1 The oc in the IP²

Transitive IPs may take objects. In such instances the oc is incorporated in the IP. Its position is always immediately before the ideophone after the auxiliary verb stem -ri.³

4.9.2 The reflexive ti- in the IP⁴

The IP may embody the reflexive morpheme ti- to signify that the action suggested by the ideophone is directed towards the subject itself. This morpheme is positioned after the verb stem -ri immediately before the

¹ *vide* app. 26, p. 274, for examples in the positive conjugation and app. 27, p. 275, for examples in the negative conjugation.

² *vide* app. 28, p. 276, for examples in the positive conjugation, and app. 29, p. 277 (alternative A) and app. 30, p. 278 (alternative B), for examples in the negative conjugation.

³ *vide* par. 3.1.1.4 (a), pp. 101-102, on morphology of the aux. of the IP incorporating an oc.

⁴ *vide* app. 31, p. 279, for examples.

ideophone.¹

4.9.3 The adverbial ka- in the IP²

Certain IPs with ideophones referring to repeated actions may incorporate the adverbial morpheme ka-.³ The ideophone together with this morpheme is generally uttered more than once to signify the repetition of the action.

4.10 IP and VP with the same grammatical subject⁴

The IP and the VP may be used simultaneously, syntactically being governed by the same grammatical subject. In such instances, the IP generally follows the VP, but not necessarily. The first predicate in most cases is in the Indicative Mood, but sometimes it may be in the Potential Mood. The second predicative, i.e. the one following, may either be in the Indicative or in the Dependent Mood, depending on the intention of the speaker.

4.10.1 Simultaneous use of VP and IP both in the same mood (Indicative Mood)

If the intention of the speaker is to express definiteness, i.e. to express the fact that the subject performs/performed/or will perform the

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.4 (b), p.103, on morphology of the aux. incorporating the reflexive ti-.

² *Vide* app. 32, p.280, for examples.

³ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.4 (c), p.104, on morphology of the aux. of the IP incorporating the adverbial ka-.

⁴ Lyons (1977:504, Vol. 2), defining the grammatical subject, states as follows: "... the grammatical subject of a sentence may be identified as the nominal which determines verbal concord ...".

action while at the same time he/she (the speaker) 'exemplifies'¹ the action by the use of the IP in the second simultaneous predicate, this second predicate will be in the Indicative Mood and in the tense of the first predicate. Note the following examples:

(79) Mpfundla /wa tlula/, (wu ri TLÚKWA!)

Subj / VP /, (IP²)

lit. The hare /it jumps/, (it 'does' JUMP)

i.e. The hare jumps.

(80) Ngoti /yi tsemekile/, (yi te (ri) TLHÍBU!)

Subj / VP /, (IP³)

lit. The rope /it has snapped/, (it has 'done' SNAP)

i.e. The rope has snapped.

(81) Mbita /yi ta fayeka/ (yi ta ku (ri) CAKÁ!)

Subj / VP / (IP⁴)

lit. The pot /it will break / (it will to 'do' BREAK)

i.e. The pot will break.

4.10.2 Simultaneous use of VP and IP each in a different Mood

In this case, if the intention of the speaker is to express a probability, i.e. to state the possibility that the subject may perform such and such an action, then the second simultaneous predicate will be in the Dependent Mood. The first predicate may be in the Indicative or Potential

¹ *Vide* app. 35, p. 291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

² *Vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Mood. Note the following examples:

VP (Indic. md) + IP (Dep. md)

- (82) Moya /wa hahlula/ lwangu/ (wu ku (ri) ri HAHLU!)
 Subj /VP Indic. md/ obj / (IP¹ Dep. md)
 lit. The wind /it blows away/ the roof/ (it to 'do' it BLOW)
 i.e. The wind is capable of blowing away the roof.

- (83) Tolo mpfula /a yi na/ (yi ku (ri) HÚU!)
 Adv subj / VP² / (IP³)
 lit. Yesterday, the rain /was it raining/ (it to 'do' RAIN HEAVILY)
 i.e. Yesterday it was raining heavily.

- (84) Tandza /ri ta buluka/ (ri ku (ri) BÚLU!)
 Subj / VP / (IP⁴)
 lit. The egg /it will burst/ (it to 'do' BURST)
 i.e. The egg will burst.

VP (Pot. md.) + IP (Dep. md.)

- (85) Mhandzi /yi nga tshoveka/ (yi ku (ri) PFÍTLA!)
 Subj / VP / (IP⁵)
 lit. The pole /it can break / (it to 'do' BREAK)
 i.e. The pole may break.

¹ *Vide* app. 21, p. 269, for detailed illustration of the IP.

² The VP is in the past continuous tense.

³ *Vide* app. 21, p. 269, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

VP (Pot. md.) + IP (Pot. md.)

The IP following the VP in the Potential Mood may also be in the Potential Mood if the speaker expresses definiteness that the action can happen, especially in clauses of condition,¹ e.g.

- (86) Loko /xo ndzi landza/ /ndzi nga xi makala/
 conj / oVP² // VP /
 lit. If /she me follow // I can her clap /
 i.e. If she simply follows me, I can clap her.

(ndzi nga ku (ri) xi MÁÁ), hi mpama
 (IP³) AP
 (I can to 'do' her CLAP) by an open hand

It should be noted that semantically, the VP and the IP are synonymous in such simultaneous usages. This syntactic phenomenon is one of the grammatical characteristics of Tsonga. In such usages, the VP serves to state the action and the IP serves to 'exemplify' or 'dramatise' the action suggested by the VP. The simultaneous use of the VP and the IP lends emphasis to the utterance.

4.11 Complements and adjuncts of IP's

Lyons (1969:345) defines a complement as "... any word or phrase (other than the verb itself) which is an obligatory constituent of the

¹ *Vide* par. 4.7.2.1 (b) (ii) (aa), p.164, for clauses of condition.

² VP in Dependent Mood where *sc* incorporates the restrictive aspectual -o morpheme.

³ *Vide* app. 18, p.266.

predicate." He (1969:344) defines an adjunct as "... a 'modifier' attached to a 'head', upon which it is dependent and from which it can be 'detached' without any consequent change in the sentence ...". In short, a complement is an obligatory constituent and an adjunct an optional constituent of a sentence.

4.11.1 IPs and complements

There are a few ideophones in IPs which need complements just like certain verbs used somewhat deficiently like e.g. the verb -lava (want) as in

- (87) Ndzi lava ku hlanta
 lit. I want to vomit
 i.e. I feel nauseous

In the case of IPs, however, it is not clear whether they are used deficiently or not, but they require a complement all the same. The complement may be a VP clause in the Dependent Mood or a verbal infinitive. However, ideophones used in such IPs are not many. So far, only the following were established:

- KHÓÓ! (of doing something persistently)
KOMPFA! (same meaning as KHÓÓ)

Clause in the Dependent Mood as complement of an IP

e.g.

- (88) (Ndzi lo (ri) KHÓÓ), /ndzi lapa/ hembe leyi
 (IP Indic. md¹) /VP Dep. md / obj dem. pro
 lit. (I have 'done' KHÓÓ) / I mend / shirt this
 i.e. I took pains to mend this shirt.

¹ *Vide* app. 10, p. 258, for illustrations of such an IP.

Verbal infinitive as complement of an IP

e.g.

- (89) Vavasati (va lo (ri) KOMPFÁ), /ku rima/ mintanga
 Subj (IP¹ Indic. md) /VP Dep. md / obj
 lit. The women (they have 'done' KOMPFÁ) to cultivate gardens
 i.e. The woman are very busy cultivating gardens.

4.11.2 IPs and Adjuncts

Certain IPs may be modified by adverbs or adjunct phrases (APs).²

IP's followed by adverbs

e.g.

- (90) Tihomu (ti ri DLADLADLA ...), khwatsi
 Subj (IP³ Indic. md) adv
 lit. The cattle (they 'do' TROT) slowly
 i.e. The cattle trot slowly.
- (91) Ndzilo (wu ri DYADYADYA ...), ngopfu
 Subj (IP⁴) adv
 lit. The fire (it 'does' FLAME) much
 i.e. The fire flames very much.

¹ *Vide* app. 10, p. 258, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

² An Adjunct Phrase (AP) is a group of words used as an adverb, e.g. hi mukhuva wolowo (in that manner).

³ *Vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

⁴ *Ibid.*

4.11.3 IPs and Adjunct Phrases (APs)

e.g.

Agentive AP

- (92) Mbita (yi lo (ri) MPHA), hi mati
 Subj (IP¹ Indic. md) AP
 lit. The pot (it has 'done' FULL) by water
 i.e. The pot is full of water.

Connective AP

- (93) N'wana (u lo (ri) PYI), ni/na marhimila
 Subj (IP² Indic. md) AP
 lit. The child (it has 'done' OVER-SOILED) with mucus
 i.e. The child is over-soiled with mucus.

4.12 Movement³ of the IP within the sentence

By movement of the IP is meant the shifting around of the IP in the sentence as a result of which it (IP) may appear initially, medially or finally in relation to the other constituents of the sentence. Although the IP is capable of occupying various positions in the sentence, its most basic position is after the grammatical subject as in the following sentence:

¹ *Vide* app. 10, p.258, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

² *Ibid.*

³ The moving around of constituents in Tsonga sentences is a general phenomenon. In such instances, what the speaker chooses to place first in the sentence is usually what he/she intends to emphasize.

(94) Mpfundla (wu ri THÁMU), hi rivilo
 Subj (IP¹) AP

lit. The hare (it 'do' SPRING FORWARD) by speed
 i.e. The hare springs forward speedily.

4.12.1 Movement of IP without object

A number of versions of sentence (94) above are possible as the result of the movement of the IP. Here follow two examples:

(94b) (Wu ri THÁMU), hi rivilo mpfundla
 (IP) AP subj

lit. (It 'do' SPRING FORWARD) by speed the hare
 i.e. The hare springs forward speedily.

(94c) Hi rivilo (wu ri THÁMU), mpfundla
 AP (IP) subj

lit. Speedily (it 'do' SPRING FORWARD) the hare

4.12.2 Movement of the IP which takes the object

Where the IP takes an object as in sentence (95a) below with the basic sequence, i.e.

(95a) Mbyana (yi ri n'wi KABVÚU), wanuna hi ku hatlisa
aux
 (sc v oc id)
 Subj (IP²) obj AP

lit. The dog (it 'does' him BITE) the man, by to speed, i.e. quickly
 i.e. The dog quickly bites the man.

¹ *Vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *Vide* app. 28, p. 276, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

4.12.3.1 Movement of the IP in the split¹ IP with no object

By definition, a split IP is an IP where its elements are separated and positioned apart from each other in the sentence, and other constituents positioned between them. It was stated in par. 4.3, p.145, that the IP is a syntactic constituent or category structurally consisting of the auxiliary² and the ideophone as in the following sentence where the IP assumes its basic position:

(96a) Mpfundla (wu ri THÁMU), hi rivilo
 Subj (IP³) AP

lit. The hare (it 'does' SPRING FORWARD) by speed, i.e. quickly
 i.e. The hare springs forward quickly.

During the process of the movement of the IP, the auxiliary and the ideophone may split and other constituents positioned between them. Note the following examples:

(96b) Mpfundla (wu ri) hi rivilo THÁMU!
 Subj AUX AP id

lit. The hare, it 'does', with speed, SPRING FORWARD

¹ The term 'split' is adopted from Young (1980:29). Young uses this term to refer to the separation of elements of the predicator in constructions such as the following: Is (the boy) coming? (the underlined are elements of the split predicator).

² The auxiliary is abbreviated with capital letters thus (AUX) when it is considered in its entirety, i.e. with all its grammatical morphemes, to distinguish it from the aux v. stem -ri.

³ *vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

(96c) (Wu ri) hi rivilo mpfundla THÁMU!
 AUX AP subj id

lit. It 'does', with speed, the hare, SPRING FORWARD

(96d) (Wu ri) hi rivilo THÁMU, mpfundla
 AUX AP id subj

lit. It 'does', with speed, SPRING FORWARD, the hare

(96e) Hi rivilo (wu ri) mpfundla THÁMU!
 AP AUX subj id

lit. With speed, it 'does', the hare, SPRING FORWARD

A very important point to be noted is that whenever the IP is split, the AUX during the shifting around should syntactically always appear first and the ideophone thereafter, no matter what number of constituents, i.e. syntactic categories, come between the two. Hence the following sentence is ungrammatical

(96f) *Mpfundla THÁMU hi rivilo (wu ri)
 Subj id AP AUX

The hare, SPRING FORWARD, with speed, it 'does'

since the AUX is syntactically positioned after the ideophone.

4.12.3.2 Movement of the IP in a split IP which takes an object

A split IP is also possible in the processes of the movement of the IP where the IP takes an object. An interesting point to note is that the oc is positioned with the ideophone in such instances.¹ (N.B. The

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.4 (a), p.101.

principle of the AUX syntactically appearing before the ideophone also maintains in these instances). Note the following sentence with the basic sequence of the IP:

- (97a) Nyoka (yi ri n'wi GÓ), mufana, enengeni
 Subj (IP¹) obj indirect obj
 lit. The snake (it 'do' him STRIKE) the boy on the foot
 i.e. The snake strikes the boy on the foot.

A few examples of possible versions as the result of the movement of the IP in the sentence (97a) above are as follows: (N.B. The principle of the AUX syntactically appearing before the ideophone should be maintained.)

- (97b) (Yi ri) nyoka mufana enengeni n'wi GÓ!
 AUX subj obj indirect obj oc id
 lit. It does, the snake, the boy, on the foot, him STRIKE

- (97c) Mufana (yi ri) enengeni n'wi GÓ, nyoka
 Obj AUX indirect obj oc id subj
 lit. The boy, it 'does' on the foot, him STRIKE, the snake

Although the oc is positioned with the ideophone where the IP is split, the tendency is for the oc to be omitted in such instances. So sentence (97b) may appear in the following form:

- (97d) (Yi ri) nyoka mufana enengeni GÓ!
 AUX subj obj indirect obj id
 lit. It 'do' the snake, the boy, on the foot, STRIKE

¹ *vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

4.13 Deletion of the auxiliary of the IP in surface realisations

4.13.1 Deletion of the auxiliary in the IP without object

One other unique characteristic of the IP is that its entire auxiliary may be deleted in surface realisations, leaving the ideophone to occur alone in surface syntactic constructions. This unique characteristic is in sharp contrast with its counterpart, the VP (and its verb stem) which can never do away with its subject concord in the process of its predication in the main moods. The following sentence with the simultaneous VP and IP is cited for illustrative purposes, e.g.

- (98a) Hembe leyi /yi basile/ (yi lo (ri) PÁÁ!)
- Subj dem. / VP / (IP¹)
- lit. Shirt this /it has whitened/ (it has 'done' SNOW WHITE)
- i.e. This shirt is snow white.

The AUX of the IP, i.e. yi lo (ri), in this instance may be deleted in surface realisations, and sentence (98a) may appear in the following form:

- (98b) Hembe leyi /yi basile/ (PÁÁ!)
- Subj dem. / VP / (id.-contracted IP)
- lit. Shirt this /it has whitened/ (SNOW WHITE)
- i.e. This shirt is snow white.

Syntactically, where the IP deletes the auxiliary part in surface realisations as in sentence (98b) above, it may overtly seem as if the ideophone serves the same role as the adverb. In Tsonga, this is not so. The underlying

¹ *Vide* app. 10, p. 258, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

structure (sentence 98a) shows that the verb and the ideophone are generated from two different sources and consequently belong to two different underlying constructions.

It may make this point clearer if sentence (98b) above is compared with sentence (99) below, where an adverb, e.g. ngopfu (much) occurs exactly in the same position as the id. páá! (snow white) in sentence (98b) above:

- (99) Hembe leyi /yi basile/ ngopfu
 dem.
 Subj pro / VP / adv
 lit. Shirt this /it has whitened/ much
 i.e. This shirt is snow white.

While it is possible in sentences (98a) and (98b) above to replace the VP yi basile (it has whitened) by the IP yi lo (ri) PÁÁ! (it is snow white) and still get a grammatical sentence, hence

- (100) Hembe leyi (yi lo (ri) PÁÁ!)
 dem.
 Subj pro (IP¹)
 i.e. This shirt is snow white,

the adverb ngopfu (much) in sentence (99) above cannot replace the VP yi basile (it is white) in the same manner as the IP yi lo (ri) PÁÁ! (it is snow white) does. For example, the sentence

- (101) *Hembe leyi yi --- ngopfu
 dem.
 Subj pro sc --- adv
 lit. Shirt this it --- much
 i.e. This shirt --- much

is ungrammatical in that it has no predicate.

¹ *Vide* app. 10, p. 258, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

It should be emphasized however that in Tsonga, where the VP and the IP are used simultaneously governed by the same grammatical subject and semantically referring to the same action as in sentence (98a) above, it is very uncommon to delete the auxiliary of the IP as in sentence (98b) above. The general tendency is to use the form as in sentence (98a) above. Deletion of the auxiliary is common where a series of IPs is used in consecutive constructions such as those in sentence (66), p.172, above.

4.13.2 Deletion of the auxiliary in the IP which takes the object

When the auxiliary is deleted, the general tendency is for the oc to be deleted as well. Hence with the auxiliary and the oc deleted, the sentence in appendix 28, p.276, may appear in this form:

(102) Gama BVÚÚ, xikukwana
 Subj id obj

lit. The eagle SNATCH the chicken.

4.13.3 The Principle of deletion in consecutive constructions

The principle of deleting the auxiliary in the IP is also applicable where IPs are employed. However, this is not done haphazardly. Auxiliaries of IPs in the Dependent Mood may all be deleted, but the auxiliary of the first IP in the Indicative Mood may not be deleted. Its deletion renders the so-called consecutive construction tenseless and hence incapable of communicating. With the auxiliaries deleted, the surface realisations of e.g. sentence (66), p.172, above may appear as follows:

(103) Nhongo (yi te (ri) BULUMUKÚ), (HÁLÁHALA),
 Subj (Indic. md) (id)

The kudu antelope woke up with a start, looked hither and thither

(NHÁBYA), (CHÓLA!)
 (id) (id)

sprang forward, (and) disappeared into the thicket.

4.13.4 Deletion of the auxiliary and determining the mood of the clause

It is evident that with the auxiliary deleted, the mood and the tense of the clause may be difficult to determine. Deletion of the auxiliary is only possible in the Indicative and Dependent Moods mainly in clauses involved in the narration of consecutive actions. It occurs within the context of a discourse and it is this context which determines the mood and the tense of these types of clauses. For example, a clause (or clauses) with a deleted auxiliary may come after a clause (or clauses) in the Indicative Mood which should have its complete IP¹ or VP in a definite tense. Here follows an example of a brief narration of a collision between a lorry and a private car. The mood (and where necessary, its tense) is parenthesized:

(104a)

(i) Tolo movha na lori swi chayisanile. (Indic. md, past tns, perf. asp)

(ii) Lori yi lo na ku JIKÍTÍ, yo NDZÍRÍ, (Indic. md, past tns, restr. asp)

(iii) kasi ku ta movha wu lo NSWÚU; (Indic. md, present tns)²

¹ 'Complete IP' refers to the IP whose AUX is not deleted.

² During narration in Tsonga, sentences which come after conjunctives of co-ordination may be in the present tense (generally known as the historical present tense), even if the opening clauses have set the discourse in the past tense. This does not spoil the text as long as the mood and tense of the operative clause or clauses have been set in the past tense.

- (iv) movha lori KHÚÚ, (Dep. or Indic. md, past tns, perf. asp)¹
 (v) movha PINYULUKU, (" " " " " " " ")
 (vi) egoveni HOJOMÚ, (" " " " " " " ")
 (vii) lori GÉNU, (" " " " " " " ")
 (viii) ritshuri MPÓTI, (" " " " " " " ")

Note that clauses (i) and (ii) in (104a) above set the passage in the Indicative Mood, past tns, perf. asp. Clause (i) has a VP predicate, i.e. /swi chayisanile/ (have collided) and (ii) has two clauses with IP predicates i.e. (yi lo na ku JIKÍTÍ) (as soon as it turned) and (yo NDZÍRÍ) (it stopped). Deletion of auxiliaries of the IP's occurs in clauses (iv) to (viii).

Translation of (104a)

Here follows the translation of the clauses in the text (104a) above. Each clause with an IP is translated literally and the Tsonga ideophone is included with its meaning given, followed by a free translation of the clause where necessary. This is an attempt to recreate in English the atmosphere created by the use of Tsonga ideophones in the Tsonga text.

(104b) (i) Yesterday car and lorry collided.

(ii) Lorry it has as soon as to 'do' JIKÍTÍ (of turning) it simply 'do' NDZÍRÍ (of stopping)

i.e. As soon as the lorry turned it stopped,

(iii) yet to come car it has 'done' NSWÚÚ (of speeding)

i.e. yet a car was coming in great speed;

(iv) car lorry KHÚÚ (of hitting against)

i.e. the car collided with the lorry

¹ Clauses (iv) to (viii) may be in the Dependent Mood or in the Indicative Mood, depending on the speaker's choice of the auxiliaries should he/she intend using them. The tendency, however, will be to use the Dependent Mood.

- (v) car PINYULUKU (of rolling over several times),
i.e. the car rolled over several times
- (vi) in the valley HOJOMÚ (of falling into)
i.e. the car fell into the valley
- (vii) lorry GĒNU (of overturning)
i.e. the lorry overturned
- (viii) dust MPÓTI (of raising e.g. dust or noise)
i.e. a storm of dust was raised.

Deletion of the auxiliary of the IP in clauses lends the narration a commentary style. It also vivifies the narration and helps the audience to 'see' the incidents so that they seem as if they were happening before their eyes.

4.13.5 Deletion of the auxiliary of the IP and IP movement

4.13.5.1 IP without object

The movement of the IP is possible where the auxiliary of the IP is deleted. With the auxiliary deleted, the following sentence, e.g.

(105a) Mati (ya ri KHÚFÁÁ), hi matimba
Subj (IP¹) AP

lit. The water (it 'do' SPILL OVER) by strength, i.e. strongly
i.e. The water strongly spills over.

may appear in the following form:

¹ *vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

(105b) Mati KHÚFÁÁ, hi matimba
 Subj id AP

lit. The water SPILL OVER strongly

With the application of the processes of moving the IP, a few examples of possible versions of sentence (105b) above are as follows:

(105c) KHÚFÁÁ hi matimba, mati
 id AP subj
 SPILL OVER strongly the water

(105d) Hi matimba mati KHÚFÁÁ!
 AP subj id
 strongly the water SPILL OVER

4.13.5.2 IP with object

Where the auxiliary and the oc are deleted, the grammatical subject should syntactically come first, as the tendency is to regard the NP which comes first as the grammatical subject, and with the sc and the oc deleted, the chances of ambiguity can be very great. The following sentence with the basic sequence,

(106a) Nqhala (yi ri xi PFÓTLO), xidzidzi hi tihanyi
 Subj (IP¹) obj AP

lit. The lion (it 'do' it CRUSH) the honey badger by cruelty, i.e. mercilessly

i.e. The lion cruelly crushes the honey badger

may appear in the following form when its auxiliary and the oc are deleted:

¹ *Vide* app. 28, p. 276, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

(106b) NqhaIa PFÓTLO, xidzidzi hi tihanyi
 Subj id obj AP

lit. The lion CRUSHES the honey badger mercilessly.

With processes of the movement of the IP, the following forms of sentence

(106b) above are possible:

(106c) PFÓTLO, nqhaIa hi tihanyi, xidzidzi
 id subj AP obj

CRUSH the lion mercilessly the honey badger

(106d) Hi tihanyi, nqhaIa, xidzidzi PFÓTLO!
 AP subj obj id

Mercilessly, the lion, the honey badger, CRUSH

The following sentence

(107) Hi tihanyi xidzidzi nqhaIa PFÓTLO!
 AP obj subj id

Mercilessly, the honey badger, the lion, CRUSH

is not the version of sentence (106a) although they both have common constituents because with the object xidzidzi (honey badger) syntactically occurring before the subject nqhaIa (lion), the object xidzidzi (honey badger) automatically becomes the grammatical subject by virtue of its syntactical position where the auxiliary and the oc have been deleted.

4.14 Passive and the IP4.14.1 IP with object

Sentences predicated by the IP may be passivized. Note the following sentence:

(108) Gama (ri ri xi BVÚU), xikukwana
 Subj (IP¹) obj

lit. The eagle (it 'does' it SNATCH) the chicken

i.e. The eagle snatches the chicken.

Transformations of sentence (108) above into passive realisations proceed as follows:

(a) NP₁ viz. Gama (eagle) and NP₂ viz. xikukwana (chicken) exchange positions, hence

(109) NP₂ NP₁
Xikukwana Gama
 (the chicken) (the eagle)

(b) An agentive formative hi (by) is placed before NP₁ (Gama) in its passive syntactical position, hence hi gama (by an eagle).

(c) Referring now to the predicative, the normal process would have been for the predicative IP to undergo passive transformations to enter into this relationship. Since the auxiliary verb -ri 'do' as well as the ideophone cannot be inflected in Tsonga, the verb stem -endla (do) steps

¹ *Vide* app. 28, p. 276, for detailed illustrations of such IP's.

in to carry out the passive process.¹ This verb is thus changed into its passive form, hence -endliwa.

- (d) The IP viz. ri ri xi BVÚÚ! (it snatches it) is transformed into an infinitive IP hence (ku ri xi BVÚÚ!) (to snatch it). This infinitive IP comes soon after the passive verb -endliwa, hence (xi endliwa ku ri BVÚÚ!)² (lit. it is done to 'do' SNATCH i.e. it is snatched). In surface realisations, the verb stem -endliwa (done) and the infinitive IP are positioned between the sc and the instrumental morpheme hi (by), hence the following:

- (110) Xikukwana (xi endliwa ku (ri) BVÚÚ), hi gama
 Subj (IP) Agentive n
 lit. The chicken (it 'done' to 'do' SNATCH) by the eagle
 i.e. The chicken is snatched by the eagle.

However, where a cognate verb of the ideophone exists, the tendency is to employ the cognate verb to effect passive forms.³ For example, the cognate verb of the ideophone bvúú! (of snatching) is -bvunga (snatch). A Tsonga speaker would rather form the passive of sentence (108) above via the passive form of the cognate verb thus:

- (111) Xikukwana xi bvungiwa hi gama
 (i.e. Meaning same as (110) above)

¹ *Vide* par. 4.7.1.1 (c), p. 151, for discussion on the role of the verb stem -endla (do).

² Note that the oc is absent in this IP because the object xikukwana (the chicken) has become the grammatical subject in the passive transformations.

³ Preference to use cognate verbs also applies to the formation of the negative forms of the Ideophonic Phrases.

4.14.2 IP without object

It is interesting to note that IPs with intransitive ideophones may also be passivised. Take the following sentence with the intransitive ideophone thámu! (of springing forward):

- (112a) Mhala (yi ri THÁMU!)
 Subj (IP¹)
 lit. The impala (it 'does' SPRING FORWARD)
 i.e. The impala springs forward.

Passivity transformations of sentence (112a) above proceed as follows:

- (a) The IP yi ri THÁMU! (it springs forwards) is converted into an infinitive NP by prefixing ku, hence ku (ri) THÁMU! (to spring forwards), which is now NP₂, hence

- (112b) NP₁ NP₂
Mhala ku ri THÁMU!
 (The impala) (to spring forwards)

- (b) NP₁ and NP₂ are transposed and the agentive hi (by) is placed before NP₁, hence

- (112c) NP₂ Pred NP₁
Ku ri THÁMU, --- hi mhala
 (To spring forwards) (by the impala)

- (c) NP₂ and NP₁ need a predicator to complete the predication in order to make a sentence. The verb stem -endla (do) steps in to carry out the

¹ *Vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed analysis of such an IP.

4.16 The ideophone as a grammatical category

In defining the grammatical class of the ideophone, Lyons' (1969:319) statement shall serve as the point of departure:

.... any general theory of the parts of speech must give explicit recognition to the distinction between deep and surface structure and must define the parts of speech, not as a class of words in surface structure, but as deep structure constituents of sentences

Lyons (1977:429) further states that all languages distinguish between nouns and verbs, and the distinction is bound up with the difference between reference and predication. Lyons (1977:430) further states that looked at from the syntactic point of view, the nucleus of a simple sentence is composed of two immediate constituents, a nominal (NP) and a verbal (VP).

Coming to the ideophone, in the underlying structure of a neutral¹ or unmarked sentence, the subject is followed by the IP which is the predicate.² On this basis, we regard it as a verbal! Allerton (1979:237) regards as predicates, all words which "... share the characteristic of being asserted or presupposed as part of a predication about a noun-phrase subject theme ...". The ideophone does exactly that, i.e. predicating about a noun-phrase subject theme. It may be argued that a noun in a copulative phrase (which is a form of a predicative phrase in Tsonga), such as in the following sentence:

- (113) Magezi /i hosi/
 Subj /copulative predicative phrase/
 Magezi is a king

¹ *Vide* Lyons (1969:79), for the concept 'neutral' or 'unmarked'.

² *Vide* par. 4.3, sentence (18), p.145, and note the ideophone on the side of the predicate.

cannot be regarded as a verbal just because it appears in a predicative phrase, and consequently the ideophone cannot simply be categorized as a verbal on that basis. But the word hosi (king) in the sentence above is an entity and is capable of bearing reference to some real thing, and consequently belongs to that class of words which are in the category 'nouns'. On the other hand, the ideophone wherever it appears syntactically is basically not an entity, but a word traditionally used to refer to actions, processes, or states taking place at some time. Only verbals may assume these qualities. For that reason, we consider the ideophone as a verbal.

S U M M A R Y

In Tsonga, the syntax of the ideophone is realised by means of the IP. The IP is a syntactic category structurally composed of the aux. verb stem -ri and the ideophone. The verb stem -ri in the context of the IP does not serve as a normal verb but as an auxiliary with the idiomatic meaning of 'do' or 'act' and not of 'say' as in its normal use. The IP like the verb may be transitive or intransitive. There are two types of IP's — the Plain IP and the -oIP. The IP may take objects. The oc in the context of the IP occurs just before the ideophone immediately after the verb stem -ri. Other morphemes occurring immediately before the ideophone are the reflexive ti- and the adverbial ka-. The IP may be used simultaneously with the VP governed by the same grammatical subject. In such usages, it serves to 'exemplify' the action or the state of the subject suggested by the verb in the VP. Its role in such usages is not merely that of a descriptive in the sense of merely functioning like an adverb; the IP and invariably the

ideophone can predicate, while the adverb cannot. The basic syntactic position of the IP in a sentence is after the grammatical subject, but it is capable of being moved or shifted around in the sentence. One other major characteristic of the IP is that in its use, it may be split and other syntactic categories may come between its constituents, i.e. the auxiliary and the ideophone. Another major characteristic is that the auxiliary of the IP may be deleted, leaving the ideophone to appear alone. Finally, the IP, like the VP, is capable of being used in passive constructions, serving as a predicative phrase, just like a VP.

C H A P T E R 5

Semantic characteristics of Tsonga ideophones

5.1 The semantic significance of the Ideophonic
Phrase (IP)

As demonstrated in chapter 4, the ideophone occurs in the IP, which is a syntactic category capable of functioning as a predicative phrase. The two constituents of the IP, the auxiliary and the ideophone, have their distinctive roles to play. The auxiliary serves to verbalize the IP, i.e. it puts the IP into the different moods, tenses and conjugations. As also pointed out in the preceding chapter, the ideophone supplies the meaning of the IP. It gives the IP its semantic import.

Another important point made was that it is possible in some instances to predicate or express the same concept verbally, i.e. by means of an VP, or ideophonically, i.e. by means of an IP. Consider for example sentences (1) and (2) below which were also presented in the preceding chapter as sentences (17) and (18):

(1) Homu yi nghena ematini (verbal predicate)

lit. The ox it enters into the water

i.e. The ox gets into the water

(2) Homu (yi ri PHOMU), ematini (ideophonic predicate)

lit. The ox (it 'does' PLUNGE) into the water

i.e. The ox plunges into the water.

The question that arises here is: what difference exists between the above two possibilities with regard to predication? I believe that the

difference lies in the fact that a verbal predicate merely states the concept of the predication, while an ideophonic predicate 'exemplifies'¹ or 'dramatizes'² the concept expressed by the verb. It is believed that the core of the ideophonic predicate, in other words, the ideophone, 'imitates' a concept by means of a 'vocal gesture'. Ideophones, in Fortune's (1962:6) words "... attempt to be a vivid re-presentation or re-creation of an event in sound". One may even venture to suggest that ideophones are 'vocal gestures'. For this reason, most of these words are iconic in nature,³ hence their peculiar shapes and other phonological characteristics in relation to the other words of the language. The question now arises: if the basic function of ideophones is to supply meaning to the IP but at the same time 'exemplify' or 'simulate' the action or the state of the subject, are they arbitrary or non-arbitrary linguistic symbols? Our basic contention is that, by and large, ideophones are non-arbitrary words. However, the concepts arbitrary and non-arbitrary in relation to words should first be defined in order to determine the nature and the extent of the non-arbitrariness of Tsonga ideophones.

5.2 Arbitrary and non-arbitrary words

It is an accepted fact in linguistic circles that semantically, some words possess their meaning arbitrarily while others non-arbitrarily.

¹ *Vide* app. 35, p. 291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

² The term 'dramatize' was first used by Kunene (1965:20) to refer to the role of the ideophone in S. Sotho.

³ Abercrombie (1967:116) defines iconic words as "... non-arbitrary linguistic signs which ... in some way resemble what they stand for".

For example, Ullmann (1962:81) states as follows:

... every idiom contains words which are arbitrary and opaque, without any connexion between sound and sense, and others which are at least to some degree motivated and transparent.

The motivated words are the non-arbitrary words. On the other hand, arbitrary words in a language are those whose semantic value is derived from mere opinion. With such words, there is no connection between the referent and the word.¹ The tendency is to refer to such words as being conventional.² On the other hand, non-arbitrary words are words where some kind of connection exists between the structure of the word and its meaning. Ullmann (1974:3) states that as opposed to arbitrary words, there are others which are phonetically 'motivated', i.e. there is some kind of connection, direct or indirect, between sound and sense. Potter (1960:51) refers to non-arbitrary words as linguistic signs which have symbol-referend connection, i.e. words whose sounds convey sense.

5.3 Non-arbitrary words and iconicity

The modern tendency is to regard non-arbitrary words as being iconic in nature. For example, Abercrombie (1967:116) defines iconic words as "... non-arbitrary linguistic signs which ... in some way resemble what they stand for." Nida (1964:31) states that "... some linguistic signs do have some iconic quality ... they suggest by their very forms the objects to which they refer." In its normal use, the

¹ Cf. Nida (1964:31); Bladon (1977:158).

² Cf. Ullmann (1962:80-87); Lyons (1977, Vol. 1, p.100).

term 'icon' means image, statue or portrait, i.e. a physical object which resembles what it stands for. In linguistic circles, the meaning of icon is stretched to encompass inter alia, words whose acoustics resemble the sound source. For example, the English word 'cuckoo' (kind of bird) is regarded as iconic because it somewhat echoes the natural sound made by the cuckoo bird. In short, iconicity in the linguistic sense refers to the resemblance between the phonic form, i.e. speech sound, and meaning.

From the brief discussion above, it should be evident by now that the terms iconicity, non-arbitrariness and phonetical motivation, as far as words are concerned, refer to one and the same concept.

5.4 Iconicity versus mimicry

It should be understood, as Ullmann (1951:88) states, that a phonetically motivated word is by no means a perfect replica of the acoustic structure, but merely a rough approximation. Linguistic symbolization of this rough approximation has to conform to the phonetic system of that particular language. Bladon (1977:65) states that onomatopoeic words (i.e. non-arbitrary words) have their phonological shape in accord with the phonological rules of the language. This brings about differences in such approximated symbolizations in different languages because each language has its own phonetic and phonological systems. For example, the barking of a dog is phonetically represented by the ideophone 'huhuhu ...!' in Tsonga, while it is represented by the word 'woof!' in English. The Tsonga word 'huhuhu!' conforms to the phonetics and phonology of Tsonga, while 'woof!' conforms to the phonetics and phonology of English. In other words, non-arbitrary

words, although naturally representative of the characteristic sound-source, have some degree of arbitrariness. Lyons (1977, Vol. 1, p.101) in this regard states as follows:

... there is some arbitrariness, or conventionality, even in onomatopoeic forms, since they are made to conform to the phonological systems of particular languages, rather than being directly imitative of what they (or, more precisely, the lexemes they encode) stand for.

For this reason, if e.g. an Englishman and a Tsonga can imitate the barking of a dog so accurately that the listener mistakes the sound in each case as that made by the actual dog, this is regarded as, to use Blandon's (1977:61) words, departure from an individual's normal speech mode and constitutes an instance of mimicry and not of onomatopoeia, and it is consequently regarded as extra-linguistic.

5.5 Aspects of iconicity or non-arbitrariness

Lyons (1977, Vol. 1, p. 103) distinguishes between primary and secondary iconicity. The distinction concerns mainly the kind of connection that exists between the word and the sound-source, i.e. whether it is direct or indirect. For the purpose of this study, the difference between direct and indirect shall be interpreted in terms of degree. A strong connection between word and meaning would be referred to as direct, e.g. mée! (bleating of sheep). A weak connection on the other hand would be referred to as indirect, e.g. cāca! (of being bright and clear, as moonlight in a clear sky).

5.6 Iconicity and Tsonga ideophones

Taking Tsonga ideophones into consideration, the principle of primary and secondary iconicity can very well be applicable because some ideophones are directly phonetically motivated while others are only indirectly motivated. It must be pointed out that there are others which are non-iconic, i.e. which are arbitrary in nature. These, as will be discussed, are derived from other parts of speech/word categories, e.g. voni! (of seeing quickly) < -vona, v. (see).

5.6.1 Primary iconic ideophones

Primary iconic ideophones are those ideophones which are directly phonetically motivated. The so-called onomatopoeic words fall into this category. Such ideophones, to put it in Lyons' (1977, Vol. 1, p.103) words, are "... medium-dependent", i.e. they are dependent on the phonic medium. Examples of Tsonga ideophones of primary iconic nature, or in simple terms, ideophones which are onomatopoeic in nature, are the following:

kōcōkōcō ...! (noise made by e.g. stones in an empty metallic container, like an empty canister)

ngélêngélé ...! (the jingling of the bell)

mbvhōo! (sound of the beetle)

mhōo! (the bellowing of e.g. a cow)

hūhūhū! (the barking of the dog)

5.6.2 Secondary iconic ideophones

Secondary iconic ideophones are those ideophones where there is some indirect connection between the linguistic symbol and the sound

source. This concept is not as easily definable with regard to Tsonga ideophones as is the case with primary iconicity. It requires some discussion to make it clearer. The basic assumption with regard to the concept of secondary iconicity is that certain phonetic sounds carry with them a suggestive meaning. This phenomenon is generally referred to as sound symbolism.

It is accepted in linguistic circles that it is part of the intuitive nature of man to associate certain phonetic sounds with a certain sense. Moore (1968:39) states that "... there is a relationship between sound and meaning that is well established in the mind of the native speaker, established that is, psychologically in the manner of phoneme recognition". Lyons (1977, Vol. 1, p. 104) defines secondary iconicity as instances in which the sound of the spoken word forms is felt to be appropriate to the meaning of the lexemes of which they are forms, though the words do not actually denote sounds or the source of sounds. Whorf (1956:267) states that language through lexation, has made the speakers more acutely conscious of certain dim psychic sensations. He further states that when a word has an acoustic similarity to its own meaning we can notice it. In short, secondary iconicity or sound symbolism refers to the phenomenon in every language where certain speech sounds or phones (or combinations of speech sounds) have, attached to them, certain suggestive meaning. The suggestive meanings generally refer to human experiences. These experiences are generally grouped according to their relatedness. Whorf (1956:267) contends that human subjects seem to associate the experiences of bright, cold, sharp, hard, light (weight), quick, high pitched, narrow and so on ... with each other and conversely, the experience of dark, warm, yielding, soft, blunt, low, heavy, slow, low-pitched, wide, etc. with each other. These experiences are capable

of being phonetically associated with certain phonemes and phoneme clusters in languages. Whorf (1956:267) refers to phonemes which refer to the bright, cold, sharp etc. series of experiences as acute, and those which refer to the dark, heavy, slow etc. experiences as grave. Jakobson (1978:113) expresses this idea as follows: "... the opposition between acute and grave phonemes has the capacity to suggest an image of bright and dark, of pointed and rounded, of thin and thick, of light and heavy." Bladon (1977:156) prefers to refer to sound symbolism as an "... association of speech sounds with certain social attitudes."

Laying down a hard-and-fast rule on secondary iconicity in Tsonga ideophones is not easy. Besides, it would be cumbersome to review the sound symbolic nature of each and every speech sound in Tsonga. However, a few tentative guidelines concerning Tsonga speech sounds and secondary iconicity will be given here. In considering secondary iconicity in Tsonga ideophones, vowels and consonants will be considered separately. However, this is just for the sake of convenience. The truth is that secondary iconicity is best evaluated when vowels and consonants have combined into syllables in ideophones. It is then that their sound symbolic effect can best be appreciated.

5.6.2.1 Vowels and secondary iconicity (general)

Vowels seem to play a major role in sound symbolism. In linguistic circles, the fact that certain vowels are socially associated with certain notions is recognised. For example, Jakobson (1960:373) regards the vowel /i/ as an acute phoneme, i.e. associated with bright, pointed, light and thin sense; and the vowel /u/ as a grave one, i.e. associated with dark, rounded, thick and heavy sense. Smithers (1954:82)

states that experimentally, the vowel /i/ is associated with notions of small, fine, thin, pointed, lively, quick, clear, far away notions, while /u/ and /o/ with large, massive, blunt, awkward, slow, dark and nearby notions. Whorf (1956:268) associated the vowel /a/ with the dark, warm, soft series and the vowels /e/-/i/ with the bright, cold, sharp set.

5.6.2.2 Tsonga vowels and secondary iconicity

Like vowels of other languages, Tsonga vowels exhibit secondary iconicity also. However, vowel length and tone play a very significant role in secondary iconicity of Tsonga vowels. For example, long vowels, sometimes accompanied by low toned syllables, help the vowels to influence the ideophone, in which they occur, to be associated with a dark, sombre, depressive connotation, as well as to help refer to slow and grave actions. In Tsonga ideophones, vowels helping to signify dark, sombre states and slow actions need not only be /u/, /o/ or /a/ as suggested by Jacobson (1960:373), Smithers (1954:82) and Whorf (1956:268). /i/ and /e/ can also refer to dark, depressive, sombre states or slow actions when accompanied by long vowels, although proportionally speaking the vowels /u/ and /o/ refer mostly to dark, depressive and sombre states as well as to slow actions. Note the following examples:

(a) Sombre and depressive states

/u/ : dúú! (of keeping quiet as a result of being dejected)

/o/ : goo! (state of being depressed as after a
disappointment)

mboo! (state of having lost everything)

lokoxoo! (state of being depressed)

- /i/ : dzwīi! (of being dark)
mpīi! (of being dark, as at dusk)

(b) Slow action

- /u/ : thululu! (of uncoiling slowly, as large snake)
kukuku! (of swelling, becoming big and large)
ngungungu ...! (of slowly walking in a crouched position,
avoiding to be seen)

- /i/ : ndii! (of moving slowly, as water in deep pool)

On the other hand, bright, hopeful and cheerful states as well as the state of being white are generally symbolised by ideophones embodying the /a/ and to a lesser extent the /e/ vowels. The syllables in such instances are generally high toned, e.g.

- /a/ : nchaā! (of looking clever, bright and honest)
cāca! (of being bright and clear, as moon)
pāa! (of shining brightly, as moon; of being
snow-white)
bāa! (of being white in colour)
wāka (of being covered with white sores all over
the body)

- /e/ : ngheē! (of beginning to get light, as at dawn)
nkē! (of being illuminated; of being clever
and bright)
n'wēē! (of becoming clear, as light in the morning)

It is generally believed that the vowel /i/ is associated with 'small, fine, thin, pointed, lively, quick, clear, far-away'

notions.¹ This applies also to Tsonga vowels in ideophones.

Note the following examples:

<u>tsf!</u>	(of pricking with a small sharp pointed object)
<u>fíníníní ...!</u>	(of oozing out very faintly)
<u>kwípíníní!</u>	(of being short)
<u>kétíkétí ...!</u>	(of flickering faintly far-away)
<u>n'ínín'íní ...!</u>	(high thin sound as of the mosquito)

(c) Vowel length and iconicity

Iconicity may also be signified by vowel length. A quick action of a very short duration will be signified by an ideophone which has very short vowels. Note the following examples:

<u>gō!</u>	(of striking, as snake)
<u>jata!</u>	(of alighting quickly)
<u>vāngā!</u>	(of flashing, as light)
<u>nyūpe!</u>	(of quickly diving into the water)
<u>nswa!</u>	(of quickly disappearing)

These vowels are comparatively shorter than vowels in the normal words, as an attempt is made by use of the ideophone to signify the quick action symbolized.²

Actions of long duration are signified by long vowels. Note the following examples:

<u>ndii!</u>	(of moving very slowly as e.g. water in a very deep river)
--------------	--

¹ *Vide* Smithers (1954:82).

² It is not necessary to represent short vowels in ideophones in a special manner orthographically, since their shortness is relative to the action symbolized.

<u>fōó!</u>	(of sizzling, as water in a pot about to boil)
<u>hūu!</u>	(of rain falling heavily)
<u>pyēē!</u>	(of train whistling)
<u>duu!</u>	(of spreading, as rumour)

Long vowels also signify stative situations. Note the following examples:

<u>ntséé!</u>	(of remaining silent and feeling pity of oneself)
<u>lunduu!</u>	(of staring with wide open eyes)
<u>hleyáá!</u>	(of being in a slanted position, as planted pole)
<u>dūú!</u>	(of remaining silent as a result of being sad)
<u>khékhéxwáá!</u>	(of being quiet and dejected as a result of a disappointment)
<u>mboo!</u>	(of losing all valuable possessions)

Long vowels realised with falling tones generally occur in ideophones signifying violent actions. Note the following examples:

<u>bvūu!</u>	(of snatching away forcefully)
<u>nsēe!</u>	(of squirting out forcefully, as water)
<u>phikūu!</u>	(of lifting a very heavy object, exerting much effort)
<u>hluthūu!</u>	(of kicking in the stomach with great force)
<u>ganāa!</u>	(of falling on one's back)
<u>ntlhíi!</u>	(of snapping as rope)

Long vowels realised with the rising tone generally occur in ideophones which signify actions which end in a stative situation. Note the following examples:

- mphaá! (of e.g. door opening and remaining in an open position)
ntshif! (of going out, as light)
mphuá! (of forgetting completely)
mbhoó! (of obscuring completely)
ngheé! (of getting light, as at dawn)

5.6.2.3 Tsonga consonants and secondary iconicity

In consonants, stops like e.g. /p/, /t/, /tʰ/, /k/ and their voiced counterparts /b/, /d/, /dʰ/, /g/ are associated with ideophones referring to violent, rough, or harsh actions, involving some collision of some kind. Note the following examples:

- /p/, /b/ : pūu! (of falling on the ground)
papapa ...! (of flapping wings noisily, as birds)
bu! (of something bulky falling with a thud)
bukū! (of hitting, e.g. with a heavy stick)

/t/, /tʰ/, /tʰl/, /d/, /dʰ/ :

- totolotolo! (of struggling to overcome something)
tyáka! (of cracking, as whip)
ntlí! (of choking)
do! (of dropping down with a thud)
dlídlídlídlí! (of pushing someone over violently)
dlomú! (of plopping into water)

- /k/, /g/ : kātla! (of catching suddenly, as trap)
kākātlu! (of tearing apart)
ketleketle! (of knocking against each other, as crockery)

géntle! (of clattering and rumbling over stones,
as waggon)

gibi! (of banging, as gun fire)

On the other hand, fricatives like /f/ and /s/ as well as the nasals are associated with ideophones generally referring to gentle, agreeable and smooth actions. Note the following examples:

/f/ : fíníni! (of oozing out faintly)

fotofoto ...! (of yielding softly, as sponge)

fentsefentse! (of falling gently, as soft falling rain)

/s/ : sułulu! (of gliding softly and quietly in as snake
into a hole)

sarasara ...! (of falling gently, as rain)

swuswuswu ...! (of blowing gently, as breeze)

/m/, /n/, /ny/ :

mofumofu ...! (of being soft and crumbling when eaten,
as bread)

nyaványâvâ ...! (of tiptoeing in order not to be heard)

nyalanyala (of gently feeling an insect creeping inside
one's clothes)

The palatalized bilabial stop /py/ and its counterpart, the voiced /by/ as well as the voiced dentilabial affricate /bv/, are generally associated with ideophones signifying derogatory or despicable notions. Note the following examples:

<u>pyé!</u>	(cowardly yelping of a dog)
<u>pyi!</u>	(of being soiled or covered with dirt)
<u>pyeretete!</u>	(of excreting very loose stools/dung)
<u>pyetle!</u>	(of treading on soft slippery dirt)
<u>pyitli!</u>	(of being smeared heavily with grease or dirt)
<u>byarara!</u>	(of sitting flabbily, as lazy person)
<u>byāmbu!</u>	(of walking indecently, completely naked)
<u>bveé!</u>	(of audibly breaking wind (indecent))
<u>bvobvololo!</u>	(of being lazy and useless)
<u>bvonyo!</u>	(of doing something badly and clumsily)
<u>bvívíníni!</u>	(of being disorderly, as unkempt hair)

5.6.2.4 Other auxiliary factors in secondary iconicity of Tsonga ideophones

As far as secondary iconicity in Tsonga ideophones is concerned, besides associating meaning with the shape of the phonetic structure, there are other factors which contribute to the sound symbolic effect of these words, such as the contrasting of voiced versus voiceless consonants, aspiration, whispering and the emotive overtones of these words.

(a) Contrasting of voiced versus voiceless consonants and secondary iconicity

Contrasting voiceless with voiced consonants in ideophones helps distinguish between similar actions done by subjects which differ in size, or actions differing in intensity. Generally, the tone and the vowels of such ideophones are the same. What differs are the consonants. Usually, actions

which need more force or are done by bigger or larger subjects are represented by voiced consonants, while the lighter or less intense actions are represented by the unvoiced counterpart of the voiced consonants. Note the following examples:

<u>bobobo!</u>	(of flowing out voluminously, as large quantity of water from a large pipe or in a big river)
<u>popopo!</u>	(s.m. of bleeding profusely) ¹
<u>dlomú!</u>	(of plumping into deep water, like a big stone)
<u>tlomú!</u>	(s.m. of plopping into water, e.g. frog)
<u>dlodlodlo ...!</u>	(of walking with long-legged gait, as giraffe)
<u>tlotlotlo ...!</u>	(s.m. referring to tall thin person or long-legged bird)
<u>gāntlā!</u>	(of violently slamming or banging down, as door)
<u>kāntlā!</u>	(of catching suddenly, as trap)
<u>jōndō ...!</u>	(of walking lumberingly, with gait of e.g. a giraffe or a tall man)
<u>cōndō ...!</u>	(gait of a long-legged thin subject, like e.g. a bird)

(b) Aspiration of stop consonants and secondary iconicity

Quick, energetic and vigorous actions are generally symbolized by aspirated voiceless stops which require energy in their

¹ Although the bleeding is profuse, the amount of blood coming out is comparatively less voluminous than the amount of water.

enunciation. Such ideophones are generally brisk, enunciated with force to simulate the intense action symbolized. Ideophones of this type are generally of one syllable, embodying a falling tone. Note the following examples:

- khêe! (of violently striking dead with one blow)
khô! (of striking a hard object or surface with e.g. a dry stick)
khôo! (of breaking, as tooth during the process of extraction)
khûu! (of knocking down or overrunning something, e.g. car overrunning person)
phâa! (of exploding, as pop corn)
phîi! (of lifting up heavy load with effort)
phôo! (of breaking off clearly)
phûu! (of being smashed, as pot falling on the floor)
ntlhîi! (of snapping violently, e.g. rope)
thûu! (of knocking down, as does something moving with speed or bulk)

(c) Whispering and secondary iconicity

Whispering is another feature employed in ideophones to bring out their symbolic and exemplifying nature. Some ideophones may be whispered. In such cases, the utterer attempts to 'exemplify' the sound source, e.g.

- nyaványâvâ ...! (of tiptoeing, as one avoiding to attract attention)
phatsa! (of perching or landing gently and softly as bird)

fentsefentse ...! (of rain falling very gently in a drizzle)

fotofoto ...! (of yielding gently and softly, as sponge)

swuswuswu ...! (of blowing very gently, as breeze)

(d) Emotive overtones of ideophones and secondary iconicity

By emotive overtones of ideophones is meant the feelings they engender in the listener. In this respect, no description of these words could be more apt than Cole's (1975:370) definition of this aspect of these words, viz. "... vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experience." The mental picture they evoke, to use Cole's (1975:370) words, can be emotionally coloured. Their use adds that emotive dimension to the meaning of an utterance, hence provoking greater emotional appeal to listeners. The emotive significance of ideophones can best be brought out by contrasting a verb and an ideophone in expressing a similar idea. Compare the verb -cheka (to have diarrhoea i.e. to excrete very loose stools/fresh dung) and the ideophone pyeretete! (of excreting very loose fresh dung) in the following sentences:

(3) Homu ya cheka v. (The cow excretes very loose fresh dung)

(4) Homu yi ri PYERETLETLE! id. (lit. The cow it 'does' i.e. The cow is excreting very loose fresh dung)

Predication by -cheka (to excrete very loose stools/or fresh dung) arouses no feeling. One just knows and understands that the cow has diarrhoea or excretes very loose dung. On the other hand,

the ideophone pyeretletle! is highly emotive. Pyeretletle! is also phonetically motivated in that there is harmonious correspondence between sound and meaning. The phonetic shape of the speech sounds in the syllables is an approximation of the process and its corresponding sound. They echo the action of excreting very loose fresh dung. One mentally 'hears' the process of excretion. The auditory aspect by association conjures the visual aspect and causes one to 'see' the loose dung mentally, and this again conjures the olifactory aspect of the excretion and causes one to 'smell' the dung mentally. This is the effect ideophones have on speech acts.

5.6.3 Other extra-linguistic factors enhancing the iconicity of ideophones

There are other extra-linguistic factors which help to enhance the iconicity of ideophones. They are the following: (a) manner of articulation, (b) tempo in uttering the segments of the ideophone and (c) gestures.

5.6.3.1 Manner of articulation of ideophones and iconicity

The iconic role of the ideophones as 'exemplifiers'¹ of actions and states is enhanced by the manner of articulation. Unlike with the other words of the language, which are uttered without any spectacular dramatization of the action, ideophones allow for 'simulation' of the action of the subject during the process of articulation. If the action

¹ *Vide* app. 35, p. 291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

is violent or intense, the articulation is also strong and loud. If the action is gentle and soft, the articulation is also gentle and soft. If the action is fast, segments follow one another in rapid succession and vice versa,¹ all this being an attempt to 'exemplify' the action or the state in relation to the subject. Note the following examples:

- mphii! (of becoming or being dark, as at dusk). The ideophone is uttered with a low dropping voice to create that sombre dark atmosphere.
- khāsāa! (of being clean as yard well swept and cleared of dirt). The ideophone is uttered with a bright clear voice to create that cheerful and bright atmosphere.
- foto!
----- (of yielding, like sponge). The ideophone is uttered with a gentle voice somewhat whispered to create that soft and gentle experience.
- gentlē! (of clattering and lumbering, as waggon moving on a rugged road).. The ideophone is uttered with a hard, loud and firm voice to recreate that jolting uncomfortable experience.
- khwaxhwaxa!
----- (of rustling as plastic thin paper when handled). It is uttered in that husky whispered voice to 'simulate' that noise and sensation.

¹ This point is further elaborated upon later in the discussion of tempo in uttering segments of ideophones.

5.6.3.2 Tempo in uttering segments in ideophones and their iconicity

There is another dimension with regard to the iconic nature of ideophones. It is the tempo with which segments are uttered in ideophones. The tempo of uttering an ideophone which expresses a stative situation is generally slow, usually embodying a long vowel finally, e.g.

- (5) Nyoka yi lo LULALULAA, ni khumbi
(The snake lies prostrate with the wall)
- (6) Vafana va lo KWAVAA, hi makhwiri
(The boys are lying on their stomachs)
- (7) Mbita yi lo TIKITIKII, exitikweni
(The pot is firmly placed on the hearth)

With ideophones 'exemplifying' movement, there is always some relationship between the action expressed and the tempo of uttering the syllables of the ideophone. Actions of one impulse are generally 'exemplified' by monosyllabic ideophones.¹ With protracted or continuous actions,² if the action is fast, the segments of the ideophone exemplifying that action are uttered fast. If the action is slow, the segments will be uttered one after the other in slow succession. Compare the following ideophones:

kakāka ...! (of galloping stately, as e.g. giraffe)

kāpātsa ...! (of galloping fast, as e.g. horse)

Both ideophones above have reference to galloping. Segments in kakāka are uttered in a slow tempo, i.e. in slow succession in accordance with

¹ *Vide* par. 5.6.2.4 (b), pp.221-222.

² *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (b) (i) (bb), p.116, 'Reduplication or repetition ad infinitum', for examples.

the stately galloping of the giraffe, while segments in kāpātsa are uttered in rapid succession to exemplify the fast and vigorous galloping of the horse.

The use of tempo is one fact which makes using ideophones difficult just from seeing them represented on paper only, because it is difficult to signify tempo in a written ideophone.¹ One has to hear an ideophone uttered by someone before one can use it correctly. For this reason, it is not easy to generalise on the tempo of uttering the segments of ideophones. What can be said is that tempo in uttering the segments in ideophones is bound up with the type of action 'exemplified'.

5.6.3.3 Gestures

The iconic nature of ideophones can further be enhanced by the use of gestures to accompany these words. Hands are mostly employed in effecting these gestures, but not exclusively. Gestures are generally employed simultaneously with the ideophone. For example, in the utterance

(6) Xisākānā xī ló MPHA, hī māli (The small bag is full of money)

the gesture signifying 'full' is effected simultaneously with the articulation of the ideophone mpha!

Types of gestures

We distinguish between two types of gestures with regard to ideophones, (a) imitative and (b) conventional.

¹ Jaques (1941:210) suggested methods of representing tempo on paper, but this has been found to be impractical.

(a) Imitative gestures

These are gestures which imitate the action 'exemplified' by the ideophone. For example, in the sentence

(9) Xigónó xí ri KHWIJÍ, KHWIJÍ ...! (The cripple limps)

the ideophone khwijí! (of limping) can be uttered simultaneously with the gesture of walking in a limping manner. Similarly, if one says

(10) U nge^ˈ NTLUNTLANTLUNTA! (Please do squat!)

utterance of the ideophone ntluntlantluntlaa! (of squatting) can be accompanied simultaneously by the action of squatting. All ideophones 'exemplifying' imitable actions can be accompanied by imitative gestures.

(b) Conventional gestures

These are gestures generally associated with certain ideophones by convention. They need not necessarily imitate the action or state 'exemplified' by the ideophone. In Tsonga, non-imitative gestures used with ideophones are not many. Here follow a few examples of conventional gestures:

Ideophone	Meaning	Conventional gesture
<u>mpa!</u>	of being full	<u>Position of hands:</u> Forearms slightly drawn up towards the chest or upper part of the abdomen. <u>Gesture:</u> Palm of right hand struck against the thumb-side of the clenched fist of the left hand.
<u>bi!</u>	of being completely finished	<u>Gesture:</u> Stretched fingers of right hand moved over the mouth in the right to left direction.
<u>ri ntlháa</u>	of running away	<u>Position of hands:</u> Forearms stretched out, right arm slightly more projected than the left, fingers bent in, thumbs lifted up, the right thumb (or left) positioned in front of the other (left) thumb.
<u>ho!</u>	of openly negating what the other person is saying	The index or middle finger of the right hand placed at the lower lid of the right eye, pulling the lid down.
<u>túvi!</u>	of going away, usually without bidding farewell	<u>Position of hands:</u> Forearms stretched with open palms. <u>Gesture:</u> Palms clasped clapping while drawing clasped palms towards the face.
<u>thya!</u>	of letting grip go or abandoning project abruptly	<u>Gesture:</u> Forearms with fingers bent in against chest stretched downwards or backwards while opening palms simultaneously.
<u>yóo!</u>	of being dejected	<u>Gesture:</u> Palm of right hand on chin with head tilted to the right.

(c) Gestures and the non-specific ideophone 'i!' with its variant 'm!'

The non-specific ideophone 'i!' with its variant 'm!' is commonly used with gestures in the place of a specific ideophone. 'i!' is regarded as a non-specific ideophone because semantically it does not 'exemplify' a specific idea except the connotation 'do thus'. Syntactically, it occupies the position of the ideophone. It is uttered simultaneously with the gesture. The 'm' calls the attention of the listener to witness the action suggested by the gesture. The gesture communicates the meaning. Both the imitative and conventional gestures can be used with either 'i!' or 'm!' in the place of the corresponding ideophone; hence instead of saying, 'U ngé NTLUNTLANTLUNTLAA!' ('Please do squat'), one can simply say 'U ngé I/M!' (Please do thus) and while uttering the 'i/m!', one performs the action of squatting. In the context of the ideophone, Tsonga never employs gestures without accompanying them with the non-specific 'i!' or 'm!'.

Gestures serve to vivify the dramatic import of ideophones.

5.7 Non-iconic ideophones

This is the third category of ideophones. These ideophones are arbitrary, i.e. they show no direct or indirect motivation of any sort. Ideophones falling into this group are mainly those which are derived from verbs by suffixing the ideophonizing morphemes -i, -o, or -iyani.¹ Since verbs are 'arbitrary' in the sense defined by Ullmann (1962:81),² ideophones derived from them must also be 'arbitrary'.

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.3 (a) and (b), pp.117-118, for -i and -iyani and par. 3.2.1.2 (d), p.122, for -o.

² *Vide* par. 5.2, p.207.

Semantically, such derived ideophones are generally used in humorous situations to 'exemplify' the actions suggested. Note the following examples:

- dyiyānī! (of eating, with 'exemplification') < -dya (eat).
biyānī! (of hitting, with 'exemplification') < -ba (hit).
téki! (of snatching, with repetitive 'exemplification') < -teka (take).
susí! (of removing, with repetitive 'exemplification') < -susa (remove).
rhendzeleko! (of turning round with repetitive 'exemplification') < -rhendzeleka (turn round).

Although the non-iconic ideophones are regarded as such in terms of being phonologically unmotivated, however, some extra-linguistic factors such as manner of articulation,¹ tempo² and gestures³ generally accompany the articulation of these words as well, which in turn lends them some iconicity of some sort. It would not be entirely correct to regard them as totally non-iconic. As far as manner of articulation is concerned, their articulation is different from the normal articulation of the rest of the words in the sentence. The voice may be pitched above the usual range normally used for the rest of the sentence when it comes to their articulation. The tempo of uttering their segments is generally quicker, to 'exemplify' their semantic connotation. For example, the segments in the ideophone rhendzeleko! (of turning round, with 'exemplification') would be uttered in a more rapid tempo than would be the case in its counterpart, i.e. the verb -rhendzeleka (to turn round). Finally, they

¹ *Vide* par. 5.6.3.1, pp.224-225.

² *Vide* par. 5.6.3.2, pp.226-227.

³ *Vide* par. 5.6.3.3, pp.227-230.

may also be accompanied by gestures, as in the case of ordinary ideophones.

5.8 Semantic functions of ideophones: Inchoative and non-inchoative ideophones

Basically, Tsonga ideophones express 'exemplified'/'dramatised' action¹ with regard to their referential subjects. This is not surprising as the main function of ideophones is predication by 'exemplification'.² Semantically, there are two categories of ideophones. Firstly, there are those ideophones which are capable of being used in an IP to express a plain action which is performed there and then and completed. For example:

- būlu! (of bursting)
tlūkwa! (of jumping)
māka! (of clapping somebody with an open hand)
pfítla! (of breaking completely)
khé! (of chopping)

Such ideophones are generally used in the IP which employs the plain³ auxiliary of the IP.

Secondly, there are ideophones capable of expressing an action or a process or a state which has begun but has not yet been completed. In other words, the action is inchoative. The following are examples of inchoative ideophones:

¹ It should be noted, however, that the co-occurrence of an inchoative ideophone and the stative aspectual morpheme lo- expresses a stative situation, e.g. Xikoxa xi' ló (ri) WHÍ! (The old lady is quiet). In other words, the process of becoming quiet has been completed.

² *Vide* app. 35, p.291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

³ *Vide* par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (i), p.82.

- khidzaa! (of kneeling)
nswíi! (of falling down and lying prostrate)
ntluntlaa! (of squatting)
kúngúfáá! (of crouching)
korhaa! (of bowing down)

So basically there are non-inchoative and inchoative ideophones.

With inchoative ideophones, the type of IP determines whether the speaker is using the ideophone inchoatively or not. Take the ideophone būlu! (of bursting) in the non-inchoative group above. Once the process of bursting has taken place, it becomes completed. On the other hand, with the ideophone khidzaa! (of kneeling) from the inchoative group, the kneeling takes place but the subject may remain in the kneeling position after the action of kneeling has been performed. The action is inchoative, i.e. it is an action which ends in a stative situation.

Care should be taken to choose the correct auxiliary of the IP when using inchoative ideophones, especially in the past tense. Compare the following:

- (11) Nhwanyana (u te (ri) KHIDZAA!)
 Subj (IP¹)
 The girl has knelt down.

- (12) Nhwanyana (u lo (ri) KHIDZAA!)
 Subj (-loIP²)
 The girl is in a kneeling position.

¹ *vide* app. 4, p. 252, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

² *vide* app. 10, p. 258, for detailed illustrations of such an IP.

In sentence (11), the auxiliary implies that the girl has performed the kneeling action and the process is complete. She may not be in a kneeling position at the time of speaking. The ideophone is used non-inchoatively. In sentence (12), the auxiliary implies that the girl is in a kneeling position at the time of speaking.

Some ideophones referring to continuous or protracted¹ actions or processes may also be used inchoatively. These are ideophones such as the following:

popopo ...! (of e.g. blood pouring out profusely)

wawawa ...! (of rain falling continuously)

viri-viri ...! (of e.g. stove being hot)

ningi-ningi ...! (of swaying)

waya-waya ...! (of e.g. leaves rustling in the air).

However, since the action or the process is continuing at the time of speaking, they can only be used in the -oIP² of the present tense only, as in the following sentence:

(13) Ngati (yo (ri) POPOPO ...!)

Subj (-oIP³)

The blood is pouring out profusely.

Note that non-inchoative ideophones may be used in the -oIP⁴ and in the -loIP.⁵ In such instances, the ideophone does not imply an inchoative

¹ *Vide* par. 2.3.4.2 (a) (1), p.48 and 3.1.2.2 (b) (i) (bb), p.116, for ideophones signifying protracted or continuous actions.

² *Vide* par. 4.7.2.1 (b) (i), pp.161-163.

³ *Vide* app. 7, p.255, for detailed illustration of such an IP.

⁴ *Vide* par. 4.7.2.1 (b) (ii) (aa), p.164.

⁵ *Vide* par. 4.7.2.1 (b) (ii) (bb), p.165.

situation. It implies restriction, i.e. the subject did no other action but 'simply' or 'merely' or 'just' the one suggested by the ideophone.

5.9 Specificity of meaning of ideophones

Because of their 'exemplifying' nature, ideophones are very specific in their meaning. Take the verb -miyela (keep quiet) and the ideophone whíi! (of remaining completely silent). They both mean more or less the same thing. However, -miyela encompasses a wider range of references. It may mean (1) to stop talking, (2) to stop from crying, (3) to desist from responding, (4) to leave alone or wait patiently for one's turn. On the other hand, the ideophone whíi! specifically means one thing, viz. to be mute. Its semantic range is not as pliable and wide as that of the verb. Note also the following examples:

-ettlela, v. (1) to sleep
 (2) to lie down
 (3) to lodge
 (4) to be slumbering

rhwe!, id. of lying down or sleeping, unable to move oneself due to being very ill or drunk.

gāa!, id. of lying on one's back, not necessarily slumbering.

kwava!, id. of lying on one's stomach.

Reference to specific aspects of sleeping suggested by ideophones can be expressed by the verb -ettlela, using qualifying phrases to suggest the specific manner of sleeping. Hence for the ideophone gāa! (of lying on one's back), one can have the phrase ku ettlela hí xíkosi

(s.m., lit. to sleep by one's backhead), and for the ideophone kwavaa! (to lie on one's stomach) the phrase ku etlela hi khwiri' (s.m., lit. to sleep by one's stomach).

5.10 Semantic significance of vowel length

Vowel length at times can have semantic significance and can distinguish between ideophones. Note the following examples:

du! [] (short) (sound of stamping, e.g. mealies in mortar with a pestle)

duu! [] (long) (well spread, as rumour)

gwi! [] (short) (of giving a sudden pull)

gwii! [] (long) (of being tired of, as being tired of waiting for someone who had promised to come but who is failing to appear)

hūu! [] (short) (the barking of the dog)

hūu:! [] (long) (of having all left, as people of a village going or gone away)

5.11 Reduplication of ideophones and shift in meaning

One of the characteristics of ideophones is their process of reduplication.¹ Derived ideophones by reduplication always mean repetition of the action or state by one subject or many subjects doing the same action or being in the same state irregularly.² However, there are certain

¹ *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (b), p.114.

² *Vide* par. 3.1.2.2 (b) (i) (aa), p.115 and (bb), p.116, for examples.

instances where repetition of the ideophone results in semantic shift.

Compare the following examples:

jovō! (of nodding, as when one is slumbering)

jovō jovō jovō ...! (of pecking, as hen)

bvu! (of putting down clothes in one heap)

bvu bvu bvu ...! (of many related objects in heaps here and there,
like e.g. clusters of trees)

dzu! (of stripping quickly and throwing away clothes)

dzu dzu dzu ...! (of shaking off something as when shaking off dust
from a cloth)

hēfu! (of feeling relieved, as when in danger and help comes)

hēfu hēfu hēfu ...! (of panting, as after running)

do! (of dropping, as fruit from tree)

do do do ...! (of having been dropped all over and scattered)

5.12 Features and the ideophone

The semantic description of the ideophone would not be complete without defining its formal features or properties as a word.

5.12.1 The concept 'feature'

It has been decided to adopt Jacobs and Rosenbaum's (Grammar 1, 1967:39, Grammar 2, 1967:41 and Grammar 3, 1970:15) method of expressing features and properties of words. For example, the word 'cat' can be said to have the following features, i.e. plus noun, plus singular, plus animate,

symbolically expressed as follows: < +noun >, < +singular >, < +animate >. (N.B. the symbol e.g. < +noun > is a feature). Similarly, the features of the word 'stones' can be expressed symbolically as follows:

< +noun >, < -singular >, < -animate >. Features of these words can be summarised symbolically as follows:

<u>cat</u>	<u>stones</u>
$\left[\begin{array}{l} < +noun > \\ < +singular > \\ < +animate > \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} < +noun > \\ < -singular > \\ < -animate > \end{array} \right]$

Features can be expressed in terms of pluses and minuses. A minus would be the opposite of a plus.

5.1.2.2 Features of Tsonga ideophones

Lexically, the Tsonga verb -tlula (jump) is a verbal¹ (VB) which has the feature 'plus verb', symbolically expressed as < +verb >. Since it has been decided to recognise the ideophone as a verbal in this thesis, the ideophone tlukwa! (of jumping) is also a verbal (VB) which has the feature 'minus verb', symbolically expressed as < -verb >. Not all ideophones can express inchoative² actions. Those ideophones not capable of expressing inchoative actions will symbolically be represented with the feature < -inchoative > and those which can be used inchoatively as < +inchoative >.

¹ The feature verbal in linguistic circles is symbolized by capital letters thus (VB) to distinguish it from the verb and from VP.

² *vide* par. 5.8, pp.232-235, for the concept 'inchoative'.

Some ideophones can be used in transitive IPs¹ while others cannot be used in such IPs. Take the ideophone bvúu! (of snatching). It can be used in transitive IPs. On the other hand, the ideophone búlu! (of bursting) cannot be used transitively. It is thus considered as intransitive. Ideophones capable of being used in transitive IPs will be marked with the feature < +transitive > and those which cannot be used transitively as < -transitive >. Since we are not sure whether other verbals besides verbs and ideophones exist in Tsonga, the feature < +ideophone > will be included in describing the ideophone to define what type of a verbal it is. All ideophones are 'vocal gestures' in the sense that their main function is to give the meaning of the IP while vocally 'exemplifying' or 'dramatizing' the relevant action. These features will not be expressed since they are all embodied in the feature < +ideophone >.

So, for example, descriptions of the features or the properties of the following Tsonga ideophones,

- mhōo! (of bellowing, as cow)
mbaa! (of being comfortably seated down)
bvúu! (of snatching)
hluthúu! (of kicking someone in the stomach)
tlúkwa! (of jumping)

would be as follows:

¹ *vide* par. 4.6, pp.146-149, for discussion on transitivity of ideophones.

mhōo! (of bellowing, as cow)

< +VB >
< -verb >
< +ideophone >
< -inchoative >
< -transitive >

māaa! (of being comfortably seated)

< +VB >
< -verb >
< +ideophone >
< +inchoative >
< -transitive >

byūu! (of snatching something)

< +VB >
< -verb >
< +ideophone >
< -inchoative >
< +transitive >

hluthūu! (of kicking in the stomach)

< +VB >
< -verb >
< +ideophone >
< -inchoative >
< +transitive >

tlūkwa! (of jumping)

< +VB >
< -verb >
< +ideophone >
< -inchoative >
< -transitive >

5.13 Stylistic significance of the IP

The IP appears to be a stylistic device in language since whenever it is used it serves to vivify the action described. In the words of Bynon (1970:79), the core of the IP, namely the ideophone (which he calls the 'exemplifier')

... takes up and repeats the idea of the verbal action at a more expressive level, underlining its sudden or extended nature, and acting as a bearer for certain supra-segmental features of purely expressive content.

One can use the IP instead of, or with the verb. When the IP is used, a special effect is created, and in this way it behaves in the same manner as a figure of speech.

S U M M A R Y

While the auxiliary expresses the verbalizing function of the IP, the ideophone supplies the meaning of this syntactic category. Ideophones serve as 'vocal gestures' to 'exemplify' actions and states of subjects. As such, they are basically iconic in nature in that the majority of them are phonetically motivated. On the basis of iconicity, ideophones may be grouped into primary, secondary and non-iconic categories. Primary iconic ideophones

are those which are onomatopoeic in nature. These are directly phonetically motivated. Secondary iconic ideophones are those indirectly phonetically motivated. The majority of ideophones fall into this group. Non-iconic ideophones are those mostly derived from verbs. However, extra-linguistic factors, such as manner of articulation, tempo in the articulation of segments and gestures help lend some form of iconicity to these non-iconic forms as well. Semantically, the majority of ideophones are only capable of expressing action which becomes completed there and then when executed. On that basis they are non-inchoative. A few, while non-inchoative, are capable of expressing inchoative situations as well, i.e. they can also express that the action which was begun is not yet completed. The subject is still in the state of the uncompleted action. They are the so-called stative ideophones. However, with inchoative ideophones, formative elements in the auxiliary actually determine whether they may be used inchoatively or non-inchoatively. Their inchoative use is generally signified by the use of the restrictive aspectual -o and the stative aspectual lo- morphemes in the auxiliary of the IP. Ideophones are specific in their meaning. Vowel length may distinguish between ideophones semantically, while reduplication may bring about a shift of meaning in ideophones. The ideophone is a non-verb verbal whose basic stylistic function is predication by 'exemplification'.

C H A P T E R 6

Conclusion

6.0 Ideophones form a subcategory of Tsonga words and their operation in the language constitutes the subsystem, while the other word classes of the language constitute the main system. In this investigation, ideophones have revealed that, compared to the other words of the main system, they have their own phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics.

6.1 Phonetic and phonological characteristics of the ideophone

The investigation has revealed that, phonetically, the subsystem is not far removed from the main system. For example, phonemically, both the main and the subsystems employ five vowel phonemes each. However, differences do exist. For example, long vowels are not a feature in the main system, although a somewhat long vowel occurs at the penultimate syllable of words. On the other hand, the subsystem is characterized by long vowels in the final syllable, particularly on ideophones which signify stative situations. Another characteristic feature is that the distribution of mid vowels in the subsystem is bound up with tone. When the ideophone contains identical vowels and has high tones only, the half-close mid vowels [e] and [o] are realised, while the half-open mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] are realised only with the low tone under similar circumstances. This is not the case with vowels in the main system. The half-open mid vowels may occur even in words which contain similar identical vowels with high tones, e.g. mbhévévé [mbhēβēβē] (deaf and dumb person).

On the consonantal level, the subsystem employs all consonantal phonemes and phoneme clusters employed in the main system, but, over and above these, it employs three extra consonantal phonemes, namely [ɕ], [ʒ] and [x]. Phonologically, the subsystem is characterised by assonance and consonant repetition which may be complete or partial. Tonally, while the main system is characterised by two level tones, /H/ and /L/, and one falling tone /F/, the subsystem also employs the three tones, but over and above these it employs the rising /R/ tone as well. Where the main and subsystems show great difference is in the distribution of the /F/ tone. In the main system, the /F/ tone is realised when a low tone stands between two high tones, provided that the syllable with the low tone does not embody a voiced or aspirated consonant, in which case it remains a low tone. On the other hand, in the subsystem, the /F/ tone may be realised in the final syllable as well, especially in monosyllabic ideophones. The /R/ tone, which occurs in ideophones only, is realised in the final syllable.

6.2 Morphological characteristics of the ideophone

The main thesis advanced in this investigation is that the ideophone, together with the auxiliary verb stem -ri structurally form a predicative phrase which is a syntactic category. The two constituents of the ideophonic phrase (IP), i.e. the ideophone and the auxiliary verb, operate on two different levels of morphology. The auxiliary verb stem -ri assumes the function of verbalizing the IP, while the ideophone supplies the meaning of the IP. Consequently, the auxiliary verb stem -ri operates on the level of grammatical morphology, since it incorporates different grammatical morphemes placing the IP into the different moods and tenses. Its morphology, therefore, is a morpho-syntactic process. On the other hand, the morphology of the ideophone is different. There are basically two types of ideophones in Tsonga,

namely, primitive and deverbative ideophones. Primitive ideophones do not show any derivation from other parts of speech, in other words they are mono-morphemic in nature, for example tlhéke! (of stopping suddenly with a jerk). Deverbative ideophones on the other hand do show derivation from other parts of speech, in this instance from verbs. For example, the ideophone vóní! (of seeing with repetitive 'exemplification') is derived from the verb/radical -von- and the 'ideophonizing' suffix -i. Deideophonic nouns may be derived from certain ideophones by use of the class prefixes. In the majority of cases of such derivations, the ideophone remains intact, maintaining one of its basic characteristics, that of being invariable. In classes 5 and 9, the derived nouns assume a zero prefix and in such instances the form of the deideophonic noun and that of the ideophone are tonally and otherwise identical. Only context can tell whether the word is an ideophone or a noun in such instances.

6.3 Syntactic characteristics of the ideophone

On the syntactic level, investigations have revealed that the syntax of the ideophone is realised by means of the IP which we have ventured to regard as a syntactic category. The main point to grasp about the IP is that the verb stem -ri in this context does not serve as a normal verb with its meaning 'say', but serves in an auxiliary capacity with the idiomatic meaning of 'do' or 'act'. The IP may be substituted by the verb and vice versa. For this reason, the IP may be transitive or intransitive.¹ When used transitively, the IP may incorporate the object concord. The IP may also incorporate the reflexive ti-, a morpheme normally used with the verb.

¹ *Vide* par. 4.6, pp.146-149.

The IP is capable of being used in passive constructions¹ preceded by -endla (do). The IP is capable of being used in the non-finite and finite moods² just like the verb. However, one unique characteristic of the IP is that it may co-occur with a VP in the same sentence, sharing the same grammatical subject.³ This concept of a grammatical subject having two predicators may sound difficult to grasp, particularly when one bases this peculiar grammatical phenomenon on languages which do not employ ideophones. This is aggravated by the fact that the other constituent of the IP, the auxiliary, may be deleted in surface realisations,⁴ leaving the ideophone alone juxtaposed with the verb. It is believed that, because of having overlooked this grammatical peculiarity characteristic only of the idiom of those languages which employ the ideophone in this manner, many grammarians gave the ideophone numerous different labels as a grammatical category.⁵ Yet the simple facts about the IP (conversely the ideophone) are as follows: (i) it may co-occur with the VP sharing the same grammatical subject; (ii) it may be used independently apart from the VP, effectively predicating the subject. One other basic characteristic which the IP shares in common with the VP is that it (the IP) may occupy different positions in the sentence.⁶

¹ *Vide* par. 4.14, p.199.

² *Vide* par. 4.7, p.148.

³ *Vide* par. 4.10, p.179.

⁴ *Vide* par. 4.13, p.191.

⁵ *Vide* app. 1, p.248.

⁶ *Vide* par. 4.12, p.185.

6.4 Semantic characteristics of the ideophone

While the auxiliary serves to verbalise the IP, because, by its morpho-syntactic nature, it can put the IP into the different moods and tenses, the ideophone serves to give the IP its semantic import. The IP's basic function in the language is to serve as an 'exemplifier'.¹ This accounts for the iconic nature of ideophones with their onomatopoeic and sound symbolic characteristics.² Basically, the IP (conversely the ideophone) expresses or 'exemplifies' action, process or state in relation to the subject. Although the type of formative elements used in the auxiliary determine whether the ideophone is used inchoatively or simply to express a short action, not all ideophones can be used to express an inchoative situation. The use of the IP (or the ideophone) to express inchoative situations is another strong argument for regarding these words as being verbal in nature.

¹ *Vide* app. 35, p.291, for the concept 'exemplify'.

² *Vide* par. 5.6, p.211.

APPENDICES

N.B. The long list of appendices is regretted. However, this was unavoidable owing to the absence of a published Tsonga grammar which illustrates the conjugation of the Ideophonic Phrase in the different moods and tenses.

APPENDIX 1

SUMMARY OF SELECTED PRE-DOKEIAN TERMS FOR THE IDEOPHONE

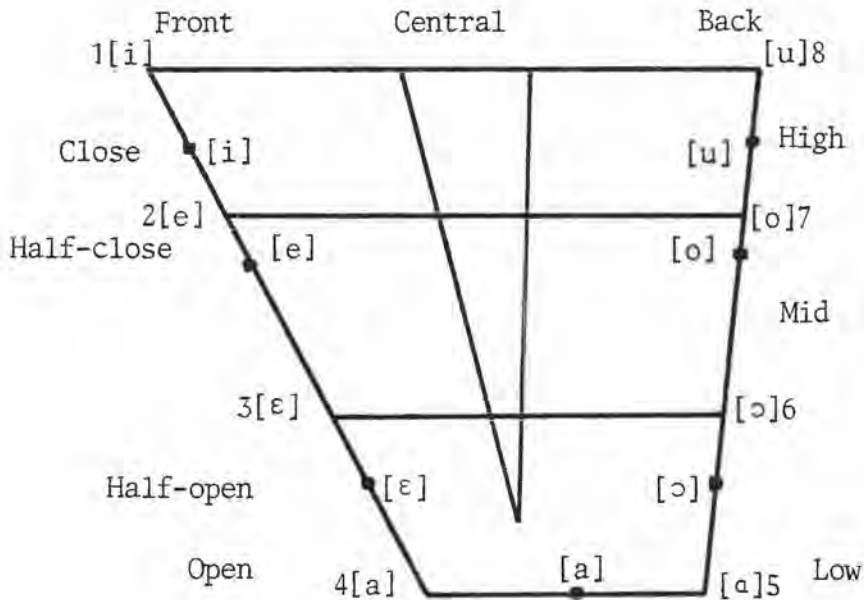
<u>Summary term</u>	<u>Linguist</u>	<u>Actual term used by linguist</u>
	<u>(Semantic considerations)</u>	
ONOMATOPOEIA	<u>Stapleton</u> (1903* ¹ , quoted by <u>Werner</u> , 1919:186 <u>Bishop</u> , 1922:424 <u>Samarin</u> , 1971:131)	Onomatopoeic vocables
	<u>Doke</u> (1922:128)	Onomatopoeia
	<u>Sanderson</u> (1922:125)	Onomatopoeic forms
	<u>Ferreira</u> (1937:97)	Klank-nabootsende woorde (Afr) i.e. onomatopoeia
PICTURE WORDS	<u>Westermann</u> (1907:83)	Lautbilder (German) i.e. 'picture words'
VOCAL IMAGES	<u>Werner</u> (1919:194)	Vocal images
	<u>(Morphological and syntactic considerations)</u>	
INTERJECTION	<u>Endemann</u> (1876:170)	"Onomatopoetische Interjectionen" (German)
	<u>Jacottet</u> (1892:63)	Interjections of a verbal nature
	<u>Grout</u> (1859:226)	Interjections
	<u>Lammond</u> (1930:95)	Intensive interjections
RADICALS	<u>Werner</u> (1919:194)	Interjectional roots
	<u>Doke</u> (1927:238)	Radical
	<u>Watkins</u> (1937:85)	Radical descriptive
	<u>(Functional considerations)</u>	
NOUN	<u>Torrend</u> (1891:139)	Onomatopoetic substantive
	<u>Wanger</u> (?*, quoted by <u>Doke</u> , 1935:119)	Mimic noun
ADJECTIVE	<u>Whitehead</u> (1899:18)	Indeclinable adjective

¹ The asterisk signifies that the source was not available at the time of submission.

Summary term	Linguist	Actual term used by linguist
ADVERB	<u>Bishop of Natal</u> (Colenso, 1859:71)	Particles used adverbially
	<u>Junod</u> (1913:143)	Descriptive adverbs
	<u>Hetherwick</u> (1922:188)	Onomatopoeic adverbials
	<u>Jacottet</u> (1927:132)	Interjectional adverb
	<u>Wanger</u> (?*, quoted by Doke, 1935:119)	Onomatopoeic adverb
VERB	<u>Boyce</u> (1844:106)	Neuter verbs
	<u>Bishop of Natal</u> (Colenso, 1859:71)	Fragment of a verb
	<u>Jacottet</u> (1892:63)	Interjections of a verbal nature
	<u>McLaren</u> (1906:124)	Indeclinable verbal particles
	<u>Torre do Valle</u> (1906*, quoted by Bishop, 1922:425)	Verb
COMPLEMENT	<u>Bishop</u> (1922:425)	Descriptive complement

Phonetic chart of Tsonga vowels

- NB 1. Since retroflexion is not taken into account in this investigation, vowels in this chart are based on the Xiluleke dialect.¹
2. Numbers refer to the cardinal vowels in the chart. A vowel placed against a dot within the chart signify the relative position of the tongue in the mouth when the respective Tsonga vowel is articulated.



3. Phonetically, Tsonga employs seven vowels, i.e. the three basic vowels [a], [i] and [u] as well as two varieties each of mid-front and mid-back vowels [e] and [ɛ], [o] and [ɔ].

¹ Cf. Baumbach (1970), for dialects of Tsonga.

Chart of Tsonga Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveolar (Retroflex)	Labio- Alveolar	Palato- Alveolar (Prepalatal)	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasals	m		n				ɲ	ŋ	
Plosives	p b		t d tɬ dɬ		ʈ		k g		
Fricatives	(ɸ) β	f v	s z ɬ		ɬ z	ʃ (ʒ)	(x)	ɦ	
Affricates		ɸf ɸv	ts dz	tɬ ɬz	tɬ dz	tʃ dʒ			
Semi-vowels (Glides)	w						j		
Liquids (Trill)			l r						
Click			ɕ ɕg*						
Implosive	ɓ*								

N.B. Parenthesized symbols signify that those consonants are only encountered in the subsystem.
An asterisk [*] after the speech sound signifies that no ideophones with that particular speech sound were encountered.

APPENDIX 4

Indicative Mood (Positive conjugation)

IP without object

NB. (1) Where the aux. v. stem -ri is parenthesized, this signifies that it may be deleted in surface realisations.

(2) *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (i), p.82, for detailed discussion of the auxiliary in this mood.

Present tense	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (<u>xí ri PHATSA</u>), <u>émûrhíni</u> Subj (sc aux id), AP lit. <u>The bird</u> (<u>it 'does'</u> <u>PERCH</u>), <u>on the tree</u> i.e. The bird <u>perches</u> on the tree</p>
Past tense (Perf. asp)	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (<u>xí té (ri) PHATSA</u>), <u>émûrhíni</u> Subj (sc perf aux id), AP asp v mo lit. <u>The bird</u> (<u>it has 'done'</u> <u>PERCH</u>), <u>on the tree</u> i.e. The bird has <u>perched</u> on the tree</p>
Future tense	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (<u>xí tá ku (ri) PHATSA</u>), <u>émûrhíni</u> Subj (sc fut inf aux id), AP tns mo v mo lit. <u>The bird</u> (<u>it will to 'do'</u> <u>PERCH</u>), <u>on the tree</u> i.e. The bird will <u>perch</u> on the tree</p>

APPENDIX 5

Indicative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 4, p.252)

IP without object

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (i), p.83, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Alternative A

Present tense	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (a xí êndli ku (ri) PHATSA), émûrhîni Subj (neg sc v inf aux id), AP mo neg mo v</p> <p>lit. <u>The bird</u> (<u>not it not do to 'act'</u> PERCH), <u>on the tree</u> i.e. The bird does not <u>perch</u> on the tree</p>
Past tense (Perf. asp)	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (a xí êndlânga ku (ri) PHATSA), émûrhîni Subj (neg sc v inf aux id), AP mo neg mo v</p> <p>lit. <u>The bird</u> (<u>not it has not done to 'act'</u> PERCH), <u>on the tree</u> i.e. The bird has not <u>perched</u> on the tree</p>
Future tense	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (a xí ngâ êndli ku (ri) PHATSA), émûrhîni Subj (neg sc neg fut v neg inf aux id), AP mo fut mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>The bird</u> (<u>not it will not do to 'act'</u> PERCH), <u>on the tree</u> i.e. The bird will not <u>perch</u> on the tree</p>

APPENDIX 6

Indicative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentence in appendix 4, p.252)

IP without object

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (i), pp.83-84, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Alternative B

(antithetic clause)

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (a xí ri PHATSA), <u>émûrhîni</u>, (xí ri BU), <u>éhânsí</u> Subj (neg sc aux id), AP , (sc aux id), AP mo v v lit. <u>The bird</u> (not it 'act' PERCH) <u>on the tree</u>, (it 'acts' DROP) <u>on the ground</u> i.e. The bird does not perch on the tree, (but) it drops on the ground</p>
<p>Past tense (Perf. asp)</p>	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (a xí té (ri) PHATSA), <u>émûrhîni</u>, (xí té (ri) BU), <u>éhânsí</u> Subj (neg sc perf aux id), AP , (sc perf aux id), AP mo asp v mo asp v lit. <u>The bird</u> (not it has 'acted' PERCH) <u>on the tree</u>, (it has 'acted' DROP) <u>on the ground</u> i.e. The bird has not perched on the tree, (but) has dropped on the ground</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Xinyenyana</u> (a xí ngâ tá kû (ri) PHATSA), <u>émûrhîni</u>, (xí tá ku (ri) BU), <u>éhânsí</u> Subj (neg sc fut fut inf aux id), AP , (sc fut inf aux id), AP mo neg tns mo v tns mo v mo mo . mo lit. <u>The bird</u> (not it not will to 'act' PERCH) <u>on the tree</u>, (it will to 'act' DROP), <u>on the ground</u> i.e. The bird will not perch on the tree, (but) will drop on the ground</p>

APPENDIX 8

Indicative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 7, p.255)

-oIP without object

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (ii), p. 85, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Alternative A

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Xitófi</u> (<u>a xí éndli ku (ri) VIRIVIRI ...!</u>) Subj (neg sc v inf aux id) mo neg mo v lit. <u>The stove</u> (<u>not it not do to 'do'</u> <u>HOT</u>) i.e. The stove is not in the state of being <u>hot</u></p>
<p>Past tense (imperf. asp)</p>	<p><u>Xitófi</u> (<u>á xí nga éndli ku (ri) VIRIVIRI ...!</u>) Subj (neg sc neg v inf aux id) mo mo neg mo v lit. <u>The stove</u> (<u>not it was not do to 'do'</u> <u>HOT</u>) i.e. The stove was not in the state of being <u>hot</u></p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Xitófi</u> (<u>a xí ngâ éndli ku (ri) VIRIVIRI ...!</u>) Subj (neg sc neg v inf aux id) mo mo neg mo v lit. <u>The stove</u> (<u>not it will not do to 'do'</u> <u>HOT</u>) i.e. The stove will not be in the state of being <u>hot</u></p>

APPENDIX 9

Indicative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 7, p.255)

-oIP without object

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (ii), pp.85-86, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Alternative B

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Xitófi</u> (<u>a</u> <u>xó</u> (ri) <u>VIRIVIRI...!</u>), (<u>xó</u> (ri) <u>TITITI...!</u>) Subj (neg sc-o aux id), (sc-o aux id) mo v v lit. <u>The stove</u> (<u>not</u> <u>it</u> 'do' <u>HOT</u>), (<u>it</u> 'does' <u>COLD</u>) i.e. The stove is not in the state of being <u>hot</u>, it is in the state of being <u>cold</u></p>
<p>Past tense (imperf. asp)</p>	<p><u>Xitófi</u> (<u>á</u> <u>xí</u> <u>ngô</u> (ri) <u>VIRIVIRI...!</u>), (<u>á</u> <u>xó</u> (ri) <u>TITITI...!</u>) Subj (imperf sc restr.aux id), (imperf sc-o aux id) asp neg v asp v mo mo mo lit. <u>The stove</u> (<u>was</u> <u>it</u> <u>not</u> 'do' <u>HOT</u>), (<u>was</u> <u>it</u> <u>doing</u> <u>COLD</u>) i.e. The stove was not in the state of being <u>hot</u>, it was in the state of being <u>cold</u></p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Xitófi</u> (<u>a</u> <u>xí</u> <u>ngâ</u> <u>tó</u> (ri) <u>VIRIVIRI...!</u>), (<u>xí</u> <u>tó</u> (ri) <u>TITITI...!</u>) Subj (neg sc neg restr aux id), (sc restr aux id) mo mo mo fut v fut v tns lit. <u>The stove</u> (<u>not</u> <u>it</u> <u>not</u> <u>will</u> 'do' <u>HOT</u>), (<u>it</u> <u>will</u> 'do' <u>COLD</u>) i.e. The stove will not be in a state of being <u>hot</u>, it will be in a state of being <u>cold</u></p>

APPENDIX 10

Indicative Mood (Positive conjugation)

-loIP without object

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (iii), p.86, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

<p>Present tense (stv. asp)</p>	<p><u>Mánána</u> (<u>ú ló (ri) GOO!</u>) Subj (sc stv aux id) asp v mo</p> <p>lit. <u>Mother</u> (<u>she</u> has '<u>done</u>' <u>DEJECTED</u>)</p> <p>i.e. Mother has worn a <u>dejected</u> look</p>
<p>Past tense (stv. asp)</p>	<p><u>Mánána</u> (<u>á á ló (ri) GOO!</u>) Subj (imperf sc stv aux id) asp asp v mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>Mother</u> (<u>was she</u> had '<u>done</u>' <u>DEJECTED</u>)</p> <p>i.e. Mother had worn a <u>dejected</u> look</p>
<p>Future tense (stv. asp)</p>	<p><u>Mánána</u> (<u>ú tâ vâ á ló (ri) GOO!</u>) Subj (sc fut aux sc stv aux id) tns v asp v mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>Mother</u> (<u>she will be she</u> has '<u>done</u>' <u>DEJECTED</u>)</p> <p>i.e. Mother will have worn a <u>dejected</u> look</p>

APPENDIX 11

Indicative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 10, p,258).

-loIP without object

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (iii), p.87, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Alternative A

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Mánána</u> (a ngá êndláŋgi ku (ri) <u>GOO!</u>) Subj (neg sc v inf aux id) mo neg mo v lit. <u>Mother</u> (<u>not she has not done to 'do' DEJECTED</u>) i.e. Mother has not worn a <u>dejected</u> look</p>
<p>Past tense (imperf. asp)</p>	<p><u>Mánána</u> (á á nga endláŋgi ku (ri) <u>GOO!</u>) Subj (imperf sc neg v inf aux id) asp mo neg mo v mo lit. <u>Mother</u> (<u>not she not had not done to 'do' DEJECTED</u>) i.e. Mother had not worn a <u>dejected</u> look</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Mánána</u> (ú tâ vá á nga endláŋgi ku (ri) <u>GOO!</u>) Subj (sc fut aux sc neg v inf aux id) tns v mo neg mo v mo lit. <u>Mother</u> (<u>she will be she not not have done to 'do' DEJECTED</u>) i.e. Mother will not have worn a <u>dejected</u> look</p>

APPENDIX 14

Appendix 14

Indicative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 13, p.261)

-oIP in the '-ona' binding expression

NB. (1) Clause 1 incorporates the -onaIP, clause 2 the -oIP complement and clause 3 the -oIP antithetic clause

(2) *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (iv), p. 89, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Alternative A

<p>Present tense</p>	<p>Ximanga (¹ xó na kálâ xí ngâ éndli ku (ri) N'ÁWÚ), mbyáná (² yó (ri) WHÍI!) // (³ yó kálâ yí ngâ éndli ku (ri) WHÍI)</p> <p>Subj (sc-o asa def sc neg v inf aux id), Subj (sc-o aux id) // (sc-o def sc neg v inf aux id)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">mo v mo mo v v mo mo v</p> <p>lit. <u>The cat</u> (it as <u>not</u> <u>it not</u> <u>do</u> <u>to 'do'</u> <u>MEW</u>), <u>the dog</u> (it '<u>do'</u> <u>QUIET</u>) // (it <u>not it not</u> <u>do</u> <u>to 'do'</u> <u>QUIET</u>)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;"><u>merely soon</u> <u>as</u> <u>simply</u> <u>simply</u></p> <p>i.e. As soon as the cat merely does not <u>mew</u>, the dog simply <u>remains silent</u> // the dog simply does not <u>remain silent</u></p>
<p>Past tense (Perf asp)</p>	<p>Ximanga (xí lô na kálâ xí ngâ éndli ku (ri) N'ÁWÚ), mbyáná (yó (ri) WHÍI!) // (yó kálâ yí ngâ éndli ku (ri) WHÍI)</p> <p>Subj (sc^{stv} asa def sc neg v inf aux id), Subj (sc-o aux id) // (sc-o def sc neg v inf aux id)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">mo asp mo v mo mo v v v mo mo mo v</p> <p>lit. <u>The cat</u> (it <u>merely as</u> <u>not</u> <u>it not</u> <u>do</u> <u>to 'do'</u> <u>MEW</u>), <u>the dog</u> (as in pr tns) // (as in pres tns above)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;"><u>had soon</u> <u>as</u> <u>above</u></p> <p>i.e. As soon as the cat had merely not <u>mewed</u>, the dog simply <u>remained silent</u> // (as in pres tns above)</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p>Ximanga (xí tó na kálâ xí ngâ éndli ku (ri) N'ÁWÚ), mbyáná (yó (ri) WHÍI!) // (yó kálâ yí ngâ éndli ku (ri) WHÍI)</p> <p>Subj (sc^{restr fut} asa def sc neg v inf aux id), Subj (sc-o aux id) // (sc-o neg sc neg v inf aux id)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">mo mo mo v mo mo v v mo mo mo v</p> <p>lit. <u>The cat</u> (it <u>merely as</u> <u>not</u> <u>it not</u> <u>do</u> <u>to 'do'</u> <u>MEW</u>), <u>the dog</u> (as in pr tns) // (as in pres tns above)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;"><u>will soon</u> <u>as</u> <u>above</u></p> <p>i.e. As soon as the cat will merely not <u>mew</u>, the dog will simply <u>remain silent</u> // (as in pres tns above)</p>

APPENDIX 15

Indicative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 13, p.261) NB. There is an added antithetic clause (No. 3)

-oIP in the '-o na' binding expression

NB. (1) Clause 1 incorporates the -o naIP, clause 2 the -oIP complement, clause 3 the -oIP antithetic clause

(2) *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (a) (iv), pp.89-90, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Alternative B

	(antithetic clause)
<p>Present tense (restr. asp)</p> <p>Ximanga (a xo na ku (ri) N'AWU), mbyana (yo (ri) WHII), e-e , (yo (ri) HÚU!)</p> <p>Subj (neg sc-o asa inf aux id), Subj (sc-o aux id), interj, (sc-o aux)</p> <p>mo mo mo v v v</p> <p>lit. <u>The cat</u> (not <u>it</u> as to 'do' MEW), <u>the dog</u> (it 'does' QUIET), <u>no</u> , (it 'does' BARK)</p> <p>merely soon as merely merely</p> <p>i.e. The dog does not merely remain quiet as soon as the cat mews, it merely barks</p>	
<p>Past tense (restr. asp)</p> <p>Ximanga (a xi lo na ku (ri) N'AWU), mbyana (yo (ri) WHII), e-e , (yi lo (ri) HÚU!)</p> <p>Subj (neg sc perf asa inf aux id), Subj (sc-o aux id), interj, (sc perf aux id)</p> <p>mo tns-o mo mo v y v tns-o v</p> <p>mo mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>The cat</u> (not <u>it</u> had as to 'do' MEW), <u>the dog</u> (it 'does' QUIET), <u>no</u> , (it has 'done' BARK)</p> <p>merely soon as merely merely</p> <p>i.e. The dog did not merely remain quiet as soon as the cat mewed, it merely barked</p>	
<p>Future tense (restr. asp)</p> <p>Ximanga (a xi to na ku (ri) N'AWU), mbyana (yo (ri) WHII), e-e , (yi to (ri) HÚU!)</p> <p>Subj (neg sc fut asa inf aux id), Subj (sc-o aux id), interj, sc fut aux id)</p> <p>mo tns-o mo mo y v v tns-o v</p> <p>mo mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>The cat</u> (not <u>it</u> will as to 'do' MEW), <u>the dog</u> (it 'does' QUIET), <u>no</u> , (it will 'do' BARK)</p> <p>merely soon as merely merely</p> <p>i.e. The dog will not merely remain quiet as soon as the cat mews, it will merely bark</p>	

APPENDIX 16

Imperative Mood (Positive conjugation)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (c), p. 93, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Version 1

<u>Vafána</u>	(	<u>mi</u>	<u>ngé</u>	(<u>ri</u>)	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)
Subj	(	abs	aux	aux	id)
		pro	mo	v		
		sc				
lit. <u>Boys</u>	(	<u>you</u>		' <u>do</u> '	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. Boys					<u>jump!</u>	

Version 2

<u>Vafána</u>	(	<u>endláni</u>	<u>kú</u>	(<u>ri</u>)	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)
Subj	(	v	inf	aux	id)
			mo	v		
lit. <u>Boys</u>	(	<u>do</u>	<u>to</u>	' <u>do</u> '	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. Boys			<u>jump!</u>			

APPENDIX 17

Imperative Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 16, p.264)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (c), pp.93-94, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

(NB. IP 2 is an antithetic¹ complement of IP 1)

Version 1

	(IP 1)		(IP 2)
<u>Vafána</u> ,	(<u>mi nge rí TLÚKWA</u>)	,	(<u>mi ngé (ri) THÁMU!</u>)
Subj	(abs neg aux id)	,	(abs aux aux id)
	pro mo v		pro mo v
	sc		sc
lit. <u>Boys</u> ,	(<u>you not 'do' JUMP</u>)	,	(<u>you 'do' SPRING FORWARDS</u>)
i.e. Boys, don't <u>jump</u> ,	(but) <u>spring forwards!</u>		

Version 2

<u>Vafána</u> ,	(<u>mi nga éndli ku (ri) TLÚKWA!</u>)
Subj	(abs neg v inf aux id)
	pro mo neg mo v
	sc
lit. <u>Boys</u> ,	(<u>you not not do to 'do' JUMP</u>)
i.e. Boys, don't <u>jump!</u>	

¹ *Vide* par. 4.7.2.1 (a) (ii) Alternative B as well as footnote 4, p.159, for the concept 'antithetic clause'.

APPENDIX 18

Potential Mood (Positive conjugation)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (b), pp.90-91, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

(a) Plain IP

<u>Mpfúndla</u>	(	<u>wu</u>	<u>ngá</u>	<u>kú</u>	(<u>ri</u>)	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)
Subj	(	sc	pot	inf	aux	id)
			mo	mo	v		
lit. <u>The hare</u>	(	<u>it</u>	<u>can</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. <u>The hare</u>	can	<u>jump</u>					

(b) -oIP

<u>Mpfúndla</u>	(	<u>wu</u>	<u>ngô</u>	(<u>ri</u>)	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)
Subj	(	sc	restr	aux	id)
			pot	v		
			mo			
lit. <u>The hare</u>	(	<u>it</u>	<u>can</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>JUMP</u>)
			<u>merely</u>			
i.e. <u>The hare</u>	can	<u>merely</u>	<u>jump</u>			

APPENDIX 19

Potential Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 18, p.266)

Alternative A

- (a) Plain IP (NB. (1) Negative conjugation of -oIP in the Potential Mood same as that of plain IP)
 (2) *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (b), p.92, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Version 1

<u>Mpfúndla</u>	(	<u>wu</u>	<u>ngákâ</u>	<u>wú</u>	<u>ngâ</u>	<u>éndli</u>	<u>ku</u>	<u>(ri)</u>	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)	
Subj	(	sc	neg	sc	pot	v	inf	aux	id)	
			pot		mo	neg	mo	v			
			mo								
lit. <u>The hare</u>	(<u>it</u>	<u>cannot</u>	<u>it</u>	<u>can</u>	<u>not</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. <u>The hare</u>			<u>cannot</u>							<u>jump</u>	

Version 2

<u>Mpfúndla</u>	(	<u>wu</u>	<u>ngé</u>	<u>éndli</u>	<u>ku</u>	<u>(ri)</u>	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)	
Subj	(	sc	neg	v	inf	aux	id)	
			pot	neg	mo	v			
			mo						
lit. <u>The hare</u>	(<u>it</u>	<u>cannot</u>	<u>not</u>	<u>do</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. <u>The hare</u>			<u>cannot</u>					<u>jump</u>	

APPENDIX 20

Potential Mood (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 18 , p.266)

Alternative B

Plain IP (NB. (1) Negative conjugation of -oIP in the Potential Mood same as that of plain IP)

(2) *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (b), pp.92-93, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

<u>Mpfúndla</u>	(	<u>wu</u>	<u>ngé</u>	<u>swí</u>	<u>kóti</u>	<u>ku</u>	(<u>ri</u>)	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)
Subj	(	sc	neg	indef	v	inf	aux	id)
		pot	oc	neg	mo	v			
lit. <u>The hare</u>	(	<u>it</u>	<u>cannot</u>	<u>it</u>	<u>not able</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. <u>The hare</u>									

The 'indefinite' object concord 'swi'

swi- is an 'indefinite' oc occurring in idiomatic expressions such as ku swi kota (lit. to them able/manage, i.e. to be able/to manage). The underlying structure of this form is ku kota swona

inf v abs
pref - pro

lit. to able them
i.e. to be able/to manage

It has been decided to call it the 'indefinite' oc because its absolute pronoun, swona (them), in this instance does not refer to anything definite.

APPENDIX 21

Dependent Mood

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (d), pp.94-95, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary in this mood.

Positive conjugation

...	<u>mpfúndla</u>	(	<u>wú</u>	<u>kú</u>	(<u>ri</u>)	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)
	subj	(	sc	inf	aux	id)
			mo	v			
lit. ...	<u>the hare</u>	(	<u>it</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. ...	<u>the hare</u>					<u>to jump</u>	

Negative conjugation

...	<u>mpfúndla</u>	(	<u>wú</u>	<u>ngâ</u>	<u>éndli</u>	<u>ku</u>	(<u>ri</u>)	<u>TLÚKWA!</u>)
	subj	(	sc	neg	v	inf	aux	id)
			mo	neg	mo	v			
lit. ...	<u>the hare</u>	(	<u>it</u>	<u>not</u>	<u>not do</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>JUMP</u>)
i.e. ...	<u>the hare</u>					<u>not to</u>	<u>jump</u>		

APPENDIX 22

IP in the Relative Clause (Positive conjugation)

NB. (1) *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (e), pp.95-96, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary of the IP in the Relative Clause.

Classes 1 & 2 nouns and pronouns as antecedents.¹ (N.B. The Relative Clause is within the square brackets. The IP is signified by double parentheses. Formative elements parenthesized signify that they may be omitted in surface realisations. Note that the dem. pronoun with the sc is generally known as the Relative Concord)

Appendix 22

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Present tense	1st Pers.	Tatána	ú	lává	[miná ((ló(yí) ndzĩ ngé (ri) TLÚKWA!))]
			[abs pro ((dem pro sc aux mo aux v id))]
		lit. <u>Father</u> <u>he</u> <u>wants</u>	[I ((who I *(am) 'doing' JUMP))]		
					i.e. Father wants me who is <u>jumping</u>

Sing.	2nd pers.	Tatána	ú	lává	[wená ((ló(yí) ú ngé (ri) TLÚKWA!))]
		...	...		[abs pro ((dem pro sc aux mo aux v id))]
		lit. <u>Father</u> <u>he</u> <u>wants</u>	[you ((who you *(are) 'doing' JUMP))]		
					i.e. Father wants you who are <u>jumping</u>

	3rd pers.	Tatána	ú	lává	[yená ((l(óyí) á ngé (ri) TLÚKWA!))]
		...	...		[abs pro ((dem pro sc aux mo aux v id))]
		lit. <u>Father</u> <u>he</u> <u>wants</u>	[him/her ((who he/she *(is) 'doing' JUMP))]		
					i.e. Father wants him/her who is <u>jumping</u>

Plur.	1st pers.	Tatána	ú	lává	[hiná ((lá(vá) hí ngé (ri) TLÚKWA!))]
		...	...		[abs pro ((dem pro sc aux mo aux v id))]
					[we ((who we *(are) 'doing' JUMP))]
	2nd pers.	...	...		[n'wina ((la(va) mi nge (ri) TLÚKWA!))]
					[you ((who you *(are) 'doing' JUMP))]
	3rd pers.	...	...		[vona ((la(va) va nge (ri) TLÚKWA!))]
					[they ((who they*(are) 'doing' JUMP))]

Translations of formative elements with an asterisk () signify that the translation is merely an approximation.

NB. The antecedent in this instance is regarded as the subject of the relative clause hence the formative element related to the antecedent is regarded as the sc although in this instance the antecedent is the oc of the verb of the main clause.

APPENDIX 23

IP in the Relative Clause (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 22, p.270)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (e), p.98, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the IP in the Relative Clause
Classes 1 & 2 nouns and pronouns

Appendix 23

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Present tense	1st Pers.	Tatána ú lāvá [miná ((ló(yí) ndzí nga éndlîkî kú (ri) TLÚKWA!))]	
		Subj sc v [abs pro ((dem pro sc neg mo ^s v neg inf mo ^s aux v id))]	
		[(ant)]	
	Sing.	2nd pers.	lit. <u>Father he wants</u> [<u>me</u> ((<u>who</u> <u>I</u> <u>not</u> <u>not doing</u> <u>to</u> <u>'do'</u> <u>JUMP</u>))]
			i.e. Father wants me who is not <u>jumping</u>
			Tatána ú lāvá [wená ((ló(yí) ú nga éndlîkî kú (ri) TLÚKWA!))]
	Sing.	3rd pers.	(Same as 1st pers.) [abs pro ((dem pro sc neg mo ^s v neg inf mo ^s aux v id))]
			[(ant)]
			lit. (" " " ") [<u>you</u> ((<u>who</u> <u>you</u> <u>not</u> <u>not doing</u> <u>to</u> <u>'do'</u> <u>JUMP</u>))]
Sing.	3rd pers.	i.e. Father wants you who are not <u>jumping</u>	
		Tatána ú lāvá [yená ((l(óyí) á nga éndlîkî kú (ri) TLÚKWA!))]	
		(Same as 1st pers.) [abs pro ((dem pro sc neg mo ^s v neg inf mo ^s aux v id))]	
Sing.	3rd pers.	[(ant)]	
		lit. (" " " ") [<u>he/she</u> ((<u>who</u> <u>he/she</u> <u>not</u> <u>not doing</u> <u>to</u> <u>'do'</u> <u>JUMP</u>))]	
		i.e. Father wants him/her who is not <u>jumping</u>	
Plur.	1st pers.	Tatána ú lāvá [hiná ((lá(vá) hi nga éndlîkî kú (ri) TLÚKWA!))]	
		(Same as in 1st pers.) [abs pro ((dem pro sc neg mo ^s v neg inf mo ^s aux v id))]	
	1st pers.	lit. (" " " " ") [<u>we</u> ((<u>who</u> <u>we</u> <u>not</u> <u>not doing</u> <u>to</u> <u>'do'</u> <u>JUMP</u>))]	
		[(ant)]	
	2nd pers.	(" " " " ") [n'winá ((lá(vá) mí nga éndlîkî kú (ri) TLÚKWA!))]	
		(" " " " ") [<u>you</u> ((<u>who</u> <u>you</u> <u>not</u> <u>not doing</u> <u>to</u> <u>'do'</u> <u>JUMP</u>))]	
3rd pers.	(" " " " ") [voná ((lá(vá) vá nga éndlîkî kú (ri) TLÚKWA!))]		
	(" " " " ") [<u>they</u> ((<u>who</u> <u>they</u> <u>not</u> <u>not doing</u> <u>to</u> <u>'do'</u> <u>JUMP</u>))]		

APPENDIX 24

IP in the Relative Clause (Positive conjugation) contd.

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (e), pp.96-97, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary of the IP in the Relative Clause.

Nouns of all other classes except classes 1 & 2 as antecedents

Present tense	<p>Tatána ú lāvá [homú ((lé(yí) yí ngé (ri) TLÚKWA!))]</p> <p>Subj sc v [antecedent ((dem pro sc aux mo aux v id))]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[((rc))]</p> <p>lit. <u>Father</u> <u>he</u> <u>wants</u> [<u>the ox</u> ((<u>which</u> <u>is</u> 'doing' <u>JUMP</u>))]</p> <p>i.e. Father wants an ox which <u>jumps</u></p>
Past tense (Perf asp)	<p>(Same as in pres tns) [... ((lé(yí) yí nge té (ri) TLÚKWA!))]</p> <p>(" " " " ") [... ((dem.pro sc aux mo perf asp aux v id))]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[((rc))]</p> <p>lit. (" " " " ") [... ((<u>which</u> <u>has</u> 'done' <u>JUMP</u>))]</p> <p>i.e. " " " " " which has <u>jumped</u></p>
Future tense	<p>(Same as in pres tns) [... ((lé(yí) yí nga tá kû (ri) TLÚKWA!))]</p> <p>(" " " " ") [... ((dem.pro sc aux mo fut tns mo inf mo aux v id))]</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[((rc))]</p> <p>lit. (" " " " ") [... ((<u>which</u> <u>will</u> <u>to</u> 'do' <u>JUMP</u>))]</p> <p>i.e. " " " " " which will <u>jump</u></p>

APPENDIX 25

IP in the Relative Clause (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 24, p.272)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (e), p.98, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the IP in the Relative Clause

<p>Present tense</p>	<p>Tatána ú lāvá [homú ((lé(yí) yí nga éndlíkí kú (ri) TLÚKWA!))] Subj sc v [(obj) ((dem pro sc neg mo v neg inf mo aux v id))] lit. <u>Father he wants</u> [<u>the ox</u> ((<u>which it not not do to 'do' JUMP</u>))] i.e. Father wants an ox which does not <u>jump</u></p>
<p>Past tense (Perf asp)</p>	<p>(Same as in pres tns above) ((lé(yí) yí nga endlángîkí kú (ri) TLÚKWA!)) (" " " " " ") ((dem pro sc neg mo v neg inf mo aux v id)) lit. (" " " " " ") ((<u>which it not has not done to 'do' JUMP</u>)) i.e. Father wants an ox which has not <u>jumped</u></p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p>(Same as in pres tns above) ((lé(yí) yí nga tákâ yí ngâ éndli ku (ri) TLÚKWA!)) (" " " " " ") ((dem pro sc neg mo fut neg tns mo sc neg mo v neg inf mo aux v id)) lit. (" " " " " ") ((<u>which it not will not it not not do to 'do' JUMP</u>)) i.e. Father wants an ox which will not <u>jump</u></p>

APPENDIX 26

IP as base of the possessive construction brought into relative relationship with its antecedent.
(Positive conjugation)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (f), pp.99-100, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the IP in this construction.

Past tense (Perf asp)	<u>Magezi</u>	<u>ú</u>	<u>tshové</u>	,	[<u>mhándzé</u>	((	<u>lé(yí)</u>	<u>yá</u>	<u>ku</u>	<u>(ri)</u>	<u>DLOKODLOKO...!</u>)])	<u>hí</u>	<u>yôna</u>
	Subj	sc	v		{ (obj (ant)	((	dem pro	poss conc	inf mo	aux v	id	)])instr mo	abs pro
	lit. <u>Magezi</u>	<u>he</u>	<u>broke</u>		[<u>the stick</u>	((<u>which</u>	<u>of</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>'do'</u>	<u>POKE AT</u>)])	<u>with</u>	<u>it</u>
	i.e. Magezi has broken the stick for <u>poking at</u> with													

Contracted auxiliary:

Magezi u tshove mhandze (leyo DLOKODLOKO), hi yona
(Meaning as in i.e. above)

APPENDIX 27

IP as base of the possessive construction brought into relative relationship with its antecedent.
 (Negative conjugation of the sentence in appendix 26, p.274)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.3 (f), p. 99, for detailed discussion of the morphology of the auxiliary of the IP in this construction.

Perfect tense	<u>Magezi</u> <u>ú</u> <u>tshové</u> <u>mhándzé</u> ((<u>lé(yí)</u> <u>yá</u> <u>ku</u> <u>ká(lâ)</u> <u>yí</u> <u>ngâ</u> <u>éndli</u> <u>ku</u> (ri) <u>DLOKODLOKO...!</u>)) <u>hí</u> <u>yôna</u>
	Subj sc v obj ((dem poss inf aux sc neg v inf aux id))instr abs pro conc mo v neg mo neg mo v mo pro
	lit. <u>Magezi</u> <u>he</u> <u>broke</u> <u>the</u> <u>stick</u> ((<u>which</u> <u>of</u> <u>to</u> <u>not</u> <u>it</u> <u>not</u> <u>not</u> <u>do</u> <u>to</u> <u>'do'</u> <u>POKE AT</u>)) <u>with</u> <u>it</u> i.e. Magezi broke the stick which is not for <u>poking at</u> with
	Note that <u>léyí yá ku</u> may be contracted into <u>léyô</u> (<i>Vide</i> par. 3.1.1.3 (f), p.99)

APPENDIX 28

IP incorporating the object concord (Positive conjugation)

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.4 (a) (i), pp.101-102, for discussion of the position of the oc in the IP which takes the object.

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (<u>rí</u> <u>ri</u> <u>xí</u> <u>BVÚU</u>), <u>xikúkwáná</u> Subj (sc aux oc id), obj <small>v</small></p> <p>lit. <u>The eagle</u> (<u>it</u> 'does' <u>it</u> <u>SNATCH AWAY</u>), <u>the chicken</u> i.e. The eagle <u>snatches</u> the chicken away</p>
<p>Past tense (Perf asp)</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (<u>rí</u> <u>té</u> (ri) <u>xí</u> <u>BVÚU</u>), <u>xikúkwáná</u> Subj (sc perf aux oc id), obj <small>tns v mo</small></p> <p>lit. <u>The eagle</u> (<u>it</u> has 'done' <u>it</u> <u>SNATCH AWAY</u>) <u>the chicken</u> i.e. The eagle has <u>snatched</u> the chicken away</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (<u>rí</u> <u>tá</u> <u>ku</u> (ri) <u>xí</u> <u>BVÚU</u>), <u>xikúkwáná</u> Subj (sc fut inf aux oc id), obj <small>tns mo v</small></p> <p>lit. <u>The eagle</u> (<u>it</u> will <u>to</u> 'do' <u>it</u> <u>SNATCH AWAY</u>), <u>the chicken</u> i.e. The eagle will <u>snatch</u> the chicken away</p>

APPENDIX 29

IP incorporating the oc (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 28, p.276)

Alternative A

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.4 (a), p.102, for discussion of the position of the oc in the IP which takes the object.

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (a rí xî éndli ku (ri) BVÚU!) xikúkwáná Subj (neg sc oc v inf aux id obj mo neg mo v lit. <u>The eagle</u> (not it it not do to 'do' SNATCH AWAY) <u>the chicken</u> i.e. The eagle does not <u>snatch</u> the chicken away</p>
<p>Past tense (Perf asp)</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (a rí xî endláangi ku (ri) BVÚU!) xikúkwáná Subj (neg sc oc v inf aux id) obj mo neg mo v lit. <u>The eagle</u> (not it it has not done to 'do' SNATCH AWAY) <u>the chicken</u> i.e. The eagle has not <u>snatched</u> away the chicken</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (a rí ngâ xî éndli ku (ri) BVÚU!) xikúkwáná Subj (neg sc fut oc v inf aux id) obj mo neg mo neg mo v lit. <u>The eagle</u> (not it will it not do to 'do' SNATCH AWAY) <u>the chicken</u> i.e. The eagle will not <u>snatch</u> away the chicken</p>

APPENDIX 30

IP incorporating the oc (Negative conjugation of sentences in appendix 28, p.276)

Alternative B

NB. *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.4 (a), pp.102-103, for discussion of the position of the oc in the IP which takes an object.

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (<u>a rí ri</u> · <u>xí BVÚU!</u>) <u>xikúkwaná</u>, (<u>rí ri</u> <u>xí JOVOLOTO!</u>) Subj (neg sc aux oc id) obj (sc aux oc id) <small>mo v</small> lit. <u>The eagle</u> (not it 'do' it <u>SNATCH AWAY</u>) <u>the chicken</u>, (it 'does' it <u>PECK AT</u>) i.e. The eagle does not <u>snatch</u> the chicken away, (but) it <u>pecks</u> at it.</p>
<p>Past tense (Perf asp)</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (<u>a rí té (ri)</u> <u>xí BVÚU!</u>) <u>xikúkwaná</u>, (<u>rí te (ri)</u> <u>xí JOVOLOTO!</u>) Subj (neg sc perf aux oc id) obj (sc perf aux oc id) <small>mo tns v mo</small> lit. <u>The eagle</u> (not it has 'done' it <u>SNATCH AWAY</u>) <u>the chicken</u>, (it has 'done' it <u>PECK AT</u>) i.e. The eagle has not <u>snatched</u> away the chicken, (but) has <u>pecked</u> at it.</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Gámá</u> (<u>a rí ngâ tá ku (ri)</u> <u>xí BVÚU!</u>) <u>xikúkwaná</u>, (<u>rí tá ku (ri)</u> <u>xí JOVOLOTO!</u>) Subj (neg sc neg fut inf aux sc id) obj (sc fut inf aux oc id) <small>mo mo tns mo v mo</small> lit. <u>The eagle</u> (not it not will to 'do' it <u>SNATCH AWAY</u>) <u>the chicken</u>, (it will to 'do' it <u>PECK AT</u>) i.e. The eagle will not <u>snatch</u> the chicken away, (but) it will <u>peck</u> at it.</p>

APPENDIX 31

IP incorporating the reflexive ti-

NB.(1) The reflexive ti- is hyphenated in the examples given here, but in the practical orthography of Tsonga, it is written as part of the ideophone (or verb) hence TINKA! (of chopping oneself). Only examples in the positive conjugation will be given.

NB.(2) *Vide* chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.4 (b), p.103.

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Magezi</u> (<u>ú</u> <u>ri</u> <u>tí-NKÁ</u>), <u>hí</u> <u>xíhloká</u> Subj (sc aux refl id), instr n v mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>Magezi</u> (he 'does' him- CHOP), <u>with</u> <u>an axe</u> self</p> <p>i.e. Magezi <u>chops</u> himself with an axe.</p>
<p>Past tense (Perf asp)</p>	<p><u>Magezi</u> (<u>ú</u> <u>té</u> (ri) <u>tí - NKÁ</u>), <u>hí</u> <u>xíhloká</u> Subj (sc perf aux refl id), instr n tns v mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>Magezi</u> (he <u>has</u> 'done' him- CHOP), <u>with</u> <u>an axe</u> self</p> <p>i.e. Magezi has <u>chopped</u> himself with an axe.</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Magezi</u> (<u>ú</u> <u>tá</u> <u>ku</u> (ri) <u>tí - NKÁ</u>), <u>hí</u> <u>xíhloká</u> Subj (sc fut inf aux refl id), instr n tns mo v mo mo</p> <p>lit. <u>Magezi</u> (he <u>will</u> <u>to</u> 'do' him- CHOP), <u>with</u> <u>an axe</u> self</p> <p>i.e. Magezi will <u>chop</u> himself with an axe.</p>

APPENDIX 32

IP incorporating the (adverbial morpheme) ka-

- NB. (1) Only examples in the positive conjugation will be given.
 (2) Also see chapter 3, par. 3.1.1.4 (c), p.104.

KA-TSEMBE, id. (of walking with difficulty)

<p>Present tense</p>	<p><u>Xikoxa</u> (<u>xí ri ka</u> - TSEMBE, <u>ka</u> - TSEMBE, ...) Subj (sc aux adv id adv id) v mo mo lit. <u>The old lady</u> (she 'does' repeat TSEMBE ...) i.e. The old lady repeatedly walks with difficulty.</p>
<p>Past tense (Perf asp)</p>	<p><u>Xikoxa</u> (<u>xí té (ri) ka</u> - TSEMBE, <u>ka</u> - TSEMBE, ...) Subj (sc perf aux adv id adv id) tns v mo mo lit. <u>The old lady</u> (she has 'done' repeatedly TSEMBE ...) i.e. The old lady has repeatedly walked with difficulty.</p>
<p>Future tense</p>	<p><u>Xikoxa</u> (<u>xí tá ku (ri) ka</u> - TSEMBE, <u>ka</u> - TSEMBE, ...) Subj (sc fut inf aux adv id adv id) tns mo v mo mo lit. <u>The old lady</u> (she will to 'do' repeatedly TSEMBE ...) i.e. The old lady will repeatedly walk with difficulty.</p>

TENSE AND ASPECT IN TSONGA

1. (This outline should be read in conjunction with the chart in appendix 33B, p.288.)

The analysis of tense is in any language, to use Lyons' (1969:306) words, "... a matter of considerable controversy." With this statement in view, it is intended here to give a sketchy outline of Tsonga tenses and aspects. This outline is necessitated by the fact that no in-depth study of tense and aspect has been done in Tsonga or in any South African Bantu language. It should be emphasized that this outline is done in an empirical manner and consequently no pretensions are made to regard it as being quite explicit. Its sole purpose is to help the reader follow the intended demonstration of the predicative nature of the Ideophonic Phrase (IP).

2. Tense and aspect

Lyons (1977:705) defines tense as "... a deictic category ... which involves an explicit or implicit reference to the time of utterance." Lyons (1969:303) outlines the essential characteristic of tense as being to relate the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of uttering being 'now'). Comrie (1975:1) puts it this way: "Tense relates the time of the situation referred to to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking." On the other hand, Lyons (1977:706) defines aspect as that part of the meaning of the verb whereby it (the verb) denotes one kind of situation rather than another.

3. Tsonga tenses and aspects

For the purpose of this study, the common tenses will be considered. Comrie (1975:2) outlines the common tenses as past, present and future. These tenses relate the time of the situation described to the present moment. They are referred to as absolute tenses. A sampling of seven aspects in Tsonga are outlined here. They are the following: (1) incomplete, (2) progressive, (3) exclusive, (4) perfective, (5) imperfective, (6) restrictive and (7) stative.

It will be noticed from the chart that some aspectual distinctions are restricted to certain tenses. Comrie (1975:71) has this to say about these restrictions:

One of the most interesting relationships between aspect and tense, from the viewpoint of language as a functional system, occurs when an aspectual distinction is restricted to one or more tenses, rather than operating across the board, independently of tense.

Lyons (1977:688) expresses the concept of restriction in the following manner: "... although both tense and aspect may be found in the same language, it is not uncommon for there to be gaps and asymmetries."

The principle of restriction maintains in Tsonga as well. For example, the 'incomplete aspect' (column 1 in the chart) features in the present and future tenses only. It has no past tense form. The perfective (column 4 in the chart) and the imperfective (column 5 in the chart) feature in the past tense only in Tsonga.

4. Aspectual morphemes

Comrie (1975:9), states that "... aspect as a grammatical category ... may be expressed by means of the inflectional morphology of the language in question ..." and goes on to say that "... formal devices used to express aspectual oppositions in various languages belong to the grammar of those individual languages and not to a general book on aspect." From the point of view of inflectional morphology, most aspects in Tsonga are realized by the employment of certain aspectual morphemes prefixed or suffixed to the verb. For example, the progressive aspect employs the morpheme ha- (column 2), the exclusive aspect employs the morpheme se- (column 3), the perfective aspect employs the morphemes -ile/te- (column 4), the imperfective aspect employs the morpheme a- (column 5), the restrictive aspect employs the morpheme -o (column 6) and the stative aspect the morpheme lo- (column 7).

The following are brief comments on the perfective, imperfective, restrictive and stative aspectual morphemes, as these will be encountered with frequently during the demonstration of the predicative nature of the Ideophonic Phrase.

5. The perfective aspectual morphemes -ile and te-

The perfective aspectual morphemes -ile and te- signify that the action has been completed. All normal verbs suffix -ile to express the perfect connotation (see sentence 7, appendix 33B, p.288). The verb stem -ri (say) employs the perfective aspectual morpheme te- to express the perfect connotation (see sentence 10 in appendix 33B, p.288).

6. The imperfective aspectual morpheme a-

It has not been easy to find a term for this aspectual morpheme. Van Rooyen (1977:203) regards the Zulu be- as the imperfective aspectual morpheme and calls it the 'imperfektiewe vormelement' in Afrikaans. It has been observed that the Tsonga morpheme a- connotes a similar notion as the Zulu be- hence the reason also to call it the 'imperfective aspectual' morpheme. Van Rooyen (1977:204) regards the Zulu be- as the imperfective aspectual morpheme because, to use his words, "... be- dui aan dat die handeling aan die gang was sonder om te impliseer waar dit begin en geëindig het ...", i.e. it signifies that the action was going on without implying where it began and ended. Van Rooyen (1977:206) goes on to state that: "Dit is belangrik dat be- nooit die teenwoordige tyd impliseer nie ...", i.e. be- never implies the present tense. Similarly, the Tsonga imperfective aspectual morpheme a- implies that the action was going on (or that the state was maintaining) without implying where it began or ended. The imperfective aspectual morpheme a- never implies the present. It may be used to imply the past as seen from the future,¹ implying that the action would take place (or that the stative situation would maintain), circumstances permitting. The imperfective aspectual morpheme a- is always realised with the high tone.

7. The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o

The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o signifies that the subject performed no other action, or is in no other state than the one suggested by the verb in the predicative, hence the use of the term 'restrictive' to refer to it. The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o

¹ Cf. Wilkins (1976:28) for the concept 'past as seen from the future.'

is generally incorporated in other morphemes such as the *sc*, the potential and negative morphemes *-nga-* and the future morpheme *-ta-*. When thus incorporated, it supplants the vowels customarily associated with these morphemes, hence e.g. *sc xa* becomes *xo* (*sc-o*); potential (or negative) *-nga* becomes *-ngo-*; future formative *-ta-* becomes *-to*. Added to this implication, it connotes 'merely' or 'simply' or 'just'. Note the following examples:

- (1) Ndzo dya
sc-o v
 (I am 'doing nothing else but merely or simply or just' eating.)
 (NB: The apostrophized words refer to the aspectual notion carried by the morpheme *-o*.)

Compare sentence (1) above with the following example where the plain *sc* is used:

- (2) Ndza dya
sc v
 (I eat / I am eating)

8. The stative aspectual morpheme lo-

The stative aspectual morpheme *lo-* is generally used with inchoative (stative) ideophones to signify a stative situation of the subject e.g.

- (3) (Va lo (ri) MBAA!)
 st aux
 (sc asp v id)
 mo

lit. (They have 'done' SIT)

i.e. They are in a state of being seated

9. Grouping of aspectual morphemes

In Tsonga, it is possible to group certain aspectual morphemes to express certain semantic distinctions. For example, in sentence 19 in appendix 33B, p.288, andza ha fambile (I was still gone), the morpheme a- which signifies the imperfective aspect, the morpheme -ha- which signifies the progressive aspect and the suffix morpheme -ile which signifies the perfect aspect are grouped together in a single utterance.

Tsonga tenses and aspects

APPENDIX 33B

A S P E C T S

Appendix 33B

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T E N S E S

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Incomplete	Progressive	Exclusive	Perfective	Imperfective	Restrictive	Stative
Aspectual morphemes		---	-ha	se-	-ile/te-	a-	-o-	-lo-
A PRESENT	(1) <u>Ndza dya</u> (I eat)	(4) <u>Ndza ha dya</u> (I am still /eating)	(6) <u>Se ndza dya</u> (I am already /eating)				(23) <u>Ndzo dya</u> (I am merely /eating)	(25) <u>Ndzi lo tshama</u> (I am merely /seated)
	(2) <u>Ndzi dya vuswa</u> (I eat food)							
B PAST				(7) <u>Se a ndzi dya</u> (I was already /eating) 2+5	(9) <u>Ndzi dyile</u> (I have eaten)	(12) <u>A ndzi dya</u> (I was eating) 5+1		
					(10) <u>Ndzi te (ri) tana</u> (I said come)	(13) <u>A ndzi dyile</u> (I had eaten) 5+4		
						(14) <u>A ndza ha dya</u> (I was still eating) 5+2		
						(15) <u>A ndzo dya</u> (I was merely eating) 5+6		
						(16) <u>A ndzi lo tshama</u> (I was merely seated) 5+7		
						(17) <u>A ndzi dyile</u> (I had eaten) 5+4		
						(18) <u>Se a ndzi dyile</u> (I had already eaten) 3+5+4		
						(19) <u>A ndza ha fambile</u> (I was still gone) 5+2+4		
						(20) <u>Se a ndzo famba</u> (I was already merely /going) 3+5+6		
						(21) <u>A ndzi ta va ndza</u> /ha famba (I would still be /walking) 5+2 (B+C)		
C FUTURE	(3) <u>Ndzi ta dya</u> (I will eat)	(5) <u>Ndza ha ta dya</u>	(8) <u>Se ndzi ta dya</u>	(11) <u>Ndzi ta va ndzi</u> /dyile	(22) <u>A ndzi ta va ndza</u> /ha fambile (I would still be /gone) 5+2+4 (B+C)		(24) <u>Ndzi to dya</u> (I will just /eat)	(26) <u>Ndzi ta va ndzi</u> /lo tshama (I will be merely seated)

NB: Figures refer to aspects. Roman letters to tenses. Where figures (and letters) are conjoined by the plus (+) sign, this signifies the compounding of aspects (and tenses).

APPENDIX 34

The '-o na' (as soon as) binding expression

The restrictive aspectual morpheme -o¹ incorporated in other morphemes as well as in the form of lo- may occur in conjunction with the formative -na immediately following thereafter, hence -o na, resulting in a 'binding expression'², which makes the IP in which it occurs to become the 'as soon as' clause. Note the following examples:

- (1) With sc : xó na ku (ri) THÁMU, ...
 sc-o asa inf aux id
 mo mo v.
 (lit. it simply as soon as to SPRING FORWARD...)
 (i.e. as soon as it merely springs forward, ...)
- (2) With -lo- : xí ló na ku (ri) MPHYÁ, ...
 sc stv asa inf aux id
 mo mo mo v.
 (lit. it has simply as soon as to SLIP OUT, ...)
 (i.e. as soon as it had slipped out ...)
- (3) With fut ta : rí tó na ku (ri) HATI, ...
 restr
 fut asa inf aux
 sc tns mo mo v. id
 mo
 (lit. it will simply to as soon as to FLASH ...)
 (i.e. as soon as it flashes ...)

¹ *Vide* app. 33A, par. 7, pp.284-285, as well as app. 33B, p.288, column 6.

² The term 'binding expression' is adopted from Brown & Miller (1980:150) when they refer to expressions such as 'In other words' which bind sentences together.

APPENDIX 35THE CONCEPT 'EXEMPLIFY'

For lack of a better term, the term 'exemplify' has been adopted from Bynon (1970:74) to express the stylistic significance of ideophones. The dictionary defines 'exemplify' as, inter alia, being to 'illustrate by example'. Ideophones attempt to 'simulate' the action expressed. For this reason they are iconic in nature,¹ being in most cases phonetically motivated,² be it directly or indirectly, hence their peculiar phonological characteristics.

The whole idea of ideophonic predication is to attempt to 'exemplify' or 'simulate' an 'action', 'process' or 'state' by means of what Bynon (1970:79) terms a 'vocal gesture'. Elaborating on the concept 'vocal gesture', Bynon (1970:79) states that an ideophone acting as a 'vocal gesture',

... takes up and repeats the idea of the verbal action at a more expressive level, underlying its sudden or extended nature and acting as a bearer for certain supra-segmental features of purely expressive content.

Ideophonic predication expresses an action, process or state by means of some linguistic expression. Kunene's (1965:20) way of expressing this stylistic significance of ideophonic predication may make the concept clearer. He says:

¹ *Vide* par. 5.4, p. 209, for the concept 'iconicity'.

² *Vide* par. 5.6.1, p. 211, for the concept 'phonetically motivated'.

APPENDIX 35 - contd

The speaker-turned-actor re-presents to, or creates or dramatises for, his audience, by means either of the ideophone alone (i.e. linguistically), or of ideophone and gesture (i.e. linguistically and by imitation simultaneously) or by gesture alone, the event or situation which he wishes them to observe.

Ideophonic predication expresses an action, process or state in such a way that it is suggestive enough to conjure in the mind of the listener, the real 'action', 'process' or 'state' carried out or performed by the subject.

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