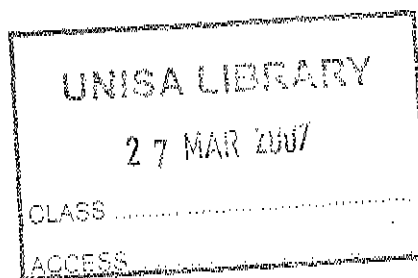




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THE ADAPTABILITY OF ZULU
TO NEW SITUATIONS.

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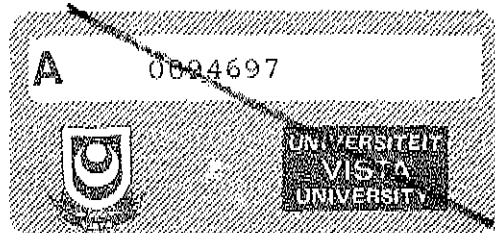
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in the Department of Bantu Languages in the
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CHAPTER 1.I N T R O D U C T I O N .1.1. Definition of Title.1.1.1. Title: The Adaptability of Zulu to new Situations.

The adaptation of a language¹⁾ to new modes of life seems to reveal itself mainly in the following ways :

(i) in the disparity between the spoken and the written language ;

(ii) in class language, for example, the language of various professions or trade unions (vaktaal) or in the language of various social classes in a society (e.g. the language of Zulu women called "Hlonipha") as well as in different social environments, e.g. in rural and industrial areas (e.g. in the cities.)

(iii) by means of borrowings from another language or languages ;

(iv) by means of slang;

(v) in a pidgin or "Fanakalo" as used by various Bantu tribes on the mines in the Republic of South Africa for bridging the gulf between the different Bantu dialects; and

(vi) in a creole which is usually the offspring of a pidgin.

However, the manifestations of adaptation mentioned above do not occur in the development of all languages. For example, there is no evidence that Zulu as revealed in "Fanakalo" will ever become a creole.

In a study of the adaptability of the language, the investigator aims at finding the underlying principle governing the adaptation of the language to new conditions. His data is extracted from most or all the facets of adaptation mentioned in nos. (i) - (vi) above. In other words, the study of the adaptability of a language implies a prior study of the various aspects of adaptation.

1) We use the term "language" in the sense that Garvin applied it, viz. " language is a system of signs"
Garvin 1964. p.8.

In this study, Creole, for the reason mentioned above, has been excluded. With regard to "Fanakalo", only words with original Zulu root morphemes are considered. Further, borrowings with particular reference to the linguistic adaptation of loan-words have been left out of account because another investigator is studying this aspect of adaptability. Loan-words are only included where they are incorporated into the complements of idioms and proverbs.

The adaptability of Zulu is a linguistic study of the basic formula at work in the process of adaptation. It is an investigation of the means whereby Zulu adapts itself to new situations. "What 'tools' does Zulu employ to adjust itself to new situations?" and "How effective are these 'tools'?" are the important questions which this dissertation is trying to answer. In other words, is Zulu able to adjust itself to new situations ?

Zulu refers to the language spoken by some two million people inhabiting the province of Natal, ²⁾ the south eastern Transvaal and the eastern portion of the Orange Free State in the Republic of South Africa.

Zulu belongs to the Nguni group of the South Eastern Zone of Bantu languages.

New Situations

Zulus do not seem to have come into direct contact with the Arabs. But their folk-lore gives a hint about some influence exerted on them by the Arabs. ³⁾

- 2) Natal includes Zululand which is the nucleus of the Zulu-speaking population.
- 3) Cf. the story of the isiQugumadevu which seems to be connected with slave trade by the Arabs. (Arabs are said to have traded in Black slaves; see Bartlett, 1953, p.11.)

The exact date of the first contact between Zulus and Europeans is uncertain. As a result of the Portuguese voyages of discovery, copper and brass were introduced into Bantuland 4) by way of the western coast of Africa. After Vasco de Gama's discovery of the sea-route to India, Europeans became more and more acquainted with the coast and Bay of Natal. Among the visitors to Natal were the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English as well as explorers. But, according to Holden, 5) the majority of these visitors were crews of vessels wrecked on the Natal shores from time to time.

Evidently, the initial contacts between the Zulus and Europeans were indirect, few and far between. But by the year 1600 A.D. the Whiteman had apparently made his presence felt in the southern-most tip of the present Republic of South Africa because the Zulu's further migration southwards was barred by the Europeans. 6)

- 4) Bryant, 1949, p.159. Later the eastern coast of Southern Africa was also used for introducing copper and brass to the Bantu. Wiid, 1955, p.11 reports that in 1498 Vasco de Gama found South African Bantu having large quantities of copper at the mouth of Rio de Cobre. This copper probably reached them through inter-tribal trade originating from the western coast of Africa. According to Faye (in his folder, Killie Campbell Library), the Zulus got their first manufactured copper from the Portuguese at the close of the 15th century or at the beginning of the sixteenth. He also believes that brass must have followed soon afterwards. With regard to beads, Mayr, (File No. 17659/2, Killie Campbell Library) says that beads were introduced by the Portuguese to the Zulus. Dhlomo (in File No.21014, sub-file 4, Killie Campbell Library), says the sailors of the Good Hope wrecked in 1685, paid their Zulu carriers by means of beads.
- 5) Holden, 1963, p.36.
- 6) Bryant, op. cit., p. 69.

Subsequently, the wreck of the Johanna (1683), followed a year later by that of the Francis, the wreck of the Stavenisse (1686), the purchase of Port Natal and the land adjoining it by the seamen of the Noord in 1689, the establishment of a factory by the Dutch at Port Natal (1721) ending with the first settlement of Europeans at Port Natal in the person of Farewell and his party in 1823, steadily but surely strengthened the contact between the Zulu and the Whiteman. From 1823 up to date, the Zulu has had a continuous contact with the European.

From the foregoing information, it seems convenient to consider the period from about 1500 A.D. up to the present as constituting new situations. During this period direct and indirect contact between the Europeans and the Zulus has resulted in a modification of Zulu culture.⁷⁾ The introduction of new commodities, artefacts, customs, forms of organization and ideas by the Whiteman has effected changes in the life of the Zulus.

1.2. Aim

1.2.1. The aim of this study is to investigate the capability of the Zulu language to adjust itself to new situations. What are the basic principles governing the adaptability of this language ?

Emphasis is laid on the investigation of the linguistic structural form as well as the vocabulary (in terms of indigenous Zulu root morphemes) which apparently contribute towards the preservation of this language in spite of the great impact exerted on it by the languages of technologically more advanced peoples, viz. The Afrikaners and the English. The essential problem is to find out exactly what enables the Zulu language to survive. What enables this language to cope with the pressure of naming new objects in Zulu fairly satisfactorily ?

1.2.2. The structure, meaning and classification of modern idioms as well as the classification of new proverbs is also undertaken. It is hoped that these will indicate the ways, if any, in which the traditional Zulu idioms and proverbs differ from the new ones. Further, a re-adaptation of some proverbs will be indicated.

7) "Culture is the man-made part of the

1.2.3. A cursory discussion of adaptation will be given at the end of the discussion of adaptability. This is done in this way because adaptation does not actually belong to the discussion of adaptability, although it complements the latter to a large extent and is, therefore, closely related to it.

1.2.4. Finally, it is important to emphasize that this investigation is primarily an exploratory survey which attempts to open up new ground for further research. This investigation is by no means the last word on the subject.

1.3. Method of Investigation.

1.3.1. All languages change with time.⁸⁾ Zulu is no exception to this. In fact, the evolution of Zulu is so marked that every generation seems to notice a slight difference between its own speech and that of the generation before and that after it.

1.3.2. The evolution of a language can be studied successfully by making a survey of the innovations⁹⁾ incorporated to it from generation to generation. A student would have to compare changes in usages of words and expressions in the different ages.

1.3.3. Zulu, however, has no records that would give the student sufficient perspective. The New Testament is the first important Zulu work. It was published at Esidumbini in 1865. The complete Zulu Bible was translated in 1883. Catechisms and books on Christian dogma were subsequently produced by missionaries of various churches. In 1922 the first book inclined to creative writing was produced, viz. Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona by M.M. Fuze. Up to date, the quantity of Zulu creative works is roughly as follows: fifteen dramas, fifteen anthologies of verse, five short stories and about fifty novelettes. In addition, there are also some six series of primary school readers and a few translations. A few books on content subjects have also been written in Zulu.

8) Vogt, 1954, p.347 confirmed by Martinet, 1964, p.163.

9) Innovations refers to new usages of indigenous Zulu root morphemes (and new usages of old Zulu words where these have the same order or sequence of morphemes.) It also includes idiomatic expressions and proverbs that are of recent origin.

1.3.4. Judging from the facts in par.1.3.3. it is risky to use written sources exclusively for the purpose of studying adaptability.

1.3.5. The magnitude of the problem of finding a reliable method is, however, minimized if one regards language as a systematic communication of man's response to his environment. Both the geographical and social environments are liable to change. For example, man can change his geographical environment by migrating from one area to another or he may change his surroundings by rearing new domestic animals or introduce new plants or build new types of dwellings and open up roads where these do not exist. On the other hand, his social environment may be changed by introducing new social institutions and customs, as well as by adopting new activities. In short, man's environment is dynamic. But its development or change is not confined to the social and geographical sphere. It is also spiritual, intellectual, and even economic.

1.3.6. The old maxim that "nature allows no vacuum" is also true in respect of language. The changes that occur in man's environment create a need for the evolution of a systematic communication (i.e. language) that keeps pace with the development of his environment. Consequently, it is reasonable to say that the evolution of a language is evidence of the evolution of man's environment.

1.3.7. Hence, the evolution of the Zulu language can be studied by investigating the evolution of the environment of the Zulus. A reliable way of studying the evolution of this environment is by investigating the changes that have resulted from the contact of the Zulus with Europeans. This method is reliable because:

(1) there is sufficient written evidence in history, anthropology, and other related subjects to enable the investigator to identify the new; and

(2) "Europeans have brought with them a new material culture, new institutions and functionalities and new ideas." 10)

10) Hunter, 1934, p. 100.

1.3.8. The method discussed in the preceding paragraph is not perfect either. In cases where the evidence of the contact between Zulus and Europeans is lacking, there is no way of discovering or determining the existence of innovations.

1.4. Execution of Research.

1.4.1. This research was carried out as follows:

(a) Library Research.

(i) Various sources of literature such as books on anthropology and history; dictionaries, the 1924 and 1959 editions of the Zulu Bible; novelettes, primary school series of readers, and other relevant publications were scrutinized to identify innovations.

(ii) Manuscripts of James Stuart, Bryant, Faye, Lugg, Hulley, etc. were consulted at the Killie Campbell Library in Durban.

(iii) The Mariannhill Archives were also visited.

(b) Field Work. 11)

Different types of social environments were visited with a view to finding data that is representative of practically all conditions in which Zulu language development may be encountered. For example,

(i) Nongoma and Msinga were visited for the purpose of finding out how language growth manifests itself under tribal conditions.

(ii) Utrecht and Ixopo were considered to be ideal for testing language development in farming areas where the former district is populated by Afrikaans-speaking farmers, while the latter area is dominantly English-speaking. These areas served as a control to check whether or not the development of Zulu from her own language resources is uniform even in environments where the Zulu come into contact with Europeans who speak different languages. Loan translations for example, offer evidence of language contact. These would normally differ in the two areas.

11) Our original intention of sending questionnaires to schools in various areas in order to supplement our field work failed because it later emerged that the investigator would have to administer them himself. This was found to be too costly for the investigator and, therefore, abandoned.

(iii) The adaptability of the language under industrial and urban conditions was tested in Durban, Pinetown and Johannesburg. Besides the locations in these areas, factories were also visited, including the Mariannahill and Ilanga presses in Durban. Further, the crew and labourers (all Zulu-speaking) of the Clan Robertson cargo ship were interviewed.

(iv) Vryheid and Newcastle were chosen for the purpose of studying the usage of Zulu in the collieries.

1.4.2. While indirect observation was employed throughout the duration of the field work, interviews were found to be effectual. Such interviews were held with one person at a time or with a manageable group of people, much depending upon circumstances. Such a group usually argued over each point and ultimately a satisfactory agreement would be reached. In some cases, the informants actually supplemented the questions the investigator had overlooked.

The informants were asked questions based upon observable phenomena or things in their environment. They would be asked to name the one or other thing that was pointed out to them or they were requested to describe, say, how a team of oxen is inspanned, what gear is used, and what implements such animals draw, etc. Where necessary, the informants were asked to explain the origin of certain activities. For example, "Konje zaziboshelwa yini izinkomo kuqala / ngesikhathi kusabusa iNkosi uShaka ? (By the way, do you think it is a Zulu habit to inspan oxen / Did Zulus inspan oxen in Shaka's day?). Such questions usually sparked off a very animated conversation with history, language, or customs brought to the fore, much depending upon the particular informant's field of interest which in some cases could actually be called a field of 'specialisation.'

1.4.3. Informants were chosen with great care. Before setting out on visits to the different areas (particularly the country areas) a prior contact was made with a person residing at each of the places on the itinerary to seek four or five old people who are acknowledged authorities on Zulu. This method worked very well indeed except at Msinga where many places are inaccessible due to mountains and tropical bush as well as the prevalence of continual tribal faction fights which expose any foreigner to the danger of being killed, and at Utrecht where all efforts at making prior arrangements failed.

No difficulties were experienced in establishing rapport with the informants. It should also be noted that this selection of informants did not exclude other people who were considered to be helpful. In fact, many more people were consulted than it was originally planned.

The age and knowledge of the informants were considered to be important because the old people's knowledge of history and Zulu customs is reliable.¹²⁾ Further, the old people are in a better position to observe language changes as they can compare the old and the new fairly accurately. There are exceptions, however. For example, at Empembeni in Nongoma we found a certain Mhlongo, who in his middle age, proved to be well versed in the history of Zululand.

At factories, collieries and other places of employment, the employers always offered their experienced labourers for the interviews.

The districts of Empangeni, Eshowe and Mtunzini were used for conducting a pilot study before embarking on research further afield.

12) I have yet to meet a greater authority on Zulu customs than a certain Mr. Ndebele in Nongoma, to support my contention here.

1.5. The orthography used in this work is that of the Department of Bantu Education, viz Terminology and Orthography, No.2, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1962.

1.6. Explanation of signs and symbols used :

- B. stands for Ur-Bantu;
 - > means 'becomes';
 - < means 'derived from';
 - = means 'equal to';
 - + means 'plus';
 - // indicates alternate use
of morphemes;
 - \ indicates low tone;
 - ˆ indicates high tone.
-
-

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. A language changes with time. On the whole this change may be attributed to two causes, viz.

(1) a change emanating from within the culture of a people. The modification or changes of certain institutions, material objects, and the world view of a people may, for some reason or another, be effected in time. Such changes would necessarily be reflected in the development of the language concerned.

(2) a change emanating from without the culture of a people. A continuous first-hand contact between any two peoples often results in changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both peoples. Again, such changes reveal themselves in the language.

In this study, our attention is focused upon the change of culture emanating from outside the culture of the Zulus. This change in the culture of the Zulus will explain the changes that have arisen in their language.

2.1.2. When the Zulus came into continuous first-hand contact with Europeans, a modification of their original culture resulted. The following elements of Western Civilization were brought to them: a new form of land tenure, trade, customs and tribal organization; Christianity, and other miscellaneous things.

2.1.3. In this chapter, we shall try to outline how the elements of western Civilization mentioned in par.2.1.2. above were brought to the Zulus. In the discussion of each element, an attempt will be made to explain briefly:

(a) what the position was before the arrival of the Europeans;

(b) what cultural changes were effected by the introduction of the elements of Western Civilization to the Zulus;

and (c) how these elements of Western Civilization contributed to the evolution of the Zulu language.

2.1.4. The procedure followed above will enable us to :

(a) disentangle elements of traditional Zulu culture from those of Western Civilization; and

(b) reconstruct both the conceptual and emotive meanings of words fairly reliably.

2.2. Land Tenure

2.2.1. Before the arrival of the Europeans, land was the property of the tribe according to Zulu custom.¹⁾ No individual or groups of individuals could hold a title of ownership of land. From this, it is clear that no-one could buy or cede land because such a transaction was unknown. But every head of a family was granted the right of occupation of a tract of land allocated to him for the purpose of erecting his home and for tillage. Stock was grazed on the commonage.

2.2.2. In 1689, the seamen of the Noord bought the Bay of Natal together with the land adjoining it.²⁾ Other significant negotiations for transfer of land by Zulus to Whitemen were made by Dingana and Piet Retief in 1838 and between the Zulus and the South African Republic for deciding on the border between Zululand and the South African Republic.

2.2.3. The significance of these agreements between Zulus and Europeans from a language point of view can be summarised as follows: Zulus came to know contracts or agreements (izivUMelwano), and that these were written (ziyaBHALwa), and what is more, that land is alienable (umuNTU angawuTHENGA umHLABa). Other adjustments related to this were that artificial boundaries (izikhONKWANE) could be set up to mark out the size of a piece of land (ukuDABUzi umHLABa). Originally, land was demarcated by means of natural boundaries like rivers and mountains.³⁾

2.2.4. Later, the Natives (as the Zulus who lived to the south of the Tugela R. were known) were given the right to purchase land by the government of Natal. Some of these were settled on crown land, others became squatters on the colonists' farms, and yet another group were settled in tribal locations.

2.2.5. Besides the Zulus who lived under their King on tribal land and the Natives of Natal as described above, there were mission stations established by various churches.

1) Bryant, 1949, p. 464.
 2) Scully, 1922, p. 228.
 3) Stuart, File No. 29393, p. 128.

2.2.6. Consequently, there were six classes of Zulus according to land settlement at the close of the last century, viz., those on tribal land, tribal locations, mission stations, squatters on colonists' farms, those on crown land and those who occupied their own land. The growth of Durban and other cities and towns opened up a seventh prospect, i.e. urban locations. The different Zulu communities described here had different occupations, and lived under different conditions. This eventually led to an evolution of innovations peculiar to the different areas.

2.3. Trade

2.3.1. Before the arrival of the Europeans, trade among the Zulus was of a simple nature or form. It was known as ukwENANA.

2.3.2. The initial trade between Zulus and Europeans was in the form of barter. The Europeans offered the Zulus copper and brass ⁴⁾ in exchange for tusks of elephants or for land⁵⁾.

2.3.3. Beads are another commodity that was introduced to the Zulus by Europeans. These were porcelain beads because Zulus are said to have made their own beads from materials found around them such as stones, seeds, sea-shells, ostrich eggs, scented plants and wood.⁶⁾ Initially, the trade in beads is said to have been undertaken by amaNhlenga⁷⁾ who exchanged them for cattle. Later, however, the amaNhlenga were replaced by European traders. According to Fr. Mayr:⁸⁾

"Beads were first brought by the Portuguese, then the Dutch, and now by the English."

2.3.4. The introduction of brass and copper by the European trader expanded the Zulu language. For example, the following names were evolved: iTHUSi elIMHLOPHe (brass), iTHUSi eliBOMVu (copper), iNDONDo (a brass ball), iNGXOTHa (a brass armband.) Expressions such as angiFaki luTHO eKHALeni (I am beautiful as I am, I need no adornment); akuKHO THUSi laTHETHa loDWA (It takes two people to start a quarrel) originated. Many other innovations were evolved in Zulu as a result of the introduction of brass and copper.

4) Faye's Folder No. 17148, p.9.

5) Scully, op. cit., p. 228.

6) Ford, Beads - South Africa, File No. 21014 - 5.

7) According to informants, the amaNhlenga are said to have come from the North. The same people introduced the domestic cats to Zululand. The Zulus named the cat uMangobe after the chief of the amaNhlenga. Bryant, op.cit., p.156 refers to them as Tonga traders

2.3.5. As a result of the introduction of porcelain beads by Europeans, beadwork has become so deeply established among the Zulus that it has developed a language of its own in exchanging messages between lovers. The wearing of porcelain beads has also developed into a symbol that reflects the feelings or particular circumstances in which the wearer finds himself/herself. All this has stimulated an enormous vocabulary in naming different types of beads and the description of their significance. For instance, iTHAMBo (white beads), imFIBInga (amber coloured beads), an expression of vowing: ngiyiHULULE imFIBInga (by Jove !), a proverb such as uCU aluLINGani eNTANYeni (I shall not do it - impossible !), and many other innovations.

2.4. Customs and Tribal Organization

2.4.1. The early history of the Zulus has been fully treated by Bryant ⁹⁾ and others. When Europeans arrived in Zululand, according to Hattersley ¹⁰⁾

"Zululand ... was ... the home of a compact though heterogeneous military nation."

2.4.2. Before the Europeans took over the administration of the Zulus, Shaka had subdued the neighbouring and distant clans and welded them together to form a new Zulu nation. Hence, political authority had become centralized and new language elements were integrated into the erstwhile Zulu language; cf. for example, the Lala language which dwindled and lost its identity. But this situation was ephemeral because in 1839, Mpande broke away from Dingana and crossed the Tugela R. to go and -KHONZA (to subject himself to another authority) under Boers. This event is known as ukuDABUKa kweGODa (the end of the association of Dingana and Mpande).

2.4.3. The coronation of Mpande by the Boers in 1840, marked a change of status of the Zulu king. It also heralded a new era in the administration of the Zulus. Later, when the English annexed Natal, the Natives of this territory were settled in locations which were supervised by chiefs appointed by the new administration. After the Zulu War in 1879, Zululand was also divided into thirteen districts each headed by an appointed chief who had equal status with the former Zulu kings.

9) Bryant, 1929, 1949, 1964.

10) Hattersley, 1950, p. 13.

2.4.4. In a sense, the divisions mentioned in the preceding paragraph promoted regional differences in language development. They had the opposite effect of Shaka's amalgamation of the different clans. So, for example, one comes across regional differences as one travels through the province of Natal. For example, at Msinga the messenger-of-the-court is known as umSHAYi whereas at Nongoma and other areas, the common name for this officer is isiKHONZi. The court interpreter is known as iHUMUSHa in many parts of Zululand, but between Vryheid and Swaziland the form umHUMUSHi is known. A postal mark is commonly known as isiGXOBo in the Dundee and neighbouring areas, whereas at Eshowe and neighbouring areas it is commonly known as isiGXIVizo. The smallest native pot is known as uGOZwana in the Mtunzini area but unoPITOLO in the Msinga and Dundee areas. These examples illustrate vocabulary differences only. But phonetic, and phonological differences also exist.

2.4.5. The administrative changes in the government of the Zulus introduced a host of innovations. Thus, for example, a state department is known as umNYANGo (lit. a door), a prime minister uDUNanKULu (originally the leader of an army or the chief inDUNa of a king), a magistrate was named inKOSi yasenKANTOLO (lit. the king of the court of law), an affidavit, isiFUNGo (an act of vouching), a bond isiBOPHo (something binding), etc. However, the evolution of the language is not confined to words. There are idiomatic expressions such as ukuHAMBa izinKANTOLO (to be engaged in endless litigation), iCALa leGAZi / lomBANGo (a criminal/ civil case), ukuDABULa incWADI yomSHADo (lit. to tear the marriage certificate, i.e., to be divorced.)

2.4.6. The old vocabulary connected with national festivals, such as the ceremony of the first fruits, mobilization, and the demobilization of warriors, and the enforcement of forced marriages between members of certain male and female regiments gradually became defunct. On the other hand, language connected with the Whiteman's administration developed.

2.5. Labour.

2.5.1. Before the arrival of the European, the Zulu was mainly a stock-breeder. However, he was not a stock-breeder in the modern sense. Further, he cultivated millet which constituted his staple food. Hunting was also popular

2.5.2. The Zulus were also skilled in the following crafts :

(a) The Blacksmith made weapons and instruments, such as the assegai, the battle-axe, a borer, and a digging stick.

(b) Wooden articles such as the milk pail, the meat tray, a head rest, and knob-kerries were made.

(c) Women specialized in the weaving of mats and articles of pottery such as beer pots.

(d) Grain baskets and smaller baskets were made by the men.

2.5.3. Unlike the Tswana tribes, the Zulus never kept slaves¹¹⁾, nor was the employment of servants known to them.

2.5.4. Farming, Transport, Mining¹²⁾ coupled with the labour policies of the governments of Natal and the South African Republic,¹³⁾ including that of the Cape Province,¹⁴⁾ together with the social and economic conditions of the Zulus after the arrival of the European, changed the Zulu way of life. More and more Zulus were absorbed into farming, transport, and mining operations of the Europeans as labourers.

2.5.5. In his employment as a labourer, the Zulu found new objects and ideas that necessitated an adjustment of his language to cope with the new situations. Thus, for example, farm labourers evolved words such as isiGAYo (a mill), uMPENDU (plough with reversible plough-share), isoMiso (drought - formerly, Zulus normally used loMiso to describe drought); and idiomatic expressions such as ukuBAMBa inKONZO/ ukuSEBENZA iPULAZI (to perform labour in lieu of the privilege of staying on a farm and cultivating a piece of land or receive food rations), ukuGAYa uBISI (to skim milk)resulted.

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- 11) Originally, the word isiGQILa/isiGQILI was used exclusively to refer to a young girl who performed menial tasks for any of the wives at a chief's kraal. (See Bryant, 1905). isiGQILa/isiGQILI meaning "slave" as found in the Zulu Bible and in the history of the Cape Province is an extension of the original meaning of this word.
- 12) Gold mining in Barberton and the Witwatersrand and the diamond diggings in Kimberley.
- 13) de Kiewiet, 1937, pp.220, 233, 289; Marais, 1937, p. 345, and informants.
- 14) van der Horst, 1942, pp. 68-85.

In transport, words like inQOLA (waggon), imiGWAQo (roads), ukuBOPHela (to inspan oxen), and idiomatic expressions such as ukuBAMBa inTAMBo (to lead a team of oxen), ukuSHAYela (to drive a team of oxen, and later to drive an automobile), ukuSUSa iMOTO (to start a car) were evolved. Mining also contributed its own share of words such as inGWEDane (a pick 'boy'), umGXALa (a crow-bar) iNYULa/e (a meal of mixed vegetables), amaWOWANg (subsidence of the soil above an area that has been mined.)

2.5.6. There were other avenues of employment for the Zulus which also indirectly contributed to the development of the Zulu language. For example, the Zulus served as policemen, post carriers, messengers, orderlies, cooks, grooms and general domestic servants.¹⁵⁾

2.6. Christianity

2.6.1. Originally, the Zulu king was both a sovereign lord and a high priest. He officiated at all national religious ceremonies such as the umKHOSi (the festival of the first fruits), and rain-making, for instance. He was regarded as the representative of the umZIMu (the spirit of the departed kings of the clan.) The ancestral spirits of ordinary people were known as amaDIOZi.

2.6.2. The original ancestral spirit of the Zulu nation was known as umVELiNQANGi who, the Zulu legends say, originated from (waDABULa abANTU) from the reed (oHLANGeni). Although some informants equate umVELiNQANGi with the Christian conception of God, others refute such a comparison.

2.6.3. In 1834, Gardiner made the first attempt at converting the Zulus to Christianity.

2.6.4. The work of the early missionaries was not confined to evangelizing. But ¹⁶⁾ they

"... brought to the native population new crops, such as cotton grown for trade and not merely for subsistence, the plough in place of the hoe, and the waggon. By the sixties individual natives had bought land on individual land tenure, possessed waggons and had begun to show keenness in commercial transactions."

15) Hattersley, 1940, p. 221

16) Hattersley, op. cit., p. 207.

2.6.5. The missionaries taught the Zulus to read and write their own language. They translated the Bible into Zulu. They trained teachers, priests, artisans, etc.. They taught Zulus simple hygiene and introduced Western medical care to them. Their influence has been so profound that the Tomlinson Commission found it fitting to make the following statement about them: 17)

" It is sufficient to state here that as a result of the communication of Christianity through the channels provided by ordinary citizens and missions, there are few Bantu alive today who have not been brought into contact with it in greater or lesser degree."

2.6.6. According to informants, the early missionaries introduced God to the Zulus as a Superior Being to all the known Gods. They are said to have told the Zulus that God is great...great (mKHULu...mKHULu...) - hence the term unKULunKULu. When the missionaries were challenged to produce their God, they are said to have given his whereabouts as " up in the sky" - hence the term eZULwini (heaven). Around these basic concepts of the Christian religion, evolved terms such as -PHAKaDE (overlasting), inKAZImulo (glory), ikHOLwa (a convert), and expressions such as ukuSHUMAYELa (to preach), ukuPHENDUKa (to be converted.)

2.7. Miscellaneous

2.7.1. Under this heading, we intend to discuss the following things which have also contributed to the change of Zulu life: clothing and homes; diet and domestic animals; weights measures and counting; and time.

2.7.2. Clothing and Homes: Before the arrival of the European, the Zulus are said to have been acquainted with bark cloth and dressed skin clothing.¹⁸⁾ When the European trader came, he introduced the gauze-like material to the Zulus which they called uNwEMBU (?? spider web.) Subsequently, Zulus adopted western dress to such an extent that there eventually arose a distinction between amaBHINCa (those who wear the traditional loin-covering) and abaGQOKayo (Zulus who wear Western dress.) To-day, however, the amaBHINCa wear a number of items of clothing such as amaBHAYi (cloth worn over the shoulder by amaBHINCa girls), onomNDINDa (kind of colourful 'docks'), and the traditional isiCHOLO (a woman's head-dress) is made of a kind of cotton sewn around a metal dinner plate in some districts.

17) U.G. 61/1955, p. 8.

18) Bryant, 1949, p. 140.

Further, many Zulus live in European-style houses to-day. Unlike the traditional Zulu hut, the modern houses have izinDONGa (walls) with izibuKO (windows) and are often roofed with uKHETHe (corrugated iron sheets). These houses are often fenced with uCINGo (wire) and sometimes fitted with izikhONKWANE (lightening conductors.)

2.7.3. Diet and Domestic Animals: The traditional Zulu staple food was amaBELe (millet). amaSI (curdled milk) and meat consisting of beef, mutton and goat-meat; vegetables such as amaPHUzi (large light-yellow pumpkins), amaSELwa (gourds), many varieties of imiFINo (herbs cooked for food); melons like amaKHABe and amaBHECe were known.

The Whiteman introduced umMBILa (mealies),¹⁹⁾ rice, isiNKWA (bread), many varieties of vegetables such as cabbage, tomatoes, oMANQANTE (carrots); fruits such as guavas, oranges, bananas and peaches which have gained a collective name of iziTHELo.

Whereas formerly the Zulus kept only cattle, goats and sheep for milk, slaughter and ritual, they also began to rear izingULUBE (pigs) and izinkUKHu (fowls) after the arrival of the European.²⁰⁾ New varieties of dogs such as the Dutch hound (iGOVU), the greyhound (iBANSi) were introduced. The domestic cat was also introduced by the European through the Tonga traders.

2.7.4. Weights, Measures and Counting: The Zulus had no standard of measure for weight. The volume of a liquid (or grain) was measured according to the fullness of the vessel or container used for measuring it.²¹⁾ Nor did the Zulus have a unit of length, breadth and height. Gestures were used to indicate length, breadth and height. For example, one would show the height of a plant by indicating with the hand how high above the ground it was. The breadth of an article could be indicated by the distance between the palms of the hands, and length could be shown by comparing the length of a thing with the length of part of a finger or arm.

19) Bryant, op. cit., p. 313 thinks that maize first came to Zululand somewhere about 1750 and was introduced by the Portuguese or shipwrecked sailors. About the newness of the word, see par. 4.1.1. below.

20) Bryant, 1949, p.346 and informants in the field.

21) Bryant, 1949, p. 244.

Distances were expressed in terms of the time taken (determined by the sun by day or stars at night) to journey between any two places. Many illiterate Zulus still use these ways of measuring.

In counting, a system of cardinal numbers were used whereby seven goats, for example, could be paired off with seven fingers.

The Europeans introduced units of measure to the Zulus. The latter now -LINGanisa (measure) accurately. Nowadays, Zulus speak of isiSINDo with the denotation "weight" (in terms of lbs., ozs., etc.), iBANGa (distance) now denotes the actual distance in miles and not the time taken to travel a particular distance; iNXeNYE is now used to denote one-half. The system of counting has mainly remained unchanged. But quantities such as iKHULu (one-hundred) formerly meaning 'a great number', iNKULUNGWANE (a thousand) formerly referring to 'a huge number' and isiGIDI originally meaning 'an unreckonable multitude' have since acquired fixed references to a fixed number of articles.

2.7.5. Time: Originally, the Zulus had their own way of measuring and telling time. For example, uNYAKa (a year) actually referred to the ploughing season which was largely determined by the onset of the first summer rains. The lunar month served as a standard corresponding to the modern calendar month. The concept of a week was unknown. Consequently, names of the days of the week did not exist.

The manner of telling time was determined by the appearance and positions of certain stars at night. For example, the appearance of the isiCElanKOBe (the evening star) signaled the onset of early evening, iNDONSa (Jupiter) indicated that it was past midnight and iKHWEZi (the morning star) heralded the dawn of day. Different times of day, such as sunrise, mid-day, and sunset marked definite times of the day.²²⁾ uMSHONisaLANGa a flower whose petals close at sunset, indicated the onset of nightfall during overcast sky.

22) Bryant, op. cit., p. 257.

The European introduced the calendar and the watch to the Zulus. The calendar led to a more precise conception of a year (uNYAKa). The definition of seasons (izikhATHi zoNYAKa) also became more exact. The Zulus also got into the Whiteman's practice of dividing the calendar month into weeks and each week into week-days each of which bears its own name. For example, to-day, the Zulus have adopted the term umSOMBuluko (originally meaning the first day after the day of the celebration of the first-fruits ceremony) to signify Monday. Week-days from Tuesday to Friday are known as ulwesIBILi, ulwesITHATHu, ulwesINE, and ulwesiHLANu , respectively. These are actually adaptations of umSOMBuluko wesIBILi, umSOMBuluko wesITHATHu, etc. On the other hand, umGQIBELo is a new term altogether. ukuGQIBELa is to finish off work. Saturday, being the last working day of the week, thus led to it being called umGQIBELo. Expressions such as isikhATHi siNI na? (what is the time ?), miNGAKi imiNYAKa yaKHO na ? (lit. how many years have you ?)- how old are you ? iNYANGa iPHELile (lit. the month has ended in contrast to the original form: iNYANGa iFile), and several innovations have been evolved.

2.8. Conclusion

2.8.1. The contact between Europeans and Zulus has had far-reaching results upon the culture of the latter. It has transformed the traditional Zulu way of life completely. This is also evident from the Zulu language which has kept pace with social development to a very large extent.

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CHAPTER 3.

S E M A N T I C C H A N G E .3.1. Introduction.

3.1.1. In semantics, ¹⁾ the linguist concentrates upon the study of the attributes of meaning. ²⁾ He wants to know how language units (words, expressions, etc.) mean something or how they change their meanings.

3.1.2. There is a close relationship between the structure of language units or elements and their meaning. The two are interdependent. For example, the word isizWE refers to a tribe or nation, but if used with the suffix -ana, viz. isizWana it means a small tribe or nation or refers to an unnaturalized foreigner, while suffixing -kazi to it results in isizWEkazi which means a large tribe or nation. Again, the structure of a word as illustrated by the example given, varies according to structural units added to the main structure. Varying the main structure of a word by adding other structural units to it in turn varies its meaning. Further, the additional structural elements can effect the intended shades of meaning on the main structure of the word if they combine with it in a definite order. For example, anaZWEisi and kaziZWEisi are nonsensical. But isizWana and isizWEkazi are meaningful. In our opinion, this is in keeping with Schaff's ³⁾ viewpoint when he says :

" The linguist is not interested in the 'essence' of meaning, he does not ask what meaning is, but asks how linguistic entities mean something."

1) In this study, we shall use the word semantics to incorporate the views of Wheeler, B.I. and Prof. J.R.Firth; viz., according to Wheeler: Semantics is "... the systematic discussion of the history and development of changes in the meanings of words." See Read, 1948, p.82.

Prof. Firth regards semantics as: "... used for 'situational and experimental study'. See Read, 1948, p.82.

Prof. Firth regards the historical study of changes of meaning as semasiology.

2) Meaning is: "... a reciprocal relationship between name and sense." See Ullman, 1951, p.305.

3) Schaff 1951, p.305.

Further, as Ullman ⁴⁾ points out:

"Words...stand in no direct relationship to things. Between the name and the feature of the outside world which denotes, a third term has always to be inserted: the sense, the mental content abstracted from, and referring to, that feature. There is no short cut between language and reality."

Ullman's explanation suggests that words have no significance without their capacity to denote something. On the contrary, the outside world is equally meaningless to man (on a cognitive level) if it is not linked with the significatory power of words. In other words, words express or signify reality. ⁵⁾ In its expression of reality, a word has indicative value. It is used with an intention to convey a particular meaning.

We cannot emphasise this aspect of meaning in language in better words than van Heerden ⁶⁾ when he says :

" Ons wil naamlik poneer dat betekenis absolute voorwaarde is vir taal, absoluut primêr..."

3.1.3. A word may have a principal and a marginal meaning. The principal meaning of a word is the chief meaning that is not determined by context. ⁷⁾ For example, in a word such as "house", the principal meaning is that which refers to a building; but this meaning is modified when the word is used in a context wherein it may mean "family", an "audience", etc.

3.1.4. In semantics, the study of a word which has different though related meanings is referred to as polysemy; e.g. -thanda (love) is used in a polysemic manner when one says : uthanda ukuba mdala kuna lo (he is a wee bit older than this one), -phupha (dream) can also be used polysemically in the sentence: isidwaba sami siphuphile (my skin petticoat is faded).

4) Ullman, 1951, P.87.

5) Also see Urban, 1951, p.115.

6) van Heerden, 1964, p.17.

7) Schaff, 1964, p.308.

In homonymy, words with a similar phonetic sequence have unrelated meaning, e.g. -landa (which may mean "Fetch" or "relate"); -khuza (may mean "command" or "condole"), etc. The meaning of a word may be extended to include new meanings. This is known as a shift of application. For example, ukufunda originally referred to a rehearsal by young people in preparation for a wedding dance. This word has since gained the following meanings: " to learn" under a school educational system, and "to read". For the purpose of this study, these three types of meaning are more important than others (this will become evident in the course of the investigation). There are other types of meaning that only require a passing mention in this chapter. These are: etymological meaning as contrasted with actual meaning; emotional meaning as distinguished from communicative meaning, 8) antonymy, and synonymy.

3.2. Semantic Change.

3.2.1. The meanings of words tend to change with time. The change may be caused by intentional changes in the culture of a people, e.g. the Zulus are said to have abandoned the custom of circumcision during Shaka's time. Hence, the word ukusoka (to become circumcised) gradually got eliminated from the Zulu vocabulary. However, the word isoka (a circumcised youngman) had its meaning applied solely to a girl's fiancé or a youngman favoured by girls in courtship.

The changes of meanings of words may also be caused by culture contact or acculturation, 9) because, as Bloomfield 10) puts it:

"Every speech-community learns from its neighbours."

8) Schaff, 1964, p.310.

9) Herskovits, 1958, p.9, says "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.

10) Bloomfield, 1950, p.445.

3.2.2. From the evolution of meanings of words, it appears that refined and abstract meanings generally grow out of concrete meanings.¹¹⁾ For example, ukucandula may mean to recondition an iron instrument, but Lutherans refer to Luther's reformation of the church as ukucandulwa kwebandla; umoya (wind), also refers to the 'spirit' in addition to its principal meaning, i.e. wind; iqhezu (a chip, fragment, etc.) now embodies the connotation of 'fraction'.

3.3. The Zulu Word and Meaning.

3.3.1. In our opinion, it is not possible to give the lexical meaning of a word in Zulu. In this language, the word¹²⁾ has no principal meaning. It has a contextual meaning. An attempt will be made to clarify this point later (see par.3.5.1. & ff.) Suffice it to say that in Zulu, the word is different in its nature and morphemic composition from the word in a European language, for instance. To illustrate our point briefly, the phonetic, phonological, and segmental structure of the word ball in English is altogether different from the structure of a Zulu word in general. A Zulu word generally consists of the CVCV combination of phones; it has a complex structure of tone, stress and length, whereas English, for instance, has a comparatively simple phonological structure. Also, Zulu tends to have multi-morphemic words, for example, where prefixal and/or suffixal morphemic units are used together with the root morpheme. Viewing the same English word "ball" semantically (which is our main theme here), this word has the principal meaning " solid or hollow sphere".¹³⁾ Its marginal meaning may refer to a "social assembly for a dance". It can also be used as a verb; for example, when something grows into a lump it is said " to ball".

11) Bloomfield, op.cit., p.429.

12) See par 3.4.2. below for a definition of the word.
Also see par. 3.4.3.

13) Concise Oxford English Dictionary.

As a result of this quality of a word to have a principal and marginal meanings, van Wyk¹⁴⁾ came to the conclusion that:

"'n Woord het dus een betekenis, maar kan deur die betekenis verskeie sake noem wanneer dit gebruik word."

3.3:2. It is necessary to explain the conception of the word in Zulu first before attempting to analyse van Wyk's statement in the preceding paragraph.

3.4. The Conception of the Word in Zulu.

3.4.1. The conception of a word in general linguistics has been investigated by many scholars before.¹⁵⁾ In this investigation, we are interested in the characteristics of a word in Zulu because this will indirectly explain its proper conception. Van Wyk¹⁶⁾ applied two criteria in the identification of a word, viz.

"A. Basiese toetse:

- (1) Onafhanklik : Isoleerbaarheid.
- (2) Afhanklik : Die verplaasbaarheid heidstoetse-skeidbaarheid, omstelbaarheid, vervangbaarheid.

B. Addisionele toetse : Morfologiese, sintaktiese, en fonologiese."

3.4.2. On page 204 of the same work, van Wyk says:

" Die woord onderskei hom van die woordgroep deurdat hy die kleinste taalteken is wat selfstandig be-teken."

3.4:3. Louw¹⁷⁾ regards the occurrence of vowels one after the other without the intervention of a morphemic syllabic juncture as indicating the end of the one word and the beginning of another in words used in a sequence. For example, in ubona inkomo, the a of ubona and the i of inkomo indicate the presence of a word juncture between the two words.

Louw also considers the main stress to be a juncture for the delimitation of words.

14) van Wyk, 1958, p.199.

15) Doke, 1954, p.29.

Gleason, 1961, p.95.

Labuschagne, 1966, p.95, and others.

16) van Wyk, op. cit., p.304.

17) Louw, 1963, p.26.

3.4.4. Van Wyk and Louw have made a significant contribution to our knowledge of linguistics with their criteria of isolating a word. Louw's method of identifying the word keeps structure and meaning apart. This seems correct because in this way, the student is enabled to view a word from two separate points, viz. structure and meaning. According to Louw's approach, one can identify a word without necessarily making reference to its meaning.

3.4.5. Apparently inspired by Firth,¹⁸⁾ Capell¹⁹⁾ and Ziervogel²⁰⁾ have used the typological characteristic of the Bantu languages to delimit the word, i.e. its agglutinative character. Both Capell and Ziervogel consider the segmental morphemes as well as the suprasegmental structure of a word as important. Both of them regard a word as a combination of morphemes, Capell calls it a "portmanteau word"²¹⁾ and Ziervogel says that a word is a compound of formatives following each other in a prescribed order.²²⁾

Ziervogel goes a step further. He says that the form of a word indicates the part of speech to which it belongs.²³⁾ He also states that a word sometimes occurs in more than one part of speech.²⁴⁾ However, he maintains that when this happens, the function of the word in the sentence determines the part of speech to which it belongs. With regard to meaning, he says that the meaning of the root is extended by means of prefixal and suffixal morphemes which determine its various shades of meaning.²⁴⁾

3.4.6. The methods of demarcating the word as discussed in para. 3.4.1. - 3.4.5. above, have merit. However, the present study has revealed that the employment of the word as a starting point for reconstructing meaning is unreliable in Zulu.

18) Firth, 1937, p.88. Also see Firth, 1964, pp78-79, a later edition of the 1937 edition.

19) Capell, 1951, pp 49-57.

20) Ziervogel, 1959, p.28 & Ziervogel, 1964, pp.212-222.

21) Capell, op.cit., p.54.

22) Ziervogel, 1959, p.28.

23) Ziervogel, 1964, p.219.

24) Ziervogel, op.cit., p. 222

The word as isolated in Zulu is already a combination of formatives (i.e. meanings) and is not the minimal and independent meaningful unit that bears the principal meaning. (cf. Capell's apt description above.) Only the root morpheme gives the principal meaning of a word in Zulu. And it is this principal meaning which is capable of being related with marginal meanings for the purpose of reconstructing meaning. For example, words such as inhlanguano (an association or society), umhlangano (a meeting) are difficult to reconcile with the older word uhlanga (original stock of mankind) without using the root as the starting point; so also is inkaxa (a crane) with khaxa (said of gripping), ibolwane (a rascally badly-tempered person, typical of those found in the towns) compared with ukubola (to rot), etc.

The current monographs on morphology in Zulu classify root morphemes into apparently water-tight compartments of parts of speech. But our experience in the course of the present research has revealed that the root morpheme cannot be classified into parts of speech.²⁵⁾

It must, however, be conceded that the scholars referred to in pars.3.4.1. - 3.4.5. above, may not have foreseen the problems we encountered in this research. Van Wyk and Louw propounded methods of demarcating the word from other words. Capell was proving agglutination as a fact to be reckoned with in the typological classification of Bantu languages. Ziervogel focused attention upon the importance of form in the structure of the Bantu word as well as the practical nature of the classification of words into parts of speech.

3.5. The Morphemic Structure of the Word.

3.5.1. In the present investigation, we shall concentrate on structure as an aspect of meaning. In other words, we go out from the standpoint that the morphemic units discussed in par.3.1.2. above, do not only have a structural significance but a semantic one as well.

25) See an elaboration of this point in par.3.5.3. below.

3.5.2. A word is made up of morphemes which Nida²⁶⁾ defines as follows:

"Morphemes are the minimal meaningful units which may constitute words or parts of words."

In Zulu, however, only the root morphemes of ideophones²⁷⁾ and interjectives²⁸⁾ (primitive interjectives) have an independent existence and constitute words. They thus have a dual existence; sometimes as roots and at other times as words.

3.5.3. The root morpheme is the primary and irreducible element of a word²⁹⁾ in Zulu. It is actually the bearer of the lexical meaning. This meaning, however, varies according to the context in which it is used.

The root morpheme (with some exceptions, e.g. the absolute pronoun, the roots of the demonstrative, the quantitative, the qualificative pronoun, and the adjective (the proper, relative and enumerative adjectives)) can be used contextually to refer to the noun, the possessive, the locative, and the predicate. The roots of the relative adjective and the adjective proper can be used contextually to refer to adverbs in addition to their function of being qualificatives. This behaviour of the root morpheme, i.e. its contextual usage, leads us to the conclusion that (with the exception of pronominal roots and the demonstrative),³⁰⁾ the root morpheme cannot be regarded as belonging to a specific word class (part of speech.)³¹⁾ On the contrary, the root can be used contextually to achieve the effect of the desired word class.

26) Nida, 1949, p.1.

27) Ideophones are, as Cole, 1955, p.370 explains "vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory and other sensory or mental experiences." Although ideophones often feature as complements of ukuthi, they are capable of being used singly. The syllabic structure of ideophones is usually CV, e.g., gwa, lephu, and occasionally CC, e.g. phr-r-r.

28) Interjections express emotion or simple exclamation and have a syllabic pattern of C,V,CV,VCV; e.g. nx !
a ! qha ! che !

29) The word according to its current conception

30) Although the ideophone and the interjection have roots that function independently, they nevertheless, resemble other roots in that they can also be used contextually where they lose their independent existence; e.g. ukuDABUKA (DABU) ; ukuHAWUza < HAWU.

31) Cf. the current viewpoint that certain roots are nominal, etc.

It is the contextual use of the root morpheme that has compelled us to view the application of the root morpheme against two backgrounds, viz.

(i) the phrase: which may indicate number, quantity, size, feeling or emotion, possession, the locative or adverb, and the abstract form.

(ii) a sentence: where the root morpheme is intended to signify action (the predicate).

The prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes that are used together with the root morpheme are secondary. The secondary morphemes are used to bring the root morpheme into contextual relationship with the following:

(A) a Phrase:

(i) in/izin/TOMBi(girl/s) 32)

i/ama/THOMBe (menstrual discharge/s)

(Number or quantity indicated by prefixal morphemes above.)

(ii) in/aman/TOMBazana (small girl/s)

in/izin/TONJana (small marriageable girl/s). 33)

u(lu)nTONJana (little good-for-nothing girl/s.)

in/izin/TOMBikazi (contemptible girl/s.)

(Size, feeling or emotion is conveyed by the prefixal and suffixal morphemes used.)

(iii) yen/yezina/TOMBi (of the girl/s).

okwen/okwczin/TOMBi (of the girl/s), etc.

(-THOMB- is used as a qualificative phrase indicating possession.)

ubun/TOMBi (state of girlhood in which the use of discretion is assumed.)

(-THOMB- has an abstract meaning referring to a condition. This meaning is conveyed by the prefixal morpheme: ubun- (see par.5.2.10 below for analysis of this prefix.))

(iv) en/czin/TOMBini (at the girl/s)

(The prefixal and suffixal morphemes indicate place or have a locative force.)

32) The nuance "menstruation" is the basic meaning of -THOMB-.

33) -THOMB- > -TONJ- on account of phonological influences.

(B) a Sentence: The predicative use of the root morpheme -THOMB- actually results in the formation of a sentence.

(i) nTOMBi ! (Girl !)

(-THOMB- is used vocatively or hortatively.)

(ii) in/izin/TOMBi (it is the girl/s).

(Lowering of tone on prefixal morphemes gives the root a predicative force.)

ukuTHOMB/a/isa/ela/, etc.

(uku- serves to give the root an infinitive import from which 'verbal' nuances may be given to the root. These nuances are actually not verbal in the strictest sense of the word. In our opinion, the root functions predicatively when prefixal and/ or suffixal formatives giving the import of 'action' are used with the root. E.g. u/ba/yaTHOMBa; wa/ba/THOMBela emzini; u/ba/THOMBile:cti. In these examples, the formatives -ya-, -a, -ela, and -ile when used in agreement with u/ba or wa/ba put -THOMB- into a context indicating action in order to realise the meaning of the root morpheme in context.)

Summary : The root morpheme can be used in various contexts in order to give the desired meaning. In its contextual use, prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes act as aids for putting it into context.³⁴⁾

34) We use and/or because, in our opinion, some roots do not take a suffix to form a stem. For example, -NTU (people); -SI (honey, vapour, or smoke); -THO (thing). Other roots, such as -BON- (see); -THAMB- (something long and tubular); ENZ- (do), take a suffix.

There are thus three types of roots according to syllabic structure, viz. CV, CVC, or VC. Also see, inter alia the following writers on the question of the root: van Eeden, 1956, p.61; Cole, 1955, p.66; Doke, 1954, pars. 697-706.

(The root with the syllabic structure C in respect of monosyllabic stems as given by structuralists (s.g. Beuchat, 1963, p.138) is questionable in the absence of supra-segmental phonemes. For example, -S- and -TH- are subject to an ambiguous interpretation where they are regarded as radicals of -sa and -tha respectively.

In our opinion it is safe to regard the stem as coinciding with the root in monosyllabic stems at present. Further, we suggest that the root does not belong to any part of speech. It only has the significance of a part of speech in its contextual use. For instance, -dla is verbal but idla (grass mat of a hut) is

The contextual application of the root may result in a phrase ³⁵⁾ or a sentence. (See (A) and (B) above.)

The prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes give the root its marginal meaning. For example, the prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes may express number, quantity, size, feeling or emotion, an abstract idea, place or locative meaning, and a predicative meaning (in the case of -THOMB-.) Other root morphemes may have a wider or narrower range of application.

2.5.4. It may be necessary to use one or two more examples (without furnishing translations - for brevity's sake) to elucidate our thesis.

(A) -BAZ- (1) um/aba/BAZi; i/amaBAZelo;
im/izim/BAZo; owcmBAZo; escmBAZo;
ubuBAZi; isiBAZi.

(2) mBAZi ! mBAZo !

u/ba/yaBAZa; u/ba/yaBAZ/a/isa/ela,

(B) -THETH- (1) um/imi/THETHo; isi/izi/THETHi;
isi/izi/THETHo; in/izin/THETHo;
in/izin/THETHolelo; um/aba/THETHimacala.

(2) THETHa !

u/ba/ya/(m/bc)THETH/isa/elela, etc.

3.5.5. Our study of the adaptation of loan-words to Zulu³⁶⁾ revealed that the adapted word (with a few exceptions) has the same equivalent phonemic segments used in exactly the same sequence as those of the borrowed word.

35) We use the term phrase to denote the semantic force of a morphemic unit (at present called a word) rather than the normal meaning of a phrase in English, for example, which denotes a number of words constituting a single idea.

The phrase as used here is either a nominal or qualificative one.

In Zulu, a sentence may be defined as:

" a predicative application of the root morpheme expressing a thought."

36) Nkabinde, 1966, par. 1 & ff.

Besides, the borrowed word (in its form) ceases to be a word and becomes a root morpheme in Zulu. This necessitates the use of prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes to put it into the proper context. Thus, for example, im/izim/FOLOMANe (voorman/voormanne); i(li)/ama/KHOKHOLOSH/e/ana (cockroach/es; small cockroach/es.) The new root (which is actually the adapted form of the loan-word) can be used in various contexts, much depending upon its 'elasticity', to express the desired meaning.

3.5.6. To return to van Wyk's statement (see par.3.3.1. above) viz. that a word has only one meaning, which can be used to express different meanings, we do not concede the validity of this statement in Zulu. Our findings are that a word (as demarcated according to the current orthography or in its usage) is actually a contextual application of the root in Zulu. Its meaning will always vary according to the context in which it is used. For example, the word muntu (which is a phrase according to us) will vary in meaning in the following cases:

We muntu ndini, lethu igudu lami ! (Hey man, bring back my pipe !)

Akukho muntu lapha. (There is nobody here.)

Compare also :

umuntu in umuntu uyagula (the person is ill);

and

umuntu ogulayo. (It is the person who is ill)

Even in what could be considered as the basic form, umuntu is contextual as it refers to : one person or a person, and does not reflect the meaning: person which is only given by the root -NTU. The prefix umu- indicates number.

In all the above examples, the word muntu refers to a person. It does not have a different meaning.

3.5.7. If we accept the fact that the root is the bearer of the fundamental meaning of a word and that it is used in context to express the desired meaning, it becomes apparent that the root cannot be classified into any part of speech. Further, the "words" that are formed from the combination of the root with the secondary morphemes are not words in the strictest sense of the word. They are either phrases or sentences,³⁷⁾ as the case may be.

3.5.8. In this research, we shall be guided by the structure and meaning of the root morpheme and see how it has changed from one situation to another to express the desired meaning. Par.3.4.6. above attempts to illustrate the inadequacy of using a word as a starting point in semantic change. Par.3.5.3. also demonstrates the weakness of classifying root morphemes into watertight compartments of parts of speech. The Zulu word is deficient as a basis for reconstructing meaning. On the other hand, the root morpheme offers a reliable basis for the reconstruction of meaning. Consequently, in this study the word as demarcated by van Wyk, Louw and others in Zulu, will be significant only for purposes of orthography and not as a basis for reconstructing meaning or its (the word) classification into parts of speech.

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37) i.e. they are either in included or absolute position respectively.

CHAPTER 4.

ANALYSIS OF DATA.4.1. Introduction.

4.1.1. In Chapter 2 above, an attempt is made to illustrate the close connection that exists between the social life of the Zulus and their language. From the examples given in that chapter, there seems to be a general tendency in the Zulu language to associate the new with the old. For example, umMBILa 1) (mealies) being one of the first things introduced by the Europeans to the Zulus is apparently associated with the first milk or milking of a cow called amaMBILa where the latter is liquid while the former is granular; iGOVU (a Dutch hound) is associated with a gluttonous eater who allows no-one to approach while he eats. In other words, association plays an important part in the evolution of the Zulu language. However, such association manifests itself in various ways. For example, it could be based on the representation of sound, colour or the manner in which something is performed or to represent action, i.e. ideophonic. It could also result from analogy or a loan translation from another language. Several other causes may be responsible for the evolution of a new form of expression.

4.1.2. In Chapter 3 above, this thesis attempts to show that the meaning which results when the relationship between the name and the sense of a thing, is based upon the root morpheme in Zulu.

1) There are interesting speculations about the origin of the word umMBILa in Dohne, 1857, p.28 Bryant, 1905, p.381, and Stuart, File No.29393, p.136. All of them agree that this word is new.

It is the root morpheme that retains the principal meaning in the marginal meaning that is ascribed to it. The marginal meanings of the root are expressed by means of prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes.

4.1.3. The Zulu language is, however, not limited to the contextual applications of the root morphemes, i.e. words, but it also manifests itself in the idiom of the language. Like other languages, Zulu also has a stock of idioms and proverbs.

4.1.4. In Chapter 1 above, it is stated that the adaptation of a language to new modes of life can be observed in "Fanakalo", slang, class language, etc. In other words, there exists a close bond between the evidence of growth (adaptation) of a language and the general principles underlying its growth (i.e. adaptability.) The two aspects of language development supplement one another.

4.1.5. In this Chapter, it is found convenient to begin by discussing in detail, the adaptability of Zulu, i.e. to elaborate on pars. 4.1.1. - 4.1.3. above. In our opinion, the facts mentioned in the said paragraphs constitute the pivot around which the adaptability of Zulu revolves. These facts are the "tools" of the adaptability of Zulu to new situations.

4.1.6. The root morpheme is the only morpheme that does not change in a word. It is fixed. The root morpheme will be typed in capital letters throughout the section of this chapter that deals with the adaptability of Zulu. This is done in order to show that meaning changes without sacrificing the principal meaning of a root.

The principal meaning of the root will not be explained because Bryant, 1905, offers a satisfactory background for this purpose. Only in cases where it is absolutely necessary will the principal meaning be given.

4.1.7. To facilitate reference par 4.1.1. will be discussed under the heading Association; par. 4.1.2. under Word Structure; par. 4.1.3. under The Idiom and par. 4.1.4. under Facets of Adaptation.

4:2: Association.

4.2.1. Association always presupposes a relationship between reality and speech. The individual observes or experiences something in his social environment and responds in a certain manner to it. His response (speech) is, however, tested by his speech community and if the latter find the individual's response in keeping with the development ²⁾ of their language, his creation (be it a word, idiom or proverb) immediately catches on. ³⁾

4.2.2. To illustrate the point raised in par.4.1.2. above, we discuss briefly the background of a few innovations. When Europeans brought the ship to this country, the Zulus' experience enabled them to call it umKHUMBi (a meat-tray.) When the Zulus noticed the habit of Europeans of taking a walk by day, they compared this with the sentry's (iVAKASHi) habit of walking about at night - ukuVAKASHa, and this innovation has developed a step further to include visiting one's friends and relatives. The early Zulu converts had a practice of going about preaching the gospel, an act which evoked resentment from non-Christians and they nicknamed them onNHLEVU because they are said to have moved about beNHLEVUza izinDABa (chattering about the Gospel in a spirited manner, often foaming at the mouth.) Subsequently, when the converts accepted the nickname and took pride in it, it lost its sting and gave the early converts and their progeny a status of being civilized and westernized. Recently, an accident which resulted in the death of a passenger who tried to board a moving train at Kwamashu in Durban, led to the innovation : wakHALa ngaPHANSi njengeNTSHEBE yakwaMASHu. The idiom describes the circumstances of the accident and means ' to fail '. The idiom has spread like a wild fire and is current in practically the whole of the Zulu-speaking area.

²⁾ Such development is largely governed by experience, a set of habits and considerations of approval and disapproval. confirmed by de Saussure, 1966, p.168, when he says having been tested in

4.2.3. The fore-going discussion leads us to the conclusion that every innovation has a social background. It is surrounded by a host of social circumstances that determine its adoption. In other words, an innovation is traceable to historical circumstances.

4.2.4. As mentioned in par.4.1.1. above, association assumes different forms. These forms are discussed in pars. 4.2.5. - 4.2.19 below.

4.2.5. Deideophonic Derivations.

4.2.6. The ideophone plays an important rôle in the derivation of innovations. The ideophone is usually incorporated into a new word (i.e. a phrase according to our conception) and is brought into context that way.

4.2.7. Deideophonic derivations can be classified into the following kinds :

(a) Onomatopoeic : These represent sounds made by various objects. E.g. CHWABA gave rise to ubuCHWABAlalana on account of the clinking of coins when handled. From KETEKETE came isikETEKETE which is said to be the repeated sound made by the lantern hooked to a moving ox-waggon or when handled by a person when walking along. isikhWEHLE (a garment) is said to make a sound similar to the cry of the Natal Bush Partridge (isikhWEHLE) as a result of the rubbing of objects on the stiff material from which it is made. isiMAKU (terrier breed of dog) derived its name from MAKU (said of repeated barking).

(b) Ideophones Representing action : ukuKHITHIZA (to buy a lot of things) is a vivid representation of the action of buying much which is compared with dropping goods from their shelves in a shop.

GIDI (said of making firm) gave rise to umGIDingo which illustrates a person's firm attachment to his work. umTITILIZo (act of making easy gain) also gives a graphic image of TITILIZI (which represents an act of doing something easy.) The European manner of dancing cannot be portrayed in better words than ukuSHWILIZa derived from SHWILI (said of taking twists and turns in the course of movement.)

(c) Ideophones Representing Movement :

uHOSHUHOSHU (the train of a dress) derived from HOSHU (said of something slipping out) illustrates the movement of a dress.

YACA (act of moving to and fro) gave rise to uYACA (a flared skirt) which YACAZola's (swings about) as its wearer moves along.

uNTSHAYINTSHAYI (mine amahewu) on account of its thin consistency is said to be derived from its 'running' movement when stirred or moved.

(d) Ideophones Representing the Nature of Objects:

isiBOKOBOKO (a sponge) got its name from BOKOBOKO (said of something spongy) on account of its soft and springy nature.

isiPAKUPAKU (a journey can) is derived from PAKUPAKU (act of being springy.) THOFO (act of ready yielding) is the derivation of umTHOFi/umTHOFu.

4.2.8. Extension of Meaning.

We identify two kinds of extension, viz. ordinary extension and figurative extension:

(a) Ordinary Extension: This type of extension is found when an old word is applied to new circumstances in such a manner that its usage is obviously or closely related with the old one. It could also be said that the new usage of such a word is more or less literal. For example, ukuDOBa (to coax) is obviously related to "fishing" where a fish can be said to be "coaxed". "To give change to" - ukWAHLUKanisela has a straightforward connection with " to divide for". iCALa, according to Bryant, 1905, "anything wrong, deserving complaint in any kind of action or work" became iCALa (a debt).

(b) Figurative Extension: In a figurative extension, the ordinary meaning of a word in its old usage becomes symbolic. For example, ukuZALa in ordinary usage means " to bear" or "to beget" (said of an animal or human being.) But when the root -ZAL- is used predicatively to mean " to yield interest" as in ukuZALa kweMALi it is used figuratively. APHULela (break for) is derived from the root APHUL- which may be used symbolically to mean " to give a discount". ukuWA"to become bankrupt" is figurative when compared to the denotation " to fall."

4.2.9. Analogy.

When a pair of objects, actions or ideas resemble each other in their relationship (or properties in the case of objects) it can be said that the two things are analogous. Such a pair of objects, actions or ideas may have altogether unrelated origins or sources. But on account of their similarities in certain respects, the name of the known object, action or idea may be transferred to the new and less known concept. For example, iBHANGa (a broad-mouthed calabash) had its name applied to an empty truck or tub on account of the latter's gaping appearance.

The tractor and steam roller got their name from the similarity between them and an animal that moves with a heavy step, e.g. an elephant - hence UGANDAGANDa. Initiation of a person into a new state of life, (e.g. ukuKLEKLa) is ukuPHEHELELELa which is analogous to christening. iBHADULe (a horse) derives its name from the action of "tramping a long distance", ukuBHADULa. umGANDelo ('hlonipha' term for Saturday) is derived from comparing the last working day of the week with the plodding movement of people after a week's heavy work. The idea that hell is a very hot place has given rise to the term isiHOGO (a place of intense heat.) iMALe eSHISiwe is analogous to izinkOMo eziSISiwe.

4.2.10 Metaphorical Usage.

There is a type of usage which, though resembling the figurative extension, is somewhat more forceful and picturesque than the latter. In our opinion, the term "metaphorical usage" is appropriate for describing it.

The new usage of the root in a metaphorical is usage so strikingly similar (almost identical) with the original usage that one cannot miss its comparative import. For example, imiHELo, (sorrows) is a metaphorical usage of the root -HEL- (pain) referring to the pains experienced by a woman at child-birth. (imiHELo). Cutting a lamb's tail ukuNQINa is most graphic when it applies to the wearing of short dresses as this tends to expose the person's private parts like it happens in the case of a lamb that has been NQINa'd. " The furrow that crawls" (inKASa) cannot be outclassed at portraying the "crawling" nature of the root KHASA (an ideophone) meaning: shuffling along. In addition to the new usage of the root referring to potato (izAMBANe), it also refers to a hole in the heel of a sock which portrays the idea vividly. ukuGWAza, ukuFUMBATHisa, etc. are among many such usages that are picturesque.

4.2.11. Folk-etymology :

We use this term in the sense that the Brittanica World Language Dictionary defines it, viz. "Modification of an unfamiliar word resulting from an incorrect analysis of the elements, causing it to assume the shape or pronunciation of better known form." For example, in English crawfish or crayfish are said to be adaptations of the French crevis ; hangnail is an adaptation of Middle English agnail.

Our study of the adaptation of loan-words to Zulu revealed no occurrence of folk-etymology. 4) Our present investigation has led us to the conclusion that folk-etymology functions in a slightly different manner in Zulu. In Zulu, the new concept is borrowed minus its name. It is named after a known borrowing which has some relationship with the newly-borrowed concept. For example, isikOTSHi/isikOTSHIMANE is an adapted form of Scotchman. The introduction of the florin to the Zulus led them to name it after "Scotchman." This is evidently an avoidance of pronouncing the new word "florin". uMANGOBE was a known chief of the Tongas. When this chief's tribesmen introduced cats to Zululand, the pronunciation "cat" probably became inconvenient, hence cats were known as oMANGOBE. " Failure to describe a 26 x 2" bicycle led the people to name it after something they knew, i.e. iBHOMu (bomb in English) which apparently had the significance of "something large" to the Zulus. isiQHAZA (a wooden stopper put in pierced lobe of the ear) which was known to the Zulus became the name whereby 'uneducated', 'uncivilized' Zulus are known. (Note that iQABA refers to a non-believer). This was apparently a result of the failure to adapt the words "uncivilized"/"uneducated" to Zulus. In the case of the root -HANG- meaning a fair skinned person, first the European was called umHANGa then the broad-brimmed hat also gained this name. This was apparently a result of failing to pronounce the unknown word hat or sombrero. Instead, the hat was associated with the Whiteman who must have used it much in the tropical areas.

4) Some aspects of Foreign Words in Zulu, 1966.

This tendency by Zulu-speakers to use the word best known to them to avoid pronouncing the foreign word manifests itself even in names of people. For example, Zulus rarely call a European by his surname. Instead, every new arrival of a Whiteman at a place inhabited by Zulus is given a Zulu name. Hence, Sir Theophilus Shepstone was known as uSomtsewu, and Bishop Colenso, uSobantu.

4.2.12. Loan Translation.

A loan translation is found when one language adopts the idiom of another language in the process of adapting an idea or concept that is borrowed from another language. For example, Afrikaans "vasgeld" became IMALI cHLANGeneyo in Zulu. "The Lord's Table" became isiTHEBe; "to cut a dress" is ukuSIKa inGUBo; USAWOTi weZWE is a translation of "the salt of the earth." BABA weTHU oseZULwini is the Zulu version of "Our Father which art in heaven"; etc.

4.2.13. Shift of Application

In a shift of application, the root morpheme may incorporate nuances that may be completely unrelated to the original meaning of that root. For example, isiDADada senKULUMo assumes a shift when it refers to very strong tea - isiDADada seTIYE. ukuKHULEKa (to salute) becomes a shift when it means "to pray". isikhONKWANE (an electricity conductor) is a shift from the original usage which referred to "a medicated peg." ukuSHAYisa (to cause to be struck) has shifted to mean "to be off duty", ukuTHOLa (to find), is a shift when it refers to "to hire."

4.2.14. Instrumental Usage of the Root.

Occasionally, the root is used in a manner which gives the effect of a means whereby something is done. This is referred to as the instrumental usage of the root.

There are two kinds of instrumental usage, viz. the personal and the impersonal.

The personal instrumental usage of the root, as its name implies, refers to a person who is regarded as an "instrument" in the performance of a certain action. E.g. umHOLEli (leader of a team of oxen) leads the team; umTHAPHi (a miner) mines minerals; umFUNDi (a student or disciple) learns; umBHAlI (an author) writes.

The impersonal instrumental usage of the root refers to objects which are used as instruments. E.g. isiBUKO (a looking glass) for seeing oneself in ; umENDLALo (a felt sleeping mat) used for sleeping on; isixUBHo (a tooth brush) for cleaning the teeth; isifONGQO (a muzzle) for muzzling an ox; intENGiso (an auction) for selling.

4.2.15. Usage of the Root Indicating Result of Action

This is a usage of the root which indicates the result of an action. E.g. umQASHwa - a hireling: result of ukuQASHa - to hire. ikHOLwa - a Christian : result of ukuKHOLwa - to believe. uSHISa - a native eating house: result of ukuSHISa - to burn. inxUSa - a delegate: result of ukuNXUSa - to request. imFUNDu - education : result of ukuFUNDa. igUDU - a smoking horn: result of ukuTHI GUDU. icICI - an ear-ring : result of the sound CI..CI..CI..

4.2.16. Transference

This occurs when an inanimate object is given human qualities. E.g. isiFUBa (sengUBo) - the chest of a dress; isiPHIKa (a cape or the neck of a blouse, shirt, etc.) derived from a word referring to a broad-shouldered person. ikHANDa lesiTIMELa (a locomotive) derived from ikHANDa - the head of a human being; umKHONe (wcyEMBe) - a shirt sleeve, derived from the word referring to an arm in Zulu; umQOLO (the crease of a garment) - derived from the word used for the spinal column of a human being.

There is also a form of transference wherein the name of an object is derived from the name of another object through the association of colour of the new object with that of the old one.

For example, the following types of beads are named after objects with similar colours to those of the beads concerned.

iTHAMBo - white beads. The name of these beads is a result of associating the colour of the beads with the colour of the bone.

umGAzi - red beads. These got their name by associating red with blood.

iJUBa - blue beads (?? bluish grey). They are called by this name on account of their colour which is likened to the colour of a dove.

umTHIKa - is a black object. This gave rise to the name of a frock-coat.

4.2.17. Differentiation.

Certain phonemes or morphemes are sometimes used to differentiate old usages of roots from new ones. E.g. isiSHEWU (an open place left when ploughing) where /sh/ makes a distinction from /kh/ in isiKHEWU (a gap on the rim of a vessel); umBHINCo (modern vaginal pad) is differentiated from isiBHINCo (traditional vaginal pad of leaves) by means of the prefixal morpheme um(u)-. umKHINDi (a girl's loin covering) and isiKHINDi (a pair of shorts) are also distinguished by means of prefixal morphemes.

umAKHIANJana (head-pin) is differentiated from isiPELETu derived from Afrikaans speld. umMBILa (mealies) distinguished from amaMBILa (first milk of a cow).

4.2.18. Specialisation of Meaning.

Many Zulu roots which were formerly applied with a general meaning have gained a specialized meaning since the arrival of the Whiteman. Exact connotations of time and large numbers has been effected. E.g. umZUZu (originally meaning a short unit of time) now means a minute. umNYAKa/umNYAKa (formerly referring to the ploughing season) now means a period of twelve calendar months, i.e. a year in the Western conception of the term. The seasons, viz. inTWASaHIOBo (Spring), iHIOBo (Summer), iKWINDLa (Autumn), ubuSIKa (Winter) which were formerly determined by the onset of the rainy season and other weather conditions to a large extent, now coincide with specific calendar months which are generally regarded as representative of certain seasons in the Western world.

PHAKoDE which originally meant "long ago" and synonymous with eNDULo is now a term applied to mean "eternal", "eternity" by Christians.

The following numbers also have specialized meanings: IKHULu formerly referring to "a large number" now means "one hundred"; inKULUNGWANE which meant "a huge number" now means "a thousand". isiGIDI originally meant "an unreckonable multitude", now refers to "a million."

4.2.19. Deterioration

Deterioration is the decline in value or importance of a concept formerly rated high by a people. This is illustrated by a comparison of the original meaning of a root with its modern application. Usually, the modern application thereof indicates a decline in value or importance. For example, inKOSi (originally referring to a king) nowadays refers to anyone in authority, and is often used for flattering someone who can do one certain favours. unNUMZana (originally denoting "headman"), is used to address any respectable adult male nowadays; uBABA waKHO is now preferred to uYIHLo. uMAMA waKHO preferred to uNYOKo. Rural areas are now often designated as kwantUTHu a usage with an unpleasant aura associating anything in the countryside with "backwardness" or as a place of "uncivilized people".

4.2.20. Melioration

Melioration is the direct opposite of deterioration discussed above. The modern connotations of certain words show an "elevation" in their importance. For example, ukuHLOLa - formerly denoting "to spy", "to do pu'denda acrum filiarum" now means to inspect, or to examine, e.g. candidates, a school, books, etc. uku-OWIYa - to cut off small bits of flesh from a murdered person, or to steal small pieces of meat from a slaughtered beast, now means "to analyse chemically." unNQWAMBa - anything draped over the shoulders, usually used by witch-doctors, has also come to designate an academic hood. ukuPHOTHULa which denoted the final treatment a doctor gave to his patient in Zulu medicine, now means "to do post-graduate work at a university."

4.3. Word Structure

4.3.1. We once more re-emphasize the fact that the changes of meaning discussed in this section are based on the root morpheme used in context. The root morpheme bears the principal meaning which assumes a secondary meaning when used in context. Although in para. 3.5.3. - 3.5.7. above, reference is made to the phrase and the sentence as exemplifying the contextual use of the root, it is found convenient at this stage to conform to the conventional terminology of referring to words, phrases, and parts of speech such as noun, verb, etc. However, the root morpheme as used here is not classified into the various parts of speech as it is the practice at present.

4.3.2. In the discussion of word structure, there are two important types of formatives to be discussed, viz. the primary morpheme (i.e. the root) and the secondary morphemes (i.e. pre- and suffixal morphemes.)

4.3.3. The Primary Morpheme

4.3.4. The root morphemes examined in this study resolve themselves into the following types :

(a) Monosyllabic roots.

(1) Vowel-commencing roots.

These have a VOWEL + CONSONANT combination of phones. E.g. AKH- (build), ANDI- (hand), ENZ- (do), ON- (spoil), ONG- (care). umAKHi - (builder), ⁵⁾ isAKHiwo - (building) umAKHelwana/e - (neighbour).

(A Biblical derivation. Originally, one would normally say, for example, sAKHelene noGUMEDE / noTHUSi, etc.)

isANDLa - handwriting.

amANDLa - authority

ezANDLent ! - encore ! or hurrah !

(used at a modern concert.)

isENZo - a verb (grammatical term)

5) Only examples of innovations will be given. For the sake of brevity, it has been decided to omit the traditional usage of the root morphemes.

izENZo - Acts of the Apostles.

umENZi - subject of a sentence.

umENZiwa - object of a sentence

isONo - sin.

isONi - sinner.

ONa - commit sin

umONGo - a paraphrase;
nourishing food.

(2) Those commencing in a consonant
Monosyllabic roots that commence in a
consonant may be classified into:

(i) Ordinary

These consist of a CV combination of
phones. E.g. -DLA (eat), -HLE (beauty),
-NYE (single) -SHO (symbol), -XHA (bundle)

umuDLo - party

isiDLo - The Holy Eucharist

izindLeko - expenses

unobuHLE = a beauty queen.

ubuNYE - singular form (grammatical term)

umuSHO - sentence

isixHA - (i) bunch of keys.

(ii) skin of wool.

There are other 'ordinary' monosyllabic roots⁶⁾
that consist of a CVC combination of phones.
E.g. -DOB- (fish), -GWAZ- (stab), -GXAL- (needle)
-HLAMV- (grain), -KHWAM- (pouch).

ukuDOBa - fishing

uDOBo - fish-hook

ukuGWAZa - to bribe

umGXALa - a crow-bar

uHLAMVu - a coin

inHLAMVu - a cartridge

(ii) Ideophonic

Monosyllabic ideophonic roots also consist
of a CV combination of phones. However, the V
may occasionally be sustained and could be
represented by VV.

6) These roots are pronounced with one peak of
prominence similar to English man, sand, etc.

Thus, these ideophones may also be regarded as consisting of a CVV combination of phones. E.g. DWI (said of whizzing action), FA (said of sprinkling action), KIWI (said of scratching or tearing), NTU (said of blinking the eyes), THU (said of sharp sound)

uDWI - a dash (grammatical term)

isi FAFazo - a sprinkler

ukuFAFAza (izinGUBo) - to sprinkle ^{washing}

ukuKLIWIKLIWiza - to scribble (while ^{writing}

uziyaNTUNTa - an indeterminate sentence

isITHUTHUTHU - a motor cycle

Note: Monosyllabic ideophones are often repeated in word-formation.

(b) Disyllabic roots

(1) Vowel-commencing

Disyllabic vowel-commencing roots consist of a VCVC combination of phones. E.g. AHLUK- / EHLUK - (separate), ALUS- (care for), APHUL- (break), EMBATH- (wear), A/EMBUL- (uncover).

isAHLUKo - chapter

isAHLUKaniso - a divorce

AHLUKanisa (iMALi) - give change

uMALUSi - shepherd

APHULela - reduce price for

isAPHULelo - a discount

ukwEMBATHa - (i) to assume European clothing.

(ii) to assume Christian belief or way of life. Hence to be civilized.

isEMBATHo - clothing; uniform worn by members of the women's prayer union.

isAMBULo - the Book of Revelation

ukwAMBULela - to present someone with used clothes.

(2) Roots commencing in consonants(i) Ordinary

Ordinary disyllabic roots ⁷⁾ are made up of a CVCVC combination of phones. E.g. -BUBA- (flat), -GQELWAN- (hard), -NYEZAN- (twig), -PHAKATH- (smaller mealie-cob.)

omaBUBAe - costumes worn by Highlanders

umGQELWANe - a miner's hat

imiNYEZANe - academic dress

imPAKATHa - junior partner in business

izAMBANe - (i) a potato

(ii) a hole in the heel of a sock or stocking.

(ii) Ideophonic

Ideophonic disyllabic roots consist of a CVCV combination of phones.

E.g. BHUBHU (said of bubbling), KHASA (said of shuffling along), KHUPHU (said of ascending), PHUCU (said of rubbing smooth), SHUQU (said of wrapping).

umBMUBHUUlo - a solution of sugar and water for drinking purposes; any sugared solution.

irKASA - a furrow for irrigation

ukuKHUPHUKa (emSEBENZini) to progress in business.

ukuKHUPHULa (inTENGo) to raise the price of an article.

PHUCUKa - become civilized

irPUCUKo - western civilisation

isishuQUlu - a small wrapping or parcel

Disyllabic ideophones are sometimes repeated in word formation.

E.g. KETE (said of clanking), NONSU (said of easy tearing), PAKU (said of springing), TOLO/TWELE (said of twanging sound). Hence:-

isikETEKETE - a lantern; an underground lamp.

ubuNONSUNONSU - a poor quality cloth

isipAKUPAKU - a journey can (made of plastic material.)

isiQUMQUMU - a piano

7) These roots are pronounced with two peaks of prominence.

isiTOIOTOLO/isiTWELETWELE - a Jewish harp.

(c) Trisyllabic roots ⁸⁾

(i) Ordinary

These are made up of a CVCVCVC combination of phones. E.g. -HLABELELE- (sing), -KHULUNGAN- (huge number), -PHEHLELELE- (mark), -SHUMAYEL- (proclaim; report.)

isiHLABELELELo - psalm
inKULUNGWANE - a thousand
ukuPHEHLELELELa - to christen
ukuSHUMAYELA - to preach
intSHUMAYELO - a sermon

(ii) Ideophonic

These have a syllabic structure which consists of a CVCVCV combination of phones. E.g. BHOKODO (said of heavy object dropping into a pool of water), BHALALA (said of something broad and spread.)

imBOKODO - a roller (at sugar mill)
isiBHALALA - a grey cotton blanket
izimBADADA - sandals

(d) Combined roots

These roots (usually two of them) combine to form a single word. With a few exceptions (e.g. QHA + -PHABIL-, -THOB- + -HLIZIY-) such words consist of combined roots that are made up of a combination of monosyllabic roots.

E.g. -MA + naYE (i.e. stand with him/her)
isiMANaYE - a tight-fitting garment
-QAPH- + -QOL- (i.e. watch intently
back)
umaQAPHeQOLO - clothing that is used
at home
-THUL- + -NGAN- (i.e. silence baby)
intULisaNGANE - a dummy
-FUND- + -ZE (i.e. rehearse nothing)
unFUNDaZE - a bursary
-PHATH- + -HLAL- (i.e. hold sit)
umPHATHisiHLALO - a chairman
QHA + -PHAMBIL- (i.e. first glimpse
(ideo) forward)
uQHAPHAMBILI - a preface (to a book)

8) Trisyllabic roots are pronounced with three peaks of prominence.

-THOB- + -HLIZIY- (i.e. foment heart)
umTHOBanHLIZIYo - a consolation prize.

Note: The syllable structure of individual roots used in words comprising combined roots is CV or CVC in monosyllabic roots and CVCVC in disyllabic roots.

4.3.5. The Secondary Morphemes

The term "secondary morphemes" here refers to prefixal and suffixal morphemes affixed to a root morpheme.

4.3.6. Par. 4.3.19 below shows that the innovations in Zulu are mainly made up of nominal and verbal applications of root morphemes. The prefixal and suffixal morphemes used with root morphemes with a verbal import show no tendencies worthy of mentioning here. Consequently, our discussion is focused on prefixal and suffixal morphemes affixed to root morphemes with a nominal import.

4.3.7. Roots denoting persons tend to end in an -i in the umu-/aba- class.⁹⁾ This implies that the majority of innovations in this class are agentive nouns.

E.g. umAKHi (a builder) - abAKHi (builders)
umBHAlI (a writer) - ababHAlI (writers)
umHOLi (a leader) - abahOLi (leaders)
umPHEKi (a cook) - abapHEKi (cooks)
umQHAFi (a heavy drinker) - abaQHAFi
 (heavy drinkers)

Verbal derivative suffixes terminated by -i are sometimes used.

E.g. umDABULi (a land surveyor) - abaDABULi
 (land surveyors)
umFANekisi (a sculptor) - abafANekisi
 (sculptors)
umFUNDisi (a minister) - abafUNDisi (ministers)
umHOLeli (a leader of a team of oxen) -
 abahOLeli (leaders of teams of oxen)
umTHELisi (a tax-collector) - abaTHELisi
 (tax collectors)

4.3.8. Roots formerly designating persons are used in the u-/o- class of nouns to refer to animals.

umANGOBE (a cat) - oMANGOBE (cats)
 (Derived from the proper name of a Tonga chief)
uBHovA (a bull-dog) - oBHovA (bull-dogs)
 (The word uBHovA refers to a person with a furious temper.)

9) It is significant to note that in the original Zulu nouns practically all vowels are used as terminatives in this class.

Note: These words seem to give a clue to Doke's explanation of miscellaneous words signifying animals discussed under class 1 (a) wherein he says these may probably be personifications. In our opinion, these words may have originated as proper names or words denoting certain types of persons.

4.3.9. The prefixes of the u-/o- class are also used for the names of objects which are different from the diminutive forms of the isi-/izi- class.

unSUMBULwana (ten-shillings) - onSUMBULwana (ten-shilling picces.)

(This word is a differentiation from isizUMBULwana (a small lump of money) derived from isizUMBULu (a huge lump of money). The fact that the initial phone, i.e. the radical alveolar fricative is voiced in isizUMBULwana is in keeping with a tendency found in certain phones in Zulu.)

unSANGwana (khakhi-wood)

(The prefix u is used to avoid confusion that could arise from the use of the diminutive form of inSANGU (dagga) which is inSANGwana).

N.E. Also cf. the borrowed root -SAK- where USAKazana (a sugar bag) is distinguished from isAKazana. (a small bag.)

The names of objects used for differentiation from the diminutive forms of the isi- / izi- class are actually specific names of types of objects.

4.3.10. The prefixes of the u-/o- class are sometimes used together with the personal prefix -ma- and prefixed to stems to denote various things. They may denote :

(a) an habitual action

This happens when the class prefix plus the personal prefix are prefixed to:

(i) a verb stem

umaSHANEla (a regular sweeper) - omaSHANEla (regular sweepers.)

uma/BHALana/e (a clerk) - omaBHALana/e (clerks or secretaries.)

(Note: The suffix -ana is neither a verbal reciprocal nor a nominal diminutive suffix. But it is a suffix that serves to reinforce the personal prefix -ma- and means to do repeatedly; e.g. ukuBHALana nezintO, c.f. umaDUMelana below.)

umaziTHIBe (a teetotaller) - omaziTHIBe
(teetotallers.)

(ii) a locative stem

umaDAKeni (a hobo) - omaDAKeni (hobos)

(This is a figurative usage depicting a hobo who is compared to one who habitually wallows in mud.)

umaLALePAYIPini (a hobo) - omaLALePAYIPini (hobos)

(This derivation stems from the homeless nature of a hobo who frequently finds shelter in the water-drains alongside the road.)

The habitual action expressed in the nouns above is used in respect of human beings.

(b) a recurrent action

Impersonal objects are given personal qualities by the use of the u- / o- prefix plus the personal prefix -ma- before a verb stem.

umaDUMelana (a jack-hammer) - omaDUMelana
(jack-hammers.)

(This derivation is a result of the observation that the jack-hammer continually 'springs upon' the rock.)

umaPHIPHa (a lavatory pail) - omaPHIPHa
(lavatories)

(The lavatory pail figuratively continually wipes away the ordure from its users.)

omaBUBane (costumes worn by Highlanders)

(These costumes, like small kilt worn by young Zulu girls, continually have the sides flattening together.)

umaFICIZA (a bombing aeroplane) - omaFICIZA (bombing aeroplanes)

umaTHUNYwangaLAMBi (a letter) - omaTHUNYwangaLAMBi (letters.)

(c) a fixed form or appearanceunaGEJaGEJa (a multidisc plough) -onaGEJaGEJa (multidisc ploughs)unaKHANJana (a head-pin) - omaKHANJana
(head-pins)unaLuNKAMBU (cotton cloth decorated with
red and blue beads and worn round the
waist by women on festive occasions.)

N.B. Some roots are compounded while others are
combined with different roots to form stems.

4.3.11. The prefixes of the u-/o- class can also
be used together with a personal prefix -na- and prefixed
to stems to denote continuity.

E.g. unoBHAQA (a state of walking barefoot.)

(There is continuity of action in a person
walking barefoot as indicated by the personal prefix
-na-. In other words, there is a repeated heel-to-toe
movement which is not readily noticeable in a person
wearing shoes.)

unonDINDwa (a prostitute) - ononDINDwa
(prostitutes).

(inDINDa is something that is cast away,
Evidently, a prostitute would often find herself
jilted by men on account of her conduct. Hence,
one who is continually jilted by men is unonDINDwa.)

unonNGQAYI (a policeman) = ononNGQAYI
(policemen.)

(The policeman's work involves him in a
continual sharp tussle with people so much so that
he became known as " one who is involved continually
in a "tussle". Hence, unonNGQAYI.)

unonMPEMPE (a referee at soccer) - ononMPEMPE
(referees.)

(The referee's continual blowing of the
whistle which is represented by the idophone MPE...MPE...
gave rise to the name unonMPEMPE.)

unoBHUTSHUzwayo (football in soccer) -

onoBHUTSHUzwayo (footballs)

(The ideophone BHUTSHU accurately represents the sound produced by a football when bumping on the ground or when being kicked.)

4.3.12. The personal prefix -so- can be used together with the prefixes of the u- / o- class to express the idea "father of" or " one who has a lasting quality of ..."

usomANDLa (the Almighty) - osomANDLa (plural of 'Almighty'.)

(usomANDLa denotes "father of all power or might."

usoKLELE (copper) - osokLELE (many pieces of copper)

(osokLELE means " that which sparkles continually.)

usokuLUNGa (the All-righteous one) -

osokuLUNGa -(plural of All-righteous one.)

usompUNGana (remover of night soil) -

osompUNGana (removers of night soil).

(usompUNGana probably means "one who continually remains greyish in appearance.)

usomQULu (registrar at divorce court) -

osomQULu (registrars at divorce courts.)

(The registrar is known as usomQULu probably because he keeps bulky case files and, therefore, he can be regarded as one who arranges and makes entries of certain records in the files.)

usobIZo (the substantive; a grammatical term)

(The term means " father of the noun.")

4.3.13. The prefixes of the unu- / ini- class are prefixed to the nominal application of roots that denote the following:

(a) Actions that depend upon human beings for their accomplishments:

unFANokiso (a picture) - iniFANekiso (pictures)

unNIKelo (a church collection) - iniNIKelo
(church collections.)

unSIKo (a fashion) - iniSIKo (fashions)

unBUKiso (a show) - iniBUKiso (shows)

urQINiso (confirmation) - iniQINiso
(confirmations.)

(b) Reference to personal or animal characteristics

umHANGa (a broad-brimmed hat) - iniHANGa
(broad-brimmed hats.)

(urHANGa refers to a fair-skinned
person in its traditional usage.)

urQOLO (a crease of a garment) - iniQOLO
(creases.)

(urQOLO is the spinal column.)

urPHEQE (the lapel of a coat) - iniPHEQE
(lapels)

(A person with eyes turned inside out
is called urPHEQE in Zulu.)

urQHEWU (slit of a coat at the back) -
iniPHEQE (slits of coats)

(urQHEWU is a person or beast with
a slit ear or lip.)

(c) Names of things that are used as instruments

umBHINCo (western menstrual pad) -
iniBHINCo (menstrual pads.)

umBHOBHo (a loud-speaker; a telescope) -
iniBHOBHo (loud-speakers; telescopes.)

(The root -BHOBH- refers to a hollow tubular
thing; e.g. the hollow of a reed - umBHOBHo
wonHLANGa or an ant passage.)

umENDLALo (a felt sleeping mat) -
imENDLALo (felt sleeping mats.)

umGODIO (a sack) - inigODIO (sacks)

(umGODIO is a woven container for keeping
spoons and knives.)

umQOMo (a barrel, tub, drum, etc.) -
inigQOMo (barrels, tubs, drums, etc.)

(According to Bryant, 1949, umQOMo is a water pot.)

(d) Collectivity

umBHALo (a book; a blanket) - iniBHALo(blankets).

(In the case of a book, there is collectivity
of leaves of the book, letters and words,
and ideas. The blanket may consist of a
number of colours or patterns of colours.)

umGAXo (a long necklace) - iniGAXo
(long necklaces.)

(umGAXo consists of a collection of
beads strung together.)

umQASHo (a hiring; illegal cohabitation) -
iniQASHo (a number of hirings; illegal
cohabitations.)

(A hiring of people implies a gathering
of potential hirelings. An illegal
cohabitation is a gathering of people
not customarily united and thus not
constituting a social unit.)

umQULu (a volume of a book) - iniQULu
(volumes.)

(Such a volume naturally consists of
a collection of leaves, letters, words
and ideas. In its traditional usage,
the word referred to the rolled up
top part of a woman's isiDWABA .)

umTHAPHo (a mine) - iniTHAPHo (mines)

(A mine is regarded as a collection
of gold, coal, or other mineral
which is mined at such a place.)

(c) Something large

umPHONGolo (a large crate or cask) -
izIPHONGolo (large crates or casks.)

umSHUQULu (a turban) - iniSHUQULu (turbans)

4.3.14. The prefixes of the isi- / izi- class are
prefixed to the nominal application of root morphemes
to denote the following :

(a) Something small

isiDEHEZana (a small billy can) -
iziDEHEZana (small billy cans.)

(The root -DEHEZ- seems to denote something
large. isiDEHEZana would thus be a
diminutive form thereof.)

isiJUMBana (pocket) - iziJUMBana (pockets)
isiPHONGolwana (a small cask) - iziPHONGolwana
(small casks.)

(The suffix -lo affixed to the stem -PHONGE seems to denote "protrusion" or "length" (see par.3.8.16. below.) Thus, isiPHONGolwana is a small bulgy vessel with some protrusion.)
isiTHentEFana (a bill can) - iziTHentEFana
 (billy cans)

(The word isiTHentEFana can be analysed thus : It is a combination of THI (a formative normally used as an antecedent to ideophones) plus THEFU. Although there is no record of THEFU as an ideophone, it is probable that such an ideophone may have existed when one examines Bryant's recording (1905) of Thefula which means, inter alia, " be of inferior kind (in quality, quantity, etc.) so that the eyes... slide off towards something better." Consequently, into eTHE THEFU could be regarded as isiTHentEF(U)ana - i.e. that which is so small that it is unnoticeable. Hence, isiTHentEFana.

The fact that the u of THEFU does not result in -wana is explicable. Nouns ending in an u have alternative diminutive suffixal formatives, viz. -wana and -ana. Cf. imVU, ifU, etc.)

N.B. All nouns discussed above have a diminutive prefix isi reinforced by the diminutive suffix -ana.

(b) Instruments

isEMBOZo (a tea shower) - izEMBOZo (tea showers)
isANDo (a hammer) - izANDo (hammers)
isiGINCI (a guitar) - iziGINCI (guitars)
isiHULUlo (a shelling machine) - iziHULUlo
 (shelling machines)
isikHUHLUzo (a grater) - izikHUHLUzo (graters)

- (c) Persons who habitually perform certain actions or tasks or those who are regarded as being permanently in certain social positions
isiSEBENZI (an employee) - iziSEBENZI (employees)
isiQILa (a slave) - iziQILa (slaves)
isiVAKASHi (a visitor) - iziVAKASHi (visitors)
isiPHAKANYiswa (an appointed chief) -
iziPHAKANYiswa (appointed chiefs)
isiTATANYiswa (a tycoon) - iziTATANYiswa
(tycoons)

- (d) Repeated actions or sounds
isiBOKOBOKO (a sponge) - iziBOKOBOKO (sponges)
isikETEKETE (a lantern)- izikETEKETE (lanterns)
isiPAKUPAKU (a journey can) - iziPAKUPAKU
(journey cans)
isiQUMQUMU (a piano) - iziQUMQUMU (pianos)
isiTOLOTOLO / isiTWELETWELE (a Jewish harp) -
izitOLOTOLO / iziTWELETWELE (Jewish harps)

- (e) Comparison
isaJA (water remaining in hemp-horn after smoking)

(This is probably a comparison with amaJA - mucus that is discharged from the urethra upon sexual excitement.)

isaBIZwana (a pronoun - a grammatical term) -
izaBIZwana (pronouns)

(The term isaBIZwana means " that which is like a noun.)

4.3.15. The prefixes of the iN- / iziN- class are prefixed to nominal applications of root morphemes to denote the following:

- (a) Agentive nouns
inGWEDLa (an oar-like device used at timber works)
izingWEDLa (oar-like devices)
inKINTSHo (a handle of a jug, cup, or bucket)
izinkINTSHo (handles of jugs, cups, buckets, etc.)

inGWEDane (a pick "boy") - izinGWEDane
(pick "boys".)

inCWALi (ladies' hairdresser) - izinCWALi
(ladies' hairdressers)

inDUNa ("boss-boy") - izinDUNa ("boss-boys")

N.B. In our opinion, these nouns could be classified together with personal nouns of the in- / izin- class e.g. inKOSi which could be regarded as an agent of kingship and inDODa - an agent of passing on the seed (human); etc.

(b) Miscellaneous nouns

imPAHLa (B./-PAKA meaning meet; hence 'surround' in Zulu) (luggage, packages) - izimPAHLa
(packages, luggage.)

inZUZo (profit)

inDUNDUma (a mine dump) - izindUNDUma (mine
dumps)

imVUTHU (yendWANGU) (shreds of cloth)

inHLALo (life, manner of living, etc.)

4.3.16. The prefixes of noun classes which are not discussed here show no differences from those recorded in the existing grammar books.

4.3.17. The only suffixal morphemes worthy of discussion are the following :

(a) The suffix "-lo"

A few nouns use the suffix -lo to express the idea "long" or "protruding."

umPOTSHOLO (a pixie cap) - imipOTSHOLO (pixie
caps)

uNKONTSHOLO (an implement with a scythe-like blade fitted with a wooden handle at one end.) -

oNKONTSHOLO (plural form of uNKONTSHOLO)

umPHONGOLO (a cask or a crate) - imipHONGOLO
(casks or crates)

(In umPHONGOLO, -lo is suffixed to the stem -PHONGO)

(b) The suffix "-lu"

The suffix -lu appears to denote something bulky or big.

isizUMBULU (a big lump of money)

umSHUQULU (a large parcel or a turban)

4.3.18. The role played by tone in the differentiation of innovations from old usages of words is almost negligible, as far as we could establish. The only example we found was :

ingQONDO (an habitual criminal)

which is distinguished from

ingQONDo (the brain, understanding.)

(The distinction between umFUNDisi (a school teacher) and umFUNDisi (a priest) is an artificial one used by some teachers who want to enforce purism in the classroom. As far as we could establish, no Zulus use this form. On the contrary, they invariably use uTISHa/uTHISHa/uTHISHela (teacher) instead.)

4.3.19. In the innovations studied, it was discovered that the old root morphemes are mainly applied in two ways, viz. (i) as nouns. (new concepts are denoted) (ii) as predicates. (there is a continual naming of actions connected with new concepts.)

A list of words is given below to illustrate this point. The words are classified according to the aspect of Zulu life in which they are found.

(1) Trade

(a) nouns

uHLAMVu - a coin. (derived from the Zulu name for a grain of millet, for example.)

iNANI - price (derived from the Zulu word for 'quantity')

umTHAPHo - a wholesale store (originally, ' a source of supply')

ukuWA - to become bankrupt (derived from 'to fall')

(b) predicatives

-FUMBATHisa - bribe (originally; ' cause to close the hand')

-GWAZA - bribe (originally: 'stab')

-KHOKHa - pay (originally: 'draw from one's supply.')

-SHONa - lose a lot of money in business ('sink')

(2) Industry(i) agriculture(a) nounsiGEJa - a plough (a hoe)umHLATHi - a plough-share (a jaw)umTHOLe/umTHOLo - black wattle
(Acacia Caffra)IZAMBANE - potatoe (vegetable with
small edible tuber)(b) predicates-BCPHela - inspan (tie onto)-DOBa - fish (coax)-SHAYela - drive, a team of oxen,
for example (strike for a
certain purpose.)-DABULa umHLABa - survey land (tear)(ii) Factory(a) nounsimBOKODO - a roller at a sugar mill
(upper grind stone)iBHANGa - an empty truck, tub, etc.
(a large broad-mouthed calabash)inHLESela - treacle (dregs of beer)uWABi - baggasse (dry twigs piled together)(b) predicates-HOLa - draw wages (draw a rope for
example)-HLELa - edit a newspaper (arrange)FUKUza - do unskilled work (cause
to rise or swell up.)(iii) Mining(a) nounsumQELWANE - a miner's hat (a thing
with a hard crust, e.g. a
Bushman's head which is
believed to be very hard.)INGWENYa - reduction works (a crocodile)umGXALa - a crow-bar (needle used for
tooth extraction.)

(b) predicates

- SHAYisa - be off duty (cause to be struck.)
 -THOLa - hire (find, adopt.)
 -PHANGela - go on duty (work hurriedly for)
 -SCPHa - buy goods on credit (be determined to have or do something.)

(3) Household(a) Nouns

- umBHOSHo - a top hat (a milking pail)
uGOZWana - the smallest native pot (a small quantity.)
iTHALa - a pantry (a raised platform in the hut.)
isiCABHa - a door (a device for shutting the hut made of wicker work.)

(b) predicates

- EMBATHa - assume western civilization (wear a blanket.)
AMBULela - present someone with used clothes (to uncover for.)
 -KHINDa - wear short dresses (wear a short skin petticoat.)
 -PHUPHa - fade (degenerate)

(4) Foodstuffs and Related Matters(a) nouns

- isiFINo - tasty European food (ordinary food)
amaHABULO - sediments of unstrained coffee (sediments of beer)
isiTHOKelo - flavour (seasoning, e.g. of medicine)
isiTUKULa - the stem of a hemp-horn (a short fat person.)

(b) predicates

- DCNSa - draw, e.g. tea. (draw, pull)
 -COBelela - fill someone's smoking pipe (give snuff to someone.)
 -BHEMa - smoke tobacco or dagga (inhale snuff)
 -THUNGa - serve, e.g. tea (serve beer.)

(5) Needle-work(a) nouns

imBUNGa - downs (softy, downy hair)

umFINGCizo - a pleat round the waist of a dress (a deep furrow in the face)

isiPHIKa - the collar of a dress (a broad-shouldered person.)

umQOLO - a crease of a garment (a spinal column.)

(b) predicates

-CICIYela - darn a hole (do patchwork)

-CWILisa - soak (sink something in water)

-NYENYEza - sprinkle washing (sprinkle charms.)

-FEKETHa - embroider (used as a qualificative, e.g. ingUBo eFEKETHile - a spotted blanket)

(6) Social Matters(i) The Home(a) nouns

isiZA - building site which may include outside building like the garage, store-rooms, etc. in addition to the main building (site for building a hut within a kraal.)

uPHAHLA - roof of a modern house (the central frame of a Zulu hut.)

isiKMONKWANE - lightning conductor (a medicated peg)

uDONGa - a wall of a modern house (steep side of a river.)

(b) predicates

-FULela - put on a roof (thatch)

-KHONZa - be the menial of a farmer (be the menial of a chief)

-CAKa - whitewash a wall (paint one's face or body with clay or red ochre.)

(ii) The Church(a) nouns

IDOKODO - a tabernacle (a temporary hut)

isiTHEBe - the Holy Eucharist (an eating mat woven from umuZI)

imiHELo - sorrows (stabbing pains as in child-birth)

isiHLABelelo - a psalm or hymn (song of childhood sung during infancy, first menstruation, and marriage)

isiHOGO - hell (a place of intense heat)

(b) predicates

-BUSisa - bless (cause to enjoy life)

-HLAMbulula - make a confession (make clear)

-KHULEKa - pray (salute a kraalhead by his isiBONGO or isiTHAKAZelo before entering his kraal.)

-PHEHLelela - Christen (introduce into a new state of life)

(iii) The School(a) nouns

isANDLa - hand-writing (dexterity at making something.)

INCWADI - a letter, book (mark or sign that indicates something, e.g. a branch across the path-way indicates that someone has died at the kraal to which the path-way is leading.)

isiTHOMBe - a picture, doll, statue (blood image)

ubuLILi - gender (derived from the usage of the root -LIL- in isiLILi which refers to the sleeping place on the floor of the hut.)

(b) predicates

-BHAla - write (scratch marks or figures on anything)

-FUNDa - read (practise for a wedding dance)

(Unlike the Sothos, the Zulus did not regard reading as a kind of 'counting' hoBALa/goBALa.)

- DWEBa - draw ("scratch as a thorn or eat a person" - Bryant.)
-OWIYa - analyse chemically (cut off small pieces usually of flesh or meat.)

(7) Transport and Communication(a) nouns

- umKHUMBi - a boat (a meat tray)
inHLANGano - a junction, e.g. of a road
 (junction of pathways.)
IThYi - harbour (lagoon)
isiHLALo - a saddle (the chief's sitting mat)

(b) predicates

- SAKAZa - broadcast news (broadcast seed)
-THEKEBa - import (appeal to friend or relative for food in times of hunger.)
-NDIZa - travel by plane (fly)
-GIBELa - ride horse , for example (ride on the back of baboon or hyena as the abaTHAKATHi are said to do.)

(8) Law-courts(a) nouns

- igUNYa - security (something one can be proud of)
uVATi - hut-tax (hot tempered person)
isiBOPHo - a bond. duty, (a grass string or rope used for binding things)
isiKONZA - messenger of court (a vassal)

(b) predicates

- PHANYeka - execute (hang up)
-HLUKanisa - a divorce (separate things)
-DINGisa - deport (make someone to be in want)
-VALa / -VIMBa - ban (shut or stop, bar)

(9) Hospitals(a) nouns

- igGIWANE - a germ (light ash particle floating about)
uBHUBHani - plague (epidemic)
uHLAKa - a stretcher (reed-mat)
umPETEPETE - poliomyelitis (ukuTHI PLTEPETE means to be supple)

(b) predicates

-GCABa - vaccinate, inoculate (cut
incisions for rubbing in
medicine)

-ILINZa - operate upon a person (skin
a slaughter beast)

-KLAYa - dissect (cleave)

-GOMa - immunise (administer medicine)

(10) Sport(a) nouns

inDEBe - trophy (half of a split gourd)

isiCOCa - championship title (head-ring)

inKOMa - a ' rabbit ' (a beast)

ivUKana - amateur at a game (young bull)

(b) predicates

-FAKa - score a goal ('put in ')

-BAMBa - mark an opponent (catch)

-SHAYa - play, e.g. cards (strike)

-NQCBa - win (win)

4.3.20 Hlonipha

Par.4.5.4. below, explains the social aspect of hlonipha. The following linguistic implications of this custom were found :

(a) Phonemic substitution

/gx/ for /gq/ e.g. isiGXOKa instead of isiGQOKa

/gc/ for /bh/ e.g. igCANDe instead of ibHANDe

igCANGe " " ibHANGe

igCOGCwe " " ibHODwe

/nc/ or /tsh/ for /kh/ e.g. isiNCWAMa/isiTSHWAMa
for isiKHWAMa

/m/ for /nc/ e.g. imADi instead of incWADi, etc.

(b) Analogy :

inQINa - (a wheel) compared with inQINa (part
of an animal's leg above the hoof.);

inSONGe (a ring) compared with inSONGe (a ram
with twisted horns.)

(c) Dialectal Borrowing :

uUCUCUZa for uQADOLo (i.e. blackjack); inDAYi/

inDALi for imALi (money)

- (d) Deidcophonic Formation :
ubuPHETHU (beads) derived from ukuTHI PHETHU
 (to swarm to the surface);
intWisho (piece of cloth worn by amaBhINCa
 girls) derived from NTVII (act
 of tearing cloth.)
- (e) Retention of an Obsolete Word :
iKHANzi (a pot), and inJOMANe (a horse)
 are examples of obsolete words
 that were revived in order to
 serve as hlonipha terms.
- (f) Instrumental Usage :
uBETHo (an organ), iDIYelo (a sickle),
 and iGAYo (a wheel) are
 examples of the instrumental
 usage of the root.
- (g) Description :
ubaBUKeleni (a shilling), umGWADi (a
 European - originally meaning
 " a bride "), isiCOKAMa (a
 train - apparently so-called
 because people sit up in a
 train), umGWADLU (a road)
umGWADLU refers to a novelty.

4.4. The Idiom

4.4.1. A form of expression that is peculiar to a language is known as the idiom of that language.¹⁰⁾

4.4.2. The idiom generally has a fixed structural phrasal pattern of words which are used together. The meaning of such a pattern of words is completely different from the usual or lexical meaning.¹¹⁾

4.4.3. The pattern of words used in an idiom generally consists of an introductory word which is the infinitive application of the root morpheme. The complement of this word is usually a root morpheme used with the effect of a noun. This complementary word determines the meaning of the idiom.

10) See The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1958, p.590.

11) Also see Ntsanwisi, 1965, p.88.

e.g. ukuCHITHa umFAZi - to divorce one's wife; ukuCHITHa IMALI - to squander money. umFAZi and IMALi determine the meaning of these idioms.

ukuGAYa uBISi - to churn milk. uBISi determines the meaning of the idiom here.

4.4.4. The Structure of the Idiom.

4.4.5. The modern idiom has not changed in its basic structure from the traditional Zulu idiom. In our investigation, the following forms were found :

(a) The Predicate (usually in the infinitive)
followed by an object (usually a noun.)

ukuBEKa izANDLa - to bless.

ukuDILIKelwa iJELe - to serve a life imprisonment.

ukuFAKa isiCATHUlo - to kick someone.

ukuLAHLa iBHESHu - to adopt western dress.

ukuTHINTa iBHOLa - to play football excellently,
 etc..

(b) A noun followed by a possessive

umHLAHLAVu weMOTO - a car in a bad state of repair.

amaPHUPHu eziKHOVa - pound notes.

iCALa leGAZi - a criminal case.

isiDINSi seMALi - a lot of money.

iCALa lombANGO - a civil case; etc.

(c) A noun followed by a qualificative

IMALi eSHisiwe - good money (in wages)

iNDLU eMNYAMa - a prison cell. Usually used in
 the locative; viz. useNDLini eMNYAMa

refers to one awaiting trial.)

isiKHOVa esiluhlAZa - a five-pound note.

abandLEBe zikhANYa iLANGa - Europeans.

iNDLU iVALiwe - a black team of oxen; etc.

(d) Single words in the infinitive form

ukuDLiwa - to become bankrupt.

ukuGQOKiswa - to be given long term imprisonment.

ukuHLUBULa - to lack clothing.

ukuSHONa - to lose a lot of money (in business.)

ukuWA - to be bankrupt; etc.

4.4.6. The Meaning of the Idiom

4.4.7. The meanings of a few idioms of the "predicate plus object" kind can be deduced from their component parts. ¹²⁾ Usually, the predicate depends upon its complement (i.e. the object) for its elucidation. Hence, the meaning of the idiom is largely determined by the complement of the predicate. Consequently, if one is acquainted with the meaning and peculiar circumstances connected with the complement of the predicate (i.e. the object), one can explain the meaning of an idiom.

4.4.8. The Meanings of a few Idioms

(i) ukuBAMBa may indicate :

(a) uncertainty in the accomplishment of the action

ukuBAMBa isiTIMELa - to catch a train

ukuBAMBa umJAHo - to win money on a horse-race.

ukuBAMBa iTOHo - to do temporary work

(b) to endure an unpleasant task

ukuBAMBa inKUNZi - to hold up someone with intent to rob.

ukuBAMBa inKONZo - to serve a labour contract in lieu of residence and food rations on a farm.

(c) to be very successful in performing a task

ukuBAMBa iMALi - to earn a lot of money.

ukuBAMBa uSIBa - to have a particularly good hand-writing.

(ii) ukuBEKa may indicate :

(a) to lay (evidently a loan translation)

ukuBEKa iTAFULa - to lay the table

ukuBEKa iTSHE - to lay a tombstone, or occasionally a foundation stone.

12) This is contrary to what Ntsanwisi found in Tsonga, viz. that: "... the meaning of which cannot be logically ascertained from its component parts." see Ntsanwisi, 1965, p.88.

- (b) to bless or ordain
ukuBEKa izANDLa - to bless (cf.
ukuBEKa isANDLa - to assault)
- (c) to ride
ukuBEKa (iHASHi) isiHLALo - to
ride a horse.
- (d) ukungABEKi PHANSi - to be a good shot.
- (iii) ukuCHITHa may indicate :
- (a) to get rid of
ukuCHITHa umFAZi - to divorce a wife.
- (b) to spend
ukuCHITHa amaHOLIDE - to spend
holidays.
ukuCHITHa iMALi - to spend money.
- (iv) ukuFAKa may mean :
- (a) to inflict pain or suffering upon someone:
ukuFAKa isiCATHULO - to kick a person.
ukuFAKa oJOKweni - to give someone a
hard time.
- (b) to take an uncertain step
ukuFAKa isAHLUKANiso - to institute
legal proceedings for a divorce.
ukuFAKa omJAFweni - to place a bet on
a racehorse.
- (c) to wear
ukuFAKa iBHULUKwe, iBHANTSHi, etc.
- (v) ukuHLABa means to do successfully :
ukuHLABa umSEBENZi - to strike a job.
ukuHLABa iNCWADI - to write a letter.
- (vi) ukuDLA may indicate :
- (a) to celebrate :
ukuDLA uKHISIMUSi - to celebrate
Christmas.
ukuDLA isiDLo - to celebrate the Holy
Eucharist.
- (b) to do excessively
ukuDLA imBODLELa - to drink European
liquor excessively.
ukuDLA iMALi - to spend money reck-
lessly.
ukuDLA inDWANGU - to dress very well.

ukuDLA amaTHE omLUNGU - to here-
worship the Whiteman.

ukuDLA iZAMBANE lik' FONDO - to lead a
life of ease and comfort.

(vii) ukuSHAYa may indicate :

(a) to inflict pain or injury :

ukuSHAYa ngesiBHAMU - to shoot,
e.g. a person.

ukuSHAYa isiBHEDLELA - to assault
a person grievously.

(b) to sing or dance

ukuSHAYa iPHEsi, iTHENa, etc - to
sing bass, tenor, etc.

ukuSHAYa isiCATHULO - to perform
the boot dance.

(c) to ring or to crack :

ukuSHAYa uTHELEFONI - to telephone.

ukuSHAYa inSIMBi - to ring a bell.

ukuSHAYa inKWENT; - to crack the whip.

(d) to mark

ukuSHAYa inTENGo - to fix the price
of an article.

ukuSHAYa amaTHIKITHi - to clip
passengers' tickets (in a
bus or train .)

ukuSHAYa ngomSHINI - to type
(Probably, Zulus earlier
associated typing with marking
the paper.)

(e) to play

ukuSHAYa iGALOFu - to play golf.

ukuSHAYa amaPHEPHa - to play cards.

ukuSHAYa iTHENISi - to play tennis.

(f) to speak fluently

ukuSHAYa isiDHUNu - to speak Afrikaans
well.

ukuSHAYa isiPIKi - to speak a mixture
of English and Zulu.

ukuSHAYa isisUTHU - to speak Sotho
fluently

- (viii) ukuTHATHa may indicate:
- (a) to print
ukuTHATHa isiTHOMBe - to have a photo taken.
ukuTHATHa imiNWE - to take finger prints.
- (b) to initiate a thing
ukuTHATHa iCULO - to start a hymn.
ukuTHATHa inKOLo - to adopt Christianity.
- (ix) ukuTHWALa may indicate:
- (a) to bear or to endure:
ukuTHWALa izONo - to endure or bear sins
(e.g. Jesus is said to have borne the sins of mankind : waziTHWALa izONo zabaNTU uJESU.)
ukuTHWALa iCALa - to bear the expense
ukuTHWALa iPASi - to endure carrying the pass.
(cf. ukuPHATHa iPASi which simply means " to carry a pass ")
- (x) ukuPHATHa may mean :
- (a) to supervise
ukuPHATHa iIOKISHi - to be a location superintendent.
ukuPHATHa isiKOLe - to head a school.
ukuPHATHa iziKWATa - to supervise work parties.
- (b) to serve (often with eagerness.)
ukuPHATHa iVANGELi - to preach the gospel with enthusiasm or eagerly.
ukuPHATHa umSEBENZi - to serve with keenness at one's place of employment.
- (c) to carry
ukuPHATHa iPASi - to carry a pass.

4.4.9. The Classification of the Idiom.

4.4.10. Idioms can be classified according to the circumstances which give rise to their origin.

4.4.11. The following idioms are connected with:

- (a) Money
ukuBAMBa iMALi - to earn a lot of money.
ukuCHITHa iMALi - to spend money (usually recklessly.)
ukuBEKela iHASHi - to place a bet on a horse.
ukuBASela iCALa - to follow up a debt.

(b) Christianity

ukuLAHLa iBHESHu -- to be converted.

ukuDUKUza ebuQABeni - to live the life
of a heat-hen.

ukuEMBATHa iBHANTSHi -- to join a church
movement such as the women's prayer
union.

ukuFULATHela unKULunKULu - to be a non-
believer in Christianity.

(c) Labour

ukuBAMBA iTOHo -- to do a tempory job.

ukuSHAYa inGOBOLWANE -- to maintain the
rail tracks.

ukungamAZI umLUNGu / ukungamPHATHi umLUNGu--
to be an independent worker who does not
seek employment under a Whiteman.

ukuTHUTHa iNYATHi -- to remove the night
soil, i.e. to be a scavenger.

(d) Historical Events.

ukuDABUka kweGODa -- the end of Mpande's
association with Dingane.

ukuHOLEla umuntu oPHATHe -- to lead a
person into an ambush.

(e) Social Matters

ukuFAKa isaHLUKaniso -- to institute
legal proceedings for a divorce.

ukuMisa (ukuM(A)isa) iDUKu -- to announce
or publicise a new love affair (by
hoisting a white flag at the young
man's home.)

iGAMA laseKHAYa / lasesiKOLeni -- a child's
name by which he/she is known at school
(e.g. the so called Christian name); and
his/her home name.

iNJA neKATi -- arch enemies.

(f) The Gaol.

ukuBIZwa iJELe -- to look for trouble
that may land one in gaol.

ukuDILIKelwa iJELe -- to serve a life
sentence.

ukuKHALelwa zinSIMBi -- to be arrested.

uziyaNTUNTa -- an indeterminate sentence.

- (g) Deterioration of Morals of the Zulus
ukuKHIPHa isiSU - to commit abortion.
ukuTHENGa umuntu - to bribe a person.
ukuDLiwa (ukuDL(A)iwa) zindUNDUma -
to desert one's home in order to live
in the cities.
ukuDLA ematFANYULeni - to commit sodomy.
- (h) The Whiteman's Laws
iCALa leGAzi - a criminal case.
iCALa lesiNENE - a case involving the
Immorality Law.
iCALa lombANGO - a civil case.
ukwENZa isiVUMelwano - to sign or enter
into a contract.
- (i) Time
ukuBHANSA kweNYANGa - a month is said
'to -bhansa ' when it has an additional
day to the usual number, i.e. 31 days
instead of 30 days or 29 days in
February on a leap year.
ukuCHITHa amaHOLIDE - to spend holidays.
- (j) Standard of Performance
ukuTHINTa iBHOLA - to excel at playing
soccer.
ukungabeKi PHANSi - to be a good shot.
ukuBAMBa uSIBa - to have a particularly
good handwriting.
ukuHLABana ngamaLENGiso - to pass an
examination with distinction.

4.4.12. The Proverb ¹³⁾

4.4.13. Doke ¹⁴⁾ defines the proverb as :

" a short pithy sentence expressing
some general truth or statement."

13) Although the idiom and the proverb are different,
it is convenient to treat them under one heading
in this research.

14) Doke, 1947, p.102.

Nyembezi (15) explains that proverbs are ordinary statements which cease to be ordinary when people begin to accept them as clever expressions of some truths.

4.4.14. In this study we shall try to classify proverbs according to their plausible origin or circumstances which may have lead to their creation.

Thus, there are proverbs :

(a) Expressing close observation

akukHO THUSi laKHALa liloDWA - (no brass ever nagged itself) - it takes two people to pick a quarrel. This is a terse way of explaining this truth by means of using brass as an illustration. Indeed a metal like brass will only sound when struck against another metal (or brass itself)

uKHALiphe nganxanye njengomMESe 16) - (he is single-edged like the blade of a knife) - he/she thinks that he/she is wise. The assumed wisdom of a fool is comparable with the blade of a knife which is single-edged.

(b) Expressing failure

akaliBONanga eliWIN^xyo - (he failed to see the one, i.e. the playing card) - he/she has failed. The proverb originates from playing cards where the loser is said to have failed to see the winning card.

uSEBENZela iHASHi^xeliF(Λ)ile - (he is working for a dead horse) - his efforts are futile. This proverb is probably a borrowing from the Afrikaans language where an expression like " hy werk vir 'n dooie perd" is known.

15) Nyembezi, 1954, p.xi.

16) Some proverbs incorporate loan-words which function as roots in Zulu, e.g. umMESe is a loan-word from Afrikaans mes. Loan - words are marked x in this section.

(c) Expressing compulsion

ngODLI DLAKALASi iJAZi lePHOYISa - (by the firm grip of a policeman's coat.) - by force. The root morphemes : DLI and -DLAKALAS- are obsolete morphemes indicating "fearlessness", "force" or "power". Apparently, the policeman's overcoat is regarded as a symbol of "force" or "might"; hence the expression.

uyoyIKHOMBa iNDIU enoTSHWALa - (you will point out the house with the brew, i.e. the illicit brew) - you shall tell the truth. Before non-English speakers were allowed to be licensed traders in liquor, shebeens operated under strict secrecy. The expression : uzoyIKHOMBa iNDIU enoTSHWALa sounds like a common saying among policemen who would compel the suspected shebeen spy to identify the illicit trader in liquor.

(d) Expressing scorn

waSHA KHEKHé lokuzOSa - (you are burning, you self-roasting cake) - serves you right ! A cake is normally baked by a person. A type of cake that bakes or roasts itself must be a peculiar one. Consequently, it is not surprising when such a cake gets burnt because there is no-one to care for it.

(e) Expressing need

iKATI liLALa eZIKo - (the cat sleeps at the hearth) - there is hunger or starvation. iZIKo is a fire-place usually situated in the middle of a hut. Thus, if the cat lies in the fire-place, it means that there is no more need to make fire for cooking because there is nothing to be cooked.

iGUDU belisHe amanZI - (the hemp-horn is dry) - one is helpless. iGUDU is a hemp-horn. Water is indispensable in the smoking of the horn. Consequently, to smoke dagga without the water or with a dry horn is impossible.

(f) Expressing unsuitability

uCU aluHLANGani enTANYeni/uCU aluLINGani enTANYeni - (the hemp-horn does not fit my neck) - something is unsuitable. uCU is a bead-string that is worn round the neck

(g) Expressing suspicion

inKUKHu iyawuSOLa umMBILa - (the fowl suspects the mealies) - danger is suspected. Mealie grains are sometimes used as a bait. Originally, it was the IMPANGELE which was trapped with grains. If the IMPANGELE (guinea-fowl) suspected trouble, it would not eat the mealies. An idiom later developed from the behaviour of the guinea-fowl, and later the fowl in avoiding to eat the bait when suspecting trouble.

(h) Expressing opprobrium

uyinDABa eGUDwini - (he is the talk in the hemp-horn) - he/she is talked of where-ever people are gathered (generally in a scandalous manner.) This proverb probably originated in the habit of dagga-smokers in discussing other people around the hemp-horn.

(i) Indicating change of material values

inKOMO iMBiwa (iMB(A)iwa) eTSHEni kobeLUNGu - (the beast is dug from the rocks/ stones amongst Europeans) - money is the Whiteman's wealth. In traditional Zulu life, people set great store on their stock.

However, under European living conditions, the Zulus have realised that wealth (inkOMO), can also be extracted from the stone.

izinkOMO zoBOYa (beasts of hair) -

literally, 'cattle with hair'. This proverb is commonly used in lobolo transactions where, in addition to cattle, money is also used. Money is hairless although it is used as a means of 'paying' lobolo. Hence, 'cattle with hair' refers to live cattle as against money which is regarded as 'cattle without hair.'

(j) Expressing conservatism

ukuDLA ngengXWEMBe enDALa/ukuVUBa ngolu DALa /

ukuDLA ngokHEZO oluDALa - (to eat with the old ladle) - to be conservative. In our opinion, these proverbs must have arisen as a contrast with the new living conditions under European influence.

(k) Expressing uncertainty

akwAZIwa THUNGa loBUYa nenKINTSHo (nenHINTSHo.) -

(It is not known whether the bucket will return with the handle) - the results are uncertain. The proverb may be derived from the fact that the difficulties or struggles involving the grasping of the handle of the milking pail may result in the breaking of the handle. Hence, the consequences of something that is being done are uncertain.

umFUNDisi kamZALI umFUNDisi - (a minister

does not beget a minister) - children seldom take after their parents, especially with regard to good things. In the traditional Zulu life, a tanner of leather beget another tanner, a maker of clay pots also beget another maker of clay pots, etc.. But when the

Whiteman introduced his way of life, that practice ceased to be. Hence, it was noticed that the son of a pastor does not necessarily become a pastor.

(1) Connected with finery

anginanDONDo, angifaKI luTHO eKHALeni -

(I have no brass ball, I wear nothing on my nose) - I am all right as I am without any adornment. This proverb probably originated in the custom of certain Indian sects whose women wear what appears to be a brass star on the nose.

Apparently, the Zulus disapproved of this ornament and felt that they were all right without it.

HAMBa nDONDo - (good-bye brass ball !) -

good-bye sun ! This is an expression used to bid the setting sun good-bye. The setting sun resembles a brass ball in its colour.

(m) Reinforcing an established fact

iNSUMANSUMANE iMALi yamaKHANDa -

(the absurdity/riddle this head-tax) - a miracle.

iNSUMANSUMANE is an absurdity.

This absurdity is reinforced by the resentment towards what many Zulus regard as an extra-ordinary imposition of poll-tax upon them.

(n) With a Biblical foundation

waHAMBa okweJUBa likaNOWA^x - (he left

like Noah's dove) - he left for good. It is derived from the story of Noah when he sent a Dove to inspect the level of the deluge, and this Dove never returned to the Ark.

(o) Old proverbs modified

wAKHAHLELwa iHASHi^x / iMBONGOlo esiFUBeni -

(he was kicked by a horse/donkey on the chest) - he cannot keep a secret. The original proverb used inDIOVu as a complement of wAKHAHLELwa, i.e. wAKHAHLELwa inDIOVu esiFUBeni. People rarely see elephants these days. Consequently, they tend to use the name of an animal that is familiar.

amaTHANGa aHLANZela abangenamaBHODwe^x -

(pumpkin plants bear fruit for those without pots) - opportunity often favours those who have no need for it. The original proverb went : amaTHANGa aHLANZela abangenaNGOBo, i.e. pumpkins often yield a plentiful crop to those who have no granaries. Nowadays, people hardly have granaries. So they think of the pot rather than a storehouse. Hence amaTHANGa aHLANZela abangenamaBHODwe.

Although the list of various uses of the proverb is wide, it is important to note that the number of proverbs evolved under modern conditions is still very small in comparison with the idioms.

4.5. Facets of Adaptation.

4.5.1. In par.1.1.1. above, we mentioned six facets of adaptation which serve as evidence of the evolution of a language. While adaptability seeks to find a common factor governing all the facets of adaptation on the one hand, adaptation is a symptom of change on the other hand. The latter is a manifestation of growth in a language. Adaptability could be regarded as the pivot of the adjustment of a language to new conditions. Adaptation on the other hand, could be regarded as the periphery of the dynamic process that is at work in the

course of its evolution. All facets of adaptation have something in common which is interpreted by adaptability as shown in pars 4.2. - 4.4.14. above 4.5.2. As pointed out in our aim in par1.2.3.above, we do not intend giving a comprehensive picture of adaptation. This is obviously not possible within the scope of this dissertation. Further, adaptation is not really a study of adaptability. Our aim is merely to give an idea of what is involved in the adaptation of Zulu to new conditions.

4.5.3. The Disparity Between the Spoken and the Written language.

On the whole, many people tend to be simple and slipshod when they speak than when they write. The spoken language largely expresses quick thought while the written language is more deliberate. Moreover, a written word has a longer reach than the spoken one (except over the radio and in a public address.) Thus the written word is addressed to a larger section of the community than a spoken one. Consequently, the writer tends to be more conventional and "universal" in his writing than in his speech. The written language robs the writer of the vigour and freedom which he normally enjoys in his home environment. Written language is governed by conformity to certain norms. For example, in the speech of many Zulus, the plural prefix iziN- is substituted by ii-, e.g.

iinkomo, iinkukhu, iinkuni, iimpondo

But anyone who uses these forms in his speech would normally write :

izinkomo, izinkukhu, izinkuni, izimpondo.

This tendency is further illustrated by the use of the objectival concord yi instead of zi for the same nouns.

e.g. ngiyayibona iinkomo. (I see the cattle.)

ngiyayithengisa iinkukhu (I am selling the fowls)

ngiyayifuna iimpondo. (I want the horns.)

Whereas the form of the absolute pronoun for classes 8 and 10 (Doke's classification) has been more or less

accepted, as khona throughout the Zulu-speaking area for writing purposes, kona is gaining acceptance. Kona has largely been used in the spoken language than in the written language.

The use of the demonstrative pronoun before a noun in the spoken language of many Zulus also reveals a departure from the conventional usage. This, of course, may be an influence of Swazi.

E.g. lezinto instead of lezizinto
lokudla " " lokhukudla
labantu " " lababantu

Many people who use these forms in their spoken language usually use the longer forms, i.e. lezizinto, lokhukudla, lababantu, in their written language.

The spoken language also tends to modify the form of proverbs.

E.g. Liwela umfula ngowele (where iso has been omitted)

Lise nasobukhweni bezinja (where izulu is omitted.

Many people would include the nouns that are omitted in the spoken language when writing.

The use of loan-words in the spoken language is sometimes superseded by Zulu words in writing.

E.g. ukutadisha (to study) becomes ukufunda in the written language.

ipeni (a pen) becomes usiba in the written language.

udilayiva (a driver) becomes umshayeli in the written language.

ilekwe ('n rok) becomes ingubo in the written language.

The difference between the spoken and the written language as given above illustrates a change that is taking place in the language. The spoken form of the language tends to dominate in the long run. For example, -thatha (take) has displaced the Biblical form -thabatha completely.

4.5.4. Class Language

The study of class language in Zulu can be undertaken in two ways on the whole, viz. geographically and according to social strata within a geographical area. The geographical division resolves itself into two types, viz. the rural and the urban. Consequently, the rural and urban areas could be regarded as the chief dialectal areas (broadly speaking). The urban areas tend to have their own peculiar ways of adaptation that are different from those of the rural areas. This is apparently due to the prevailing social conditions in these areas. For example, the social strata are less marked in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

The social strata found within each dialectal area (i.e. urban or rural) are responsible for the existence of what could be called sub-dialects or pockets of dialects.

In this discussion we shall try to illustrate class language as it operates in the cities. The cities offer a better opportunity of observing adaptation than the rural areas because the contact situation is at its best in the urban areas. However, the language of the women, hlonipha, will be treated first before embarking upon some aspects of town language. Hlonipha seems to operate both in the town and rural areas alike although it is on the decline.

Hlonipha

ukuHLONIPHA in its ordinary usage means to respect or to revere. In the present investigation, however, ukuHLONIPHA refers to the custom of avoidance of or restraint from using a word with a phonic resemblance of the name of a person or anything connected with him/her. The practice of avoidance (ukuZILA) is determined by social behaviour patterns and mostly affects women. For example, married women may not call their husbands or fathers-in-law on their names or make any reference to them that will in any way employ words with a phonic likeness with the latter's names. Even the property of the husband or father-in-law, for example, is called by a special name.

Old women interviewed in the field about the operation of hlonipha under modern conditions of life were not very helpful. They seemed to understand the custom better in its traditional set-up. This to us, suggests that this practice is disintegrating. Otherwise, it should continue to manifest itself even under present-day conditions.

On account of inadequate records on hlonipha, it is difficult to-day to ascertain who was hlonipha'd when words came to be used in the manner illustrated below. However, in an example similar to the following one it is evident that a bride hlonipha'd her father-in-law. She would, for example, not say the following about him:

Phela uMasovenyeza ikholwa; ugibelo
ihashi wayosonta, Uzobuya ngoMsombuluko.
Uthe angokunika nansi imali ukuthi
umthengele insinbi yogeja.

But she would frame her statement somewhat like this:

Phela ubaba inyuka; uhambo ngenjomane
wayoshaqa. Uzobuya ngoMthukuluko. Uthe
ongokunika nansi indayi ukuthi umthengele
insinbi yelophula.

Sub-Dialects.

Besides the Zulu tribal dialects, isidolobha (town language)¹⁷⁾ was already noticed by the Zulus in the 1930's. However, the isidolobha of the 1930's was definitely different from the isidolobha of to-day. During the 1930's the Zulus who lived in the towns were mainly those of the labouring classes. The few people who had professions at the time could not influence the labouring classes nor were they many enough to form a class of their own. To-day, the

17) Among other things, The Zulu Society founded in 1937 aimed at combating the influences of town language on the purity of the Zulu language.

position is completely different. While the town Zulu of the 1930's constituted a dialect of Zulu, to-day there are "dialects" within this dialect. The various Zulu dialects have combined with Swazi and Xhosa and from this has emerged an amorphous mixture of Zulu in a city such as Durban. 18)

Johannesburg has, in addition, been influenced by Sotho. 19)

Although the mutual influences of tribal dialects is important in the adaptation of Zulu, our study lays emphasis upon the contact of the Zulus with Europeans.

In our opinion, the "dialects" or "pockets of dialects" found within the dialect of urban Zulu can best be studied against the background of the various social classes.

These classes comprise the professional men, and the working classes.

(1) Professional Men.

Our discussion of the language of the Zulus with professions is sub-divided as follows:

(a) The Educated Zulus : Zulus in the teaching, nursing and medical professions as well as lawyers, ministers of religion, journalists and clerks fall into this category. Except the ministers of religion, most Zulu professional men use more than one language in their daily occupation. They are thus bilingual or multilingual as the case may be. Moreover, most of them read English or Afrikaans daily newspapers. The influence of the idiom of the European languages on their mother-tongue is thus unavoidable. Their Zulu abounds in loan translations and many of them find it difficult to conduct a long conversation without "salting" it with some English or Afrikaans word.

18) The largest interference seems to be on the phonological level, particularly tone and intonation.

19) In addition to tone and intonation, many Zulu-speakers in Johannesburg employ the participial mood concords that resemble those of Sotho.

Examples

(a) Nurses and Doctors: A statement such as the following is common among these people:

Ngalelolanga ngang-ona u-2. Cha, sasingebhizi kakhulu yenke i-aftanuni. Kodwa kwathi ntombana kwafika amakheyisi amaningi kabi. Sema ngezinyawo sehla senyuka, amanye amakheyisi siwaspeshala amanye siwathumela ethiyetha, amanje elaliswa. Odoktha babothathana nehistri yeziguli, bedayiginosa kunjoya ! Angikuyikhohlwa indaba !

(On that day I started work at two o'clock. We were, however, not busy for the rest of that afternoon. But in the evening many cases arrived. We stood on our feet going up and down, specializing some patients, sending some of them to the operating theatre and putting others to bed. Doctors were busy taking the history of the ailments of their patients on the one hand and diagnosing their illness on the other hand ! I shall not forget that day !)

(b) Teachers The following statement is typical of a conversation between teachers :

Ngizama uku-ogenayiza isikolo sami. Benginomhlangano nekoniti yami ngicela ukufaka amaackstenshini amaklasinimu amabili. Bevumile. Manje ngivela kwisekethinspektha ukayolungisa udaba lwamagranti. Cha, naye uyethembisa ngoba uthi uhlawumbe singase siwathole ngoEphreli uma iroli yami isenhle njenganonyaka. Into nje ukhala kakhulu ngamarizalts. Ufuna sikhipe ofesiklasi abaningi nonyaka kunanyakenye.

(I am trying to organize my school. I had a meeting with my school committee to ask for building extensions of two class-rooms.

They have accepted my plea. I have just come from the circuit inspector to ask for additional grants. He has promised to give me the grants by next April if the roll of my school is as good as this year. But he wants good examination results. He wants more first-class passes this year than last year.)

(c) Journalists. Like other educated Zulus, the journalists tend to converse fairly freely in Zulu with English words being used time and again. Their language can also be studied in Umafrika and Ilanga. On the whole they are making a strenuous effort at presenting their news items in an interesting manner. Their creations are sometimes very stimulating. For example, when Moise Tshombe lost his leadership of the Congo the Ilanga gave the following headline:

UTshombe Kaselutho (Tshombe is now worth nothing.)

When President Nkrumah was overthrown, the following headline came from the Ilanga :

Banketule uNkrumah (They have overthrown Nkrumah.) The word Banketule is not a mere loan translation, but depicts the act of causing someone to tumble in a picturesque manner.

As far as we know the Press coined the expression Umthetho wesinene (lit. the law of the frontal part of a man's loin-covering; i.e. the Immorality Law.) Radio-Bantu also coined the term for a space-ship, viz. indizamkhathi/ni. These are real gems from the world of Journalism.

The other creations of Journalists, though apparently inspired by the love for their mother-tongue do not seem to gain acceptance. These are : umthethimacala (a Magistrate) where imantshi seems to be defying exclusion; umongikazi (a nurse) where uncsi is current; ezombangazwe (lit. news concerning dispute

over the land, i.e. politics) does not seem to be accepted by the public as a substitute for ezepolitiki.

These examples seem to illustrate the reversal of the process at work in the disparity between the spoken and the written language discussed above.

The language of the lawyers and clerks also tends to be influenced by their occupations.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the language of the professional man is influenced by his occupation to a very large extent. On account of the fact that the professional man can speak the European languages, he borrows more readily from them than the un-educated man. As a result of this it is fair to speculate that most innovations originate with the uneducated classes than with the educated classes in Zulu. However, the educated man can and does speak racy Zulu when he is removed from the urban surroundings and placed in an environment where he rubs shoulders continually with the uneducated.

(2) The Working Classes

The working classes have evolved a number of innovations connected with their life in the cities. We attribute these innovations to them because they were the first settlers in the cities.

E.g. uhlalaphi ? (Where do you stay ?) as against the form used in the tribal kraals, viz. Wakhephi ? (lit. where have you built ? i.e. where is your kraal ?)

Ngihlala kwanamba . 40 kwa - A (I stay at No.40 in section A.) Note the use of the locative prefix kwa- which originally referred to homes or kraals of people. It is now used to indicate a house number and an area or suburb.

The fact that the form

ngakhele ukopeletsheni/umasipala

(I live on the property of the Corporation/
Municipality)

is not used in the towns shows the adaptation of the language where redundant expressions are discarded.

izakhenuzi (citizens in an urban location.) izakhamizi originally referred to important citizens.

inkosi yedolobha (the Mayor) is likened to a king - he is the king of the city.

umqasho/ukukipita (said of a man and a woman living together out of wedlock.)

inihuga/imigulukudu (renegades who have left their homes permanently to live in the cities.)

ukubhansa kwenyanga (said of a month with 31 days or February on a leap year.)

skuqliwa zindunduma (to desert one's home in order to live in the cities.)

ukubamba itohe (to be in temporary employment.)

4.5.5. Fanakalo

Fanakalo is a pidgin spoken on the South African mines to facilitate communication between the various Bantu tribes and the Europeans. As its name implies, it is not a flexible language. It is based upon likening objects with one another. The name Fanakalo is probably derived from the Nguni stem -fana which means " be alike " combined with ka (of) a possessive concord and lo, a first demonstrative which means this one; i.e. " be alike - of - this one."

Zulus who work on the mines only speak this language when communicating with non-Nguni tribes and Europeans. When they are by themselves, they speak Zulu although Fanakalo names of objects are used by them when they are at work or in the compound. Some Fanakalo words which they use have indigenous Zulu root morphemes.

E.g. izimBADADA (sandals). These sandals have a sole made of a motor tyre and straps made of the tube of a motor-car.

umENDLALO (a felt mat used as part of bedding
in the compounds.)

umGQELWANE (a miner's hat.)

umGXALA (a crow-bar.)

ingWENYA (a reduction works)

ukuSOPHA imPAHLA (to buy clothes for which
payment is deducted from the labourer's wages.)

Although Fanakalo has made a contribution to the development of Zulu as the few examples quoted indicate, it is unlikely to develop into a Creole because mine labourers are not permanent mine workers. They serve short contracts of from six to eight months. Thereafter they return to their homes to rest for two to three years, and so on. The few labourers who remain permanently on the mines cannot develop this language as they mostly stay with their families on the mine premises, and have little contact, socially, with those who stay in the compound.

Although Fanakalo has some type of syntax, it is a sterile language lacking in beauty and force of expressing deeper feelings and emotions.

4.5.6. Slang

Zulu slang has been defined ²⁰⁾ and investigated before. Unlike the said investigator, we regard slang as a language of young people. In a sense, it could be regarded as a class language. Like its speakers, it tends to be more dynamic than the language of old people in the working classes.

Slang thrives best in the urban areas because the environment is stimulating in such areas. There is also less restrictive control over young people's behaviour in the cities. This contributes to freedom of expression and "creation."

20) Ndlovu, 1963, p.16. This Writer regards all usages that fall outside " standard educated speech" as slang.

Slang is also popular because it lends some social status to its speakers who are generally regarded as "clever."

(a) Breaking Monotony

From a language point of view, the primary motive of slang is to break the monotony of speaking like izinayi (" the foolish ones "). Instead of a young girl referring to her lover as isoka lami, it sounds more sophisticated to call him i-owu yami/ijuba yami (Notice the irregular possessive concord in the last example. It ought to be ijuba lami.) It also sounds too dull to say uBra Joe wehlulekile (Brother Joe has failed), hence the young people say uBra Joe ukhale ngaphansi (Brother Joe cried underneath)

When the young people are by themselves, they want to be free from the bonds of convention of referring to their fathers as ubaba, so they speak of ikhehla/ikhehla lami ; their mothers are known as izalukazi (old ladies.)

The conventional Zulu proverb used to express the idea that the sun is very hot is : likhipha inhlanzi emanzini (lit. it causes the fish to come out of the water.) A new substitute for this proverb has evolved, viz. likhipha unkhovu etsheni (lit. it causes the goblin to emerge from the stone.) This proverb is very expressive. The goblin is believed to be kept in strict secrecy by the wizard/witch so much so that it could be regarded as sealed in a stone. Thus, the heat of the sun that forces it out of the stone must be very strong.

(b) Secrecy

Zulu slang tends to be esoteric. The speakers of slang conceal their activities. For example, when looking for the illicit brew, they will not call it by its name. They would, for instance, use an expression such as into yaphansi (the thing of the underground.) Speaking about one's father

is secretive when he is called anabhovu (twisted moustache.) Ukuklazatha (to pool money) could only be understood to the initiated. Itsafenda (a knife - a word derived from the name of the assassin of the late Prime Minister of South Africa) is also secretive.

The interesting thing about the secrecy of slang is that its vocabulary changes fast. As soon as many people begin to be accustomed to a new word or expression, the young people abandon it and coin a new one in its place.

(c) Humorous

Slang is a vigorous and humorous language. The following examples cannot be equalled :

uziyantunta (an indeterminate gaol sentence). The nature of the gaol sentence resembles untuntu (a person with small narrow eyes who apparently cannot see well.) Indeed, a prisoner serving an indeterminate sentence figuratively cannot see far ahead as everything seems so uncertain.

ukuphambana nemvula (lit. to cross ways with rain, i.e. to get into trouble, to die.) This is evidently based on the belief that when people die they go up to Heaven; hence baphambana nemvula (they cross ways with rain) which comes down to earth.

4.5.7. Borrowings

Although the use of borrowed words has been illustrated in the idioms, the proverbs as well as in class language above, a brief illustration of the use of such words is given below. 21)

Sasilayisha * anapali * kaganthilini
enathilogweni * esitimela * egushede * yaseStanfodi,*
kwasekuqhuma udalimede * owawusethilogweni * elixhunywe
kwesasilayisha * kulo. Kwasuka anaphepha * ngiyakutshela !
Amalangabi aqhuma abheka phezulu ! Saphuma ngesamagundane.
Asha aphela finishi * anapali * .

21) An asterisk * is made after each adapted borrowed word in order to facilitate identification.

(We were loading gumtree poles on to the railway trucks at the Port Dunford goods shed when dynamite suddenly exploded from an adjoining truck. It was hell to pay ! Huge flames leapt up into the sky ! We had a narrow escape. The poles were burnt down completely.)

Note the substitution of the ideophone nya with the English verb finish in the last sentence. The word finishi has gained more force than the ideophone nya in the language of the labouring classes.

ooo000ooo

CHAPTER 5.C O N C L U S I O N5.1. History Moulds a Language

5.1.1. Culture is the meat of language. ¹⁾ In other words, language exists in a cultural context.

5.1.2. In par. 1.3.7. above, it is stated that the present investigation is based upon the observation of cultural elements that manifest the contact between the Zulus and Europeans. This is tantamount to saying that our investigation is founded upon acculturation.

5.1.3. Acculturation, however, does not operate in a vacuum. It is subjected to the confines of space and time. It occurs in an historical context. ²⁾

5.1.4. In chapter 2 above, an attempt is made to give a background to the evolution of innovations. That section of the present investigation has shown that the study of the history and culture of the Zulus is indispensable for a successful understanding of the semantics of the Zulu language. Each denotation of a root morpheme has an historical origin. Every denotation arose from some event, characteristic, nature, description or behaviour, etc. connected with the concept concerned. The naming of a concept is not a loose appellation to it. Consequently, one can conclude that the naming of a concept in Zulu is directly connected with the people's linguistic response to the new concept. However, such a response is moulded by history. It is, therefore, the task of the investigator to disentangle the concept designated by a particular denotation and retrace it to the time when it was introduced to the people, the circumstances under which it reached them and their response to it. As a result, we can come to no other conclusion but that history moulds a language.

1) See Sapir, 1949, p.207.

2) See chapter 2 above.

5.2. The Root Morpheme is the Key to Zulu Semantics

5.2.1. In pars 4.4.1. - 4.4.8. above, an attempt is made to examine linguistic factors at work in the adaptability of Zulu to new situations. These paragraphs reveal that meaning is founded upon the root morpheme. This morpheme is the essence of meaning. It is fundamental. Other morphemes used together with the root morpheme, i.e. the prefixal and suffixal morphemes, are secondary.

5.2.2. New concepts are expressed by the root morpheme by modifying or changing the prefixal and/or suffixal morphemes that are used with it in the traditional environment. This modification of the meaning of the root morpheme by means of secondary morphemes gives the root a new nuance or nuances.

5.2.3. The use of a root morpheme together with secondary morphemes puts such a root into context.³⁾ The context in which the root is used may result in a phrase (where the latter is in "included position" i.e. it is part of a larger form) or a sentence (where the latter is in "absolute position", i.e. it is a complete form.)

5.2.4. Pars. 4.4.1. - 4.4.8 above, further reveal that practically all innovations are based on the modification of the principal meaning of existing root morphemes in Zulu. The principal meaning is retained in spite of several marginal meanings it may have. In our opinion, this is in agreement with Urban's ⁴⁾ findings when he says :

" It is indeed possible to transfer signs from one meaning to another as things are in space. I can use X to signify 6 in one calculation and 7 in another and in the moment when it begins to signify 7 it ceases to signify 6. But that is not the way words⁵⁾ are transferred in living speech. They signify the new objects not by losing but by conserving their former meanings."

3) See par. 3.5.3. above.

4) Urban, 1951, p. 112.

5) For purposes of Zulu, read roots in place of words.

5.2.5. The pliability of the root morpheme to achieve the effect of word classes (parts of speech)⁶⁾ when used in context, and also its "elasticity" to gain desired nuances is, from a language point of view, the basis of the excellent resilience of the Zulu language in adapting itself to new situations.

5.2.6. As in the coining of terms,⁷⁾ it appears that precision and pliability are decisive considerations in the employment of an existent root morpheme. But Posthumus⁸⁾ observes :

" Die kern van die saak is dat 'n term noukeurig kan wees juis omdat hy nie alles sê nie."

It must, however,

" ... give substance to the fluid and hazy mental content. "⁹⁾

5.2.7. Changes in the meaning of existing root morphemes are largely influenced by association,

"... and more generally by the speaker's mental make-up, they ... reflect certain fundamental attitudes of the human mind."¹⁰⁾

5.2.8. In our opinion, it is this constant and abiding tendency which limits the prospect of the Zulu phrases (or words in the current conception) from deviating from a fixed structural pattern, i.e. the sequence of morphemes is always prefix + root + suffix. Any departure from this pattern falls outside the system of signs used in Zulu.¹¹⁾ There is no short cut; the system is fixed. On account of this fixed pattern of using a prefixal morpheme in front of the root morpheme, the variability of objects frequently referred to in arithmetical processes, for example, may involve a possible use of fifteen different concords. In addition,

6) See par. 3.5.3. above.

7) Posthumus defines a term as " 'n gildebegrip."

8) Posthumus, 1965, p.207.

9) Ullman, 1951, p.88.

10) Ullman, op. cit. p.80

11) For example, see The Bantu Education Journal of June, 1966, wherein a plea is made for the omission of the concord in numerals. This recommendation however, has limited possibilities. For example, answers to questions such as: "Ufuna izinkomo ezingaki na?" (How many head of cattle went?) invariably bring one back to the use of the concord of the language is over-

the Zulu conception of number is in terms of cardinal numbers only. The numerical concords, whether in the singular or plural, indicate real* objects. Consequently, an abstract concept of number does not exist in this language. Finally, there is no appropriate Zulu root morpheme to express positive and negative quantities as well as zero, e.g. +4, -2. Even if such Zulu roots were there, their meaning would be nullified by the use of prefixes and numerical concords. In the case of zero, for example, something like one zero, two zero, etc. would result. The positive and negative quantities would result in a complete muddle.

In other words, on account of the fixed word structure of prefix + root + suffix, the adaptability of Zulu is very poor in subjects like mathematics and arithmetic.

The words of Posthumus¹²⁾ deserve the attention of all interested in the development of language when he says :

" Die beperkende faktor is egter dat geen taal ooit in staat was om die wêreld van die wetenskap en die tegniek slegs met die minste onder woorde te bring nie."

In narrative subjects, however, such as history and scripture, for example, the Zulu language appears to have an enormous potential.

5.2.9. This study has confirmed our thesis that the root morpheme is definitely the key to Zulu semantics. Without using the root morpheme as a fundamental premise for reconstructing changes of meaning in Zulu words, the derivation of many meanings would have eluded the present investigator. Once more, the derivations of a few meanings are explained below to resolve this matter beyond doubt.

* i.e. "existing as a thing or occurring in fact."
The Oxford English Dictionary.

12) Posthumus, 1965, p.202.

- E.g. (1) -KHUL- (big)
-KHULa (grow)
ukuKHULa (to grow)
ubuKHULu (bigness; size)
ikhULu (a hundred)
isikhULu (an important person)
umKHULu (grandfather)
ukuKHULuPHALa (to grow fat)

(At present, this word is regarded as a derivative from the adjective. However, in our opinion, it is simply a secondary meaning of the root -KHUL- which means big. Thus, ukuKHULuPHALa is " to grow in a fluid sense ", that is, to grow fat. -PHALa is a stem derived from the root -PHAL- meaning " make supple ", where -KHULuPHALa would be " make supple in growth.")

- unKULunKULu (God)
 (2) -ZOL- (placid)
-ZOLa (be placid)

(In both the parrying of a blow and calmness, placidness is achieved.)

ukuZOLa (to be placid)
izOLO (yesterday - evidently yesterday is regarded as placid in the sense that what is gone by has become placid.)

anaZOLO (dew - that which is the remains of the day that has gone placid - i.e. izOLO - yesterday.)

- emaZOLweni (at the dew)
uzOLO (thick porridge)

(Such porridge does not shake or move as idOKwe, for example, it is still.)

- (3) -ZUL- (space)
izULu (the sky; rain; heaven)

(In the case of the denotation "sky" -ZUL- refers to "space up there", and the denotation "rain" refers to "that which comes from space", i.e. from the sky. And "weather" - izULu would designate " that which is in space.")

-ZULa (wander about or be
suspended)

(The denotation "wander about" must have originated from the idea of going about in the open - in space - where there were normally few or no people at all.)

ukuZULa (to wander about;
to be suspended)

inZULe (an unrefined term that
refers to a Zulu person)

(It must have originated from the state of restlessness caused by King Shaka who is said to have Shakazisa'd (caused commotion) the country. Semantically, inZULe means " the wanderer.")

isizULe (a suspended object)

uZULane (a wanderer)

(In this case, the word has not got the appellation of a nation but anyone who is in the habit of wandering about could be so described.)

(Cf. the root -JUL- which is the opposite of -ZUL-)

5.2.10. The foregoing paragraph illustrates that the root remains intact in all the various usages. We now propose to discuss the secondary morphemes that are used together with the root.

Examples :(1) umHLANGano - a meeting.
um- = a noun class prefix indicating the singular form.
-HLANG- = the root morpheme meaning "people."
-ano = \leftarrow -ana + -o where -ana is the reciprocal suffix wherein the ultimate vowel -a has given place to -o indicating the result of the reciprocal action of "meeting one another".

(The original Zulu word for a meeting was imBIZo which was only convened or "called" (BIZwa'd) by the chief.)

- (2) inDWANGU - a cloth.

in- = a noun class prefix indicating the singular form.

DWANGU = the root morpheme (ideophonic) used in respect of something that flaps about.

- (3) ukuBUSisa - to bless.

uku - = a noun class prefix which is also regarded as the prefix of the infinitive. It indicates neither singular nor plural.

-BUS- = a root morpheme meaning "enjoy life".

-isa = a causative suffixal formative meaning: "to cause to", hence ukuBUSisa = to cause to enjoy life, i.e. "to bless".

- (4) inDIMa - a paragraph or verse

in = a noun class prefix indicating the singular form.

-LIM- = a root meaning "plough"

(Note the phonetic substitution of the initial phone L with D which occurs as a result of the incompatibility of the alveolar nasal n of in with the L of -LIM-)

-a = the suffixal formative used to apply the root -LIM- predicatively.

(inDIMa originally referred to a piece of land cultivated or weeded on a certain occasion (e.g. during the morning or on a certain day) as distinct from inSIMu which meant the whole area of land normally used for cultivation.)

- (5) ubunTOMBi - state of girlhood in which the use of discretion is used.

ubun - = < a noun class prefix ubu-
 meaning " the state of being" plus
in- which is the noun class prefix
 for inTOMBi where the initial vowel
 has been elided, i.e. ubu- + (i)n-
 = ubun-

-TOMB- = root whose initial consonant is a
 de-aspirated (i.e. ejective) form
 resulting from the influence of the
 alveolar nasal n (in the prefix
in-) on the aspirated t of -THOMB-.

-THOMB- means "menstruation" or "blood".

-i = the terminating vowel which causes
 the root -THOMB- to be used like
 a noun.

(Literally, inTOMBi means the agent of menstruation.)

(6) ezikanoBHUTSHUzwayo - soccer or matters
 relating to soccer.

ezi- = a qualificative concord corres-
 ponding to the plural form of the
in-/izin- noun class.

ka- = a possessive concord of the
 singular form of the u-/c-
 class.

no- = a personal prefix denoting
 continuity.

BHUTSHU = an ideophonic root used in respect
 of bouncing or bumping, e.g. of a
 football.

-zwa = < the passive form of -za, where
-za is the causative form in which
 the root BHUTSHU is used. Those
 who kick the ball cause it to
BHUTSHUza but it is being
BHUTSHUzwa'd.

-yo = suffix of the relative construction.

5.3. Zulu Root Morphemes Versus Borrowings.

5.3.1. All innovations are definitely hinged to existent root morphemes. We failed to discover any new Zulu root morphemes in the innovations we studied. Broadly speaking, it could be said that Zulu has only adapted itself to new situations to the extent that her resources of root morphemes are responsive to new concepts. Such responsiveness is largely determined by experience and the degree of association that exists between Zulu cultural elements and those of European origin. Otherwise, borrowing is unavoidable.

Purism which generally aims at the retention of indigenous vocabulary and usages in preference to borrowings, is also limited by the resources of root morphemes in the language. It has not "created" any new root morphemes in Zulu. However, purism has made its contribution towards the adaptation of Zulu to new modes of life by encouraging the use of Zulu root morphemes in preference to borrowing.

5.4. The Application of Root Morphemes

5.4.1. The Zulu root morphemes are mainly applied in the naming of new concepts and in reference to actions. In other words, the application of roots with the effect of nouns and verbs tend to dominate in the Zulu innovations. A great amount of cultural material introduced by the Whiteman to the Zulu has had to be named in the latter's language. Some of the activities connected with such materials has had to be described in Zulu. This is mainly responsible for the preponderance of "nouns" and "verbs" over other "parts of speech."

5.5. Use of Adapted Roots and Degree of Literacy

5.5.1. As indicated in par.4.5.4. above, the educated Zulus tend to use borrowings more than the uneducated. The educated Zulu is more familiar with names of foreign cultural elements than his uneducated countryman.

Consequently, he inertly borrows the goods and ideas together with their foreign labels. On the contrary, the illiterate Zulu to whom borrowing the name of borrowed goods or ideas is irksome, strives at adapting a Zulu root he knows for such naming, where possible.

5.6. The Magnitude of Adaptability of Zulu to New Situations

5.6.1. The adaptability of Zulu to new situations tends to dominate in those aspects of culture in which the Zulus have come into closer contact with the European. These are trade, industry, the church, etc. (cf. par 4.3.19 above) The Zulu has not yet entered the field of the artisans, engineering, shipping, the secretarial world, aeronautics, etc. appreciably where his language would be challenged to adapt itself.

5.7. Additional Points

5.7.1. Prestige Value : In a multi-lingual country like the Republic of South Africa, a continual comparison and evaluation of languages is inevitable. On account of their serviceability as a medium for reaching a larger section of the population, the official languages, viz. Afrikaans and English, have often enjoyed prestige sometimes far out of proportion to their actual importance. This assessment of languages has resulted in the relegation of Bantu languages to a comparatively inferior position. Consequently, these vernaculars have not been given the attention they deserve by those who speak them. However, this position seems to be changing gradually. For example, the number of students enrolled for Zulu at the University College of Zululand has trebled over the past four years. If this position reflects a trend in Bantu languages generally, then this is sufficient indication that these languages are rapidly coming into their own.

5.7.2. Language Loyalty : Zulu has survived in spite of the heavy impact exacted on it by languages of technologically more advanced European peoples. We ascribe this survival largely to the loyalty of the Zulus to their tongue. This loyalty proves Weinreich's¹³⁾ assertion that:

" Language loyalty breeds in contact situations just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders."

Weinreich¹⁴⁾ further observes that :

" It might be said... that if a group considers itself superior but in practice has to yield to the other group in some of the functions of its language or has to fill vocabulary gaps by borrowing from the other language, a resentful feeling of loyalty may be fostered."

We suggest that this may also be a contributory factor of the loyalty of the Zulus to their tongue. Circumstances have forced the Zulus to borrow from Afrikaans and English in order to supply the need for expressing new concepts.

5.8. Conclusion

5.8.1. This dissertation has attempted to indicate the factors at work in the adaptability of Zulu to new situations. Nevertheless, it is primarily an exploratory survey and makes no claim at giving an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

13) Weinreich, 1964, p.100.

14) Weinreich, op. cit., p.101.

5.8.2. South Africa's technological advance is happening so rapidly that the Zulus in the urban areas, especially in the cities of Durban and Johannesburg, are fastly losing their grip on the naming of new concepts. Many informants questioned about this apparent decline in the evolutions of innovations in these areas merely shrugged and gave a defensive answer such as "Yizinto zabeLungu lezi. UZulu wayengenakho lokhu." (These are the Whiteman's inventions. Zulus never had them.) Others on the other hand, blamed the educated ¹⁵⁾Zulus who, they allege, is complacent about his language and unlike educated people of other races.

5.8.3. The Zulu people are very keen to talk about their language. We are more convinced than ever before that this language can and will continue to grow. Perhaps the time has arrived to give more serious attention to the feeling of many informants that a Zulu academy be established. ¹⁶⁾

5.8.4. Finally, the words of Mrs. Shange (uMntwana wakwaZulu - Dinizulu's daughter) at Vryheid left a deep impression in my mind for they summarize this investigation so aptly, viz.

" Mntanani, igama linjengothanga ;
lihlanza amathanga amaningi."

(My child, a word is like a pumpkin
plant, it yields many pumpkins.)

oooOOOooo

15) Educated here refers to teachers, nurses, ministers of religion, doctors and lawyers.

16) In the files of The Mellic Campbell Library, Durban we came across the constitution of The Zulu Society (now defunct) founded in 1937. The causes of its downfall could not be ascertained as practically all but one of the foundation members of its executive committee died when this research was

A P P E N D I X.A.1. The Following roots are used in trade:

- AHLUKanisela - cause money to be separated
IMALi into different units of coins -
hence : give change.
- APHULela - to reduce the price of an
article for - hence : to
give a discount.
- isiBAMBiso - that which is used for holding
or catching (in order that
goods may be reserved for one
pending full payment), hence:
(i) deposit
(ii) security
- ukuBIZa - to ask for money in a trans-
action Hence:
(i) the cost of an article.
(ii) an exorbitant price.
- umBHANSo/umBHANSelo - small article given to
buyer in addition to goods
purchased.
- umBOLela - an old debt left unredeemed by
the creditor.
- umBONiseli - a caretaker.
- iCALa - a debt
- ukuCHUNYwa umSEBENZi - to be prosperous in
business.
- ubuCHWABAlalana - small coins, usually in large
number.
- inDALi/inDAYi/inDAYiso - public auction.
- ukuFUMBATHisa - to bribe.
- izinDL(A)eko - expenses.
- ukuFUNisa (izimPALa) - to advertise goods.
- inGALo - a yard.(unit of measure)
- ukuGAVa - to charge an exorbitant price,
usually by not marking the goods.
- umGIDIngo - one's daily work, as a shop-
keeper in his business.
- inGOGO - a half-crown piece.
- ukuGWAza - to bribe
- uGWEVa - (i) business agent
(ii) bootlegger.

- uHLAMVU - a coin.
 inHLAMVU - a bullet.
 isiHLANu - five shillings.
 ukuHLANGanyela
 umSEBENZi - to enter into partnership.
 abahWEBi - businessmen.
 amaKHAza - a refrigerator.
 ukuKHITHiza - to buy a lot of goods (usually
 from the same shop.)
 ukuKHOKHa - to draw money from the purse,
 i.e. to pay.
 iziKHOva - paper money, usually £5 notes
 ukuKHUPHUKa
 (emSEBENZini) - to progress in business.
 ukuKHUPHULa
 inTENGO - to raise the price.
 ukuKHWAhLA
 umuNTU - to cheat a person (in matters
 connected with money.)
 ukuKHWELa kwenTENGO - the increase of prices.
 isikOTSHIMANE/
 isikOTSHI - a Scotchman.
 iLUNGU/iLUNGA - a foot (12 inch unit of measure.)
 iMALi eHLANGeneyo - "vasgeld" in Afrikaans
 iMALi eluHLWEZA - loose coins of money.
 iMALi eSISIwe - trust money.
 iMALiMBUMBULu - counterfeit money.
 iNANI - the price of an article
 iNEVE - malt that is sold at shops
 umNGENaNDL(U)ini - lit. that which is for
 entering the house. Refers to
 small articles bought to humour
 the children when coming home
 from the shop.
 imPAHLa - package or luggage.
 imPAKATHa - junior partner in business.
 umQOKOZO - shilling coin.
 ukuQOTHUKa - to become bankrupt.
 (esp. applicable to someone
 who has lost money in business.)
 ukuQOTHULa - to bleed a customer or client.
 to overcharge.
 umSEBENZi - business.

isiSEFo	- a till/cash register.
ukuSHAQAlaza	- to clear off (commonly used in respect of a shop that is cleared.)
umSHAQo	- a wholesale clearance.
ukuSHONa	- to lose a lot of money in business.
ISHUMi	- ten-shilling note.
isiSHUQUlu	- a small wrapping or parcel.
unSUMBULwana	- ten-shilling piece.
isiSWENYa seMALi	- a bag of money.
umTHAPHo	- a wholesale store.
inTENGo	- price
inTENGiso	- sale.
ukuTHEKELa	- to import
imiTHEKELo	- imports
imiTHEKELiso	- exports.
ukuTHI TITILIZI	- to make easy profit.
isiVUMelwano	- an agreement, hence: a contract.
ukuWA	- to become bankrupt.
isiWEHLE seMALi	- a heap of money.
ukuZALa kweMALi	- the yielding of interest (of money).
ukuZALanisa iMALi	- to speculate.
inZALo	- interest.
uzUKa	- a six-penny piece.
inZUZo	- profit.

A.2. Industry.

A.2.1. Agriculture.

ukuBOPHela inKOMo	- to tie a beast to the yoke, hence: to inspan.
ukuDABUla umHLABa	- to survey the land.
umDABUli	- land surveyor.
ukuDOBa	- angling.
uDOBo	- fish-hook.
eDONSa ngasemSELeni	- the ox inspanned on the right-hand side of the yoke.
isiFAFAzo	- (i) watering can. (ii) sprinkler attached to hose-pipe.
isiFONGQo	- muzzle used for oxen working on mealie-field; gas mask.

- uGANDaGANDa - a steam-roller; a tractor.
 iNDL(U)iVALiwe - a black team of oxen.
 umaGEJaGEJa - a plough with many shares or
 a disc-plough.
 isiHLALo - a saddle.
 umHLATHi - (i) plough-share.
 (ii) portion of window that opens.
 umHOLeli - one who leads a team of oxen.
 isihULULo - a shelling machine.
 inKASA - furrow for irrigation.
 isikhUHlUzo - a grater.
 isikhUKHULo - angling net.
 isikhUMULo - outspan; aerodrome.
 uMANYOLO - fertilizers; manure in English
 generally refers to natural manure
 such as kraal manure, compost, etc.
 ukuPHUMa MUVa kweNKABi - refers to ox that is in-
 spanned on the left-hand side
 of yoke.
 isiPHUMULo - see isikhUMULo above.
 ukuQHINa iHASHi - to hobble a horse.
 umQOKOZO - trek chain connecting the yokes.
 ingQUKUMBane - a scotch cart.
 umQHOBOSHO - a halter (of horse)
 ukuQHOBOSHa - to knee-halter.
 engasemSELeni (iNKABi) - the ox that is inspanned
 on the right-hand side of the
 yoke.
 ukuSHAYela iNKABi - lit. to strike oxen for the
 purpose of drawing; hence to
 drive a team of oxen.
 ukuSHAYela iMOTO- to drive a car.
 isisHEWU - an open space left when ploughing.
 (using a plough.)
 umTHOLe/umTHOLo - black rattle.
 iZAMBANE - potato.
- A.2.2. Factory.
 umAKHi - a builder.
 imBOKODO - a roller. (at sugar mill)

- iBHANGa - an empty truck, tub, etc. on the mines and at sugar mill.
 ukuFUKUza - to do unskilled work.
 isiGADLa - cane tub, cocopan, or tricycle with carrier for loading parcels in front.
 ingWEDLa - a device shaped like an oar with a hook attached to one end of it. It is used for tackling large blocks of timber in loading and offloading.
 ukuHLAKaza umTHOFi emAPHEJini - to undo type sets for the purpose of melting the lead. (Used in printing - Mariannahill.)
 umHLELi - a newspaper editor.
 inHLESela kaSHUKELa - troacle (at sugar mill)
 ukuHOLa iMALi - to draw wages.
 ukuHOLa amaNZI (kwenDWANGu) - the capacity of cloth to absorb water.
 iHOLo - wages.
 isikhWEHLE - a sleeveless smock worn by factory women at work.
 ingULUBE - a shredder (at the sugar mill)
 umTHOFi - lead.
 iTHUSi - police badge (usually made of brass or copper.)
 uWABI - baggasse (at sugar mill).

A.2.3. Mining.

- izimBADADA - sandals (usually with a sole made of motor tyre and straps made of a motor tube.)
 iziBHANDISHi - triangular kerchiefs used by Zulu dancing groups in compounds.
 iziBHOBokelana - ventilation holes on the mines.
 umBHOBHo - (i) telescope.
 (ii) loudspeaker.
 isiBONDa - a room captain in the compound.

- inIBHONGO - artificial feathers resembling those of an ostrich, worn on head by Zulu dancers in compounds. (These feathers are usually dyed and form an array of colours.)
- uDAKa - a labourer who blocks the holes that have been drilled underground in preparation for blasting. He uses mud for blocking the holes.
- uDUDLU - a lump of coal that breaks easily.
- umaDUMelana - a jack hammer (lit. the charger.)
- inDUNDUma - mine dump.
- ukwEMUKELA - to receive rations. (Used to refer to labourer who stays at the mine location.)
- umENDLALo - a felt mat used as part of bedding on compounds.)
- uFUQane - traditional Zulu beer supplied to mine labourers in compounds. (It is said to be so highly intoxicating that it literally pushes one on and on even to places one may not intend visiting.)
- ukuGALAWELA - to complete a piece of work before time for knocking off.
- iGODUka - mine labourer who returns to his home after completing his contract of service.
- inGOIOVANE - (i) wheelbarrow.
(ii) small trolley used in saw-mills.
(iii) tubs used on the mines.
- umGQELWANE - miner's hat.
- isiGUBHu - a drum. (Many informants believe that this usage of the root is new, the original Zulu drum having been known as inGUNGu.)
- inGWEDane - a pick 'boy' (underground in collieries.)
- ukuGWEVa - to assist the nlayishi underground.

- umGXALa - a crow-bar.
- ihUNU - artificial amaDLOKOLo or isiQHOVA worn over forehead by Zulu dancers in the mine compounds.
- uJANTSHI - a rail.
- inKAXA - a crane.
- isiKHENQEKHENQE - bell for summoning mine labourers to work.
- imBAWULa - a brazier.
- imBUNYANe - type of buns eaten by mine labourers.
- ingWENY^e - reduction works.
- inyULa/inyULE - meal of mixed vegetables.
- untSHAYINTSHAYI - a kind of amahewu. (A drink made of fermented maize porridge.) This drink is taken by mine workers.
- isiPANELa - a spanner; hence
- usiPANELa - assistant to umJOMBOLi (the jumper drill operator.)
- isiPHALo - an oval metal plate bearing a number and worn on wrist by mine workers.
- ukuPHANGela - to go on duty (application used on the mines.)
- uPHUTHu - duff (in collieries.)
- ukuPOPOLa - to look through a telescope, hence; to survey a mine.
- umPOPOLi - mine surveyor.
- isiQANDULO - a hammer.
- ukuQASHa - to hire, or to rent a house.
- umQASHI - an employer.
- umQASHisi - the landlord.
- umQASHo - hiring.
- umaSHANELa - a sweeper.
- ukuSHAYisa - to be off duty.
- ishAYile - the hour for knocking off has struck.
- ukuSOPHa imPAHLa - to buy clothes for which payment is deducted from the labourer's wages (Used on the mines.)

- umTHAPHi - collector of ore, hence a mine owner.
- ukuTHOLa umuNTU- to hire a person.
- isiTOFu somGODi- clothes worn by mine labourers.
- amaWUDLU - (i) mine boots.
(ii) clogs (as those used in one of the departments at Lever Bros., Durban.)
- amaWOWANE - subsidence of soil above area that has been mined.
- isizILO - coal-shale or coal mine.

A.3. Household

A.3.1. Clothing

- umBALa ongaPHUPHi - a fast colour.
- umBALa ongaPHUMi - a fast colour.
- umBHINCo - a menstrual pad.
- omaBUBANE - the costumes worn by Highlanders.
- isiCATHULO - a shoe.
- ukuCOSHOnza - to walk with a somewhat perched gait (as someone wearing high-heeled shoes.)
- IKHALa lesiCATHULO - the nose of a shoe.
- IKHONCO lesiCATHULO - the buckle of a shoe.
- uLIMi lwesiCATHULO - the tongue of a shoe.
- iPHABA - the outer side of the shoe.
- isiTHEnde sesiCATHULO - the heel of a shoe.
- iziCATHULO zamaXHUMela - high heeled shoes.
- IZAMBANE - a hole in the heel of a sock.

The Coat and its Parts.

- iziBIZo - an army coat.
- iCHOPHo - flap of a coat that lies below the last button.
- umJIVa - a swallow-tail coat.
- umKHONo weBHANTSHi - the sleeve of a coat.
- umPHEQE - the lapel.
- umQHEWU - the rear slit of a coat.
- isiSOTSHa - an army coat.
- isiTSHALaGWAYi - an army coat.

The Trousers and its Parts.

- iDOLo leBHULUKwe - lit. the trousers' knee.
 ukukHINDa - to wear short dresses.
 umLENZe weBHULUKwe - the leg of a trousers.
 umPHEQE weBHULUKwe - a trousers' turn-up.
 umPHETHo weBHULUKwe - a trousers' turn-up.
 umPHINDo weBHULUKwe - a trousers' turn-up.
 umQHEWU weBHULUKwe - a trousers' slit.
 iBHULUKwe elinguTAQA - a tight-fitting trousers.
 hence, any tight-fitting
 garment can be so described.)

The Shirt and its Parts.

- umDADa weHEMBe/weYEMBe - the rear hanging portion
 of a shirt.
 ukuFINGQa imiKHONo - to roll up the sleeves.
 umKHONo weHEMBe - sleeve of a shirt.
 isiPHIKa - (i) cape.
 (ii) neck of a shirt.
 inTAMo yeHEMBe/yeYEMBe - the collar of a shirt.

The Blanket and Types of Blankets.

- isaMBATHwangaPHI - lit. 'the which is the wrong
 side ?'
 isiBHALALA - grey cotton blanket.
 umBHALo - large grey blanket.
 inGUBo - (i) a blanket made of cotton,
 wool, etc.
 (ii) a dress.
 umaKHOTHwayiKATi - a grey cotton blanket.
 inPISi - a brown military blanket. This
 blanket has a plain colour and
 is not spotted.
 umPISIMPISi - a type of military blanket
 that was used in World War I.

Dresses and Types of Dresses.

- isiBHAXelo - apron.
 umGAXo - a monk's hood.
 uHOSHUHOSHU - the train of a dress.

- umHUSHUza - the train of a dress.
 iHWATHa - a kind of cloth worn over the
 shoulders by amaBHINCa girls.
 isikETi esiNTazayo - a flared skirt.
 uYACA - a flared skirt.

About the Wearing of Clothes.

- iBHAHU - cloth material used by girls as
 loin covering.
 wanEMBULELa iOUcu - he presented him with
 tattered clothes.
 ukwEMBATHa - to assume European fashion of
 dress.
 ukwEMBULELa - to present someone with used
 clothes.
 ukuFAKa iBHULUKwe - to wear a trousers. (It
 must be noted that the use of
 -FAK- with the nuance 'to wear'
 is new.)
 ukuGABa kweBHULUKwe - the excessive length of
 trousers.
 ukuGQOKa - dress like a European, hence: to
 be civilized.
 isiMANaYE - tightly fitting garment.
 unomNDINDa - kind of 'doek' worn by amaBHI-
 NCa girls.
 ukuNQINa - to wear short dresses.
 ingaPHAKATHi lenDWANGU - the wrong side of a cloth.
 umaQAPHeQOLO - clothing that is used at home.
 umQULu - cloth material wrapped round the
 waist of a woman, underneath the
 dress. (used by the amaBHINCa.)
 inZILo - clothes for mourning. These are
 usually black, and occasionally
 green or white in the case of
 members of some separatist
 churches.

HEADGEAR

- imBENGE - a hat with a conical shape.
 umbHOSHo - a top hat.

iSiGQOQO - a hat.
 umGQOQO - a top hat.
 iSiGXINYO - a hat.
 umHANGa - a tanned European, hence : umHANGa -
 a hat with a broad brim.
 umHELEne - a broad-brimmed hat.
 uMPANTSHa - a top hat.
 uPHENGE - a broad-brimmed hat.
 umPOTSHO / umPOTSHOLO - pixie cap.

4.3.2. Actions; Articles of Furniture, Instruments, Utensils

and Other Things Used by Humanbeings.

iSiBANI - a candle ; a lamp.
 uBHAZaBHAZa - the largest native pot.
 ukuBHEM a IPIPI - to smoke a pipe.
 ukuBHEM a iNSANGU - to smoke dagga.
 iBHODwe lokuDLA - native pot used for cooking enough
 food for the family.
 (This pot is large enough to cook
 food for a family of about five to
 seven people.)
 iBHODwe lokuLOBOLa - lit. a pot for paying LOBOLa ;
 of. uBHAZaBHAZa above.
 iBHODwe loTSHWALa - see uBHAZaBHAZa, described above.
 iBHOLA - a small basin.
 iBHOMu - a 26 x 2 in. bicycle.
 iSiBOKOBOKO - a sponge.
 iSiBUKO - a mirror.
 iSiCABA - a flat tin lid or dinner plate.
 iSiCABHa - a door.
 uCELEMBa - a cane knife.
 ukuCOBelela umuntu uGWAYI - lit. to fill someone's
 smoking pipe, hence: to give another
 tobacco.

- uDABULENI - a safety pin.
 isiDEHEZANE - a small billy can.
 uDLAWU - pincers.
 ukudONSA kweTIYe - the process of drawing (said of tea.).
 inDWANGU yeTAFULa - runner (cloth)
 umDWESHU weTAFULa - tea shower.
 isiEBOZO - tea shower.
 isiENABISO senHLAMA - roller (of dough).
 ukwENDLULa eTAFULEni / ukusUSA eTAFULEni / ukuQOQa eTAFULEni - to clear the table, usually after a meal.
 uFEFE - a mosquito gauze.
 iGABHA - a bottle.
 uGALAZa - a big native pot.
 inGIBE - door hinge, hinge of box.
 inGIDI - a padlock.
 isiGINCI - a guitar.
 umGODLO - a sock.
 iGOGOGO - a four-gallon paraffin tin.
 iGOTSHWe - a pocket knife.
 uGOQO - a bar of soap.
 uGOZWANE - the smallest native pot.
 umGQOMo - a barrel, tub, drum, etc.
 iGQONGwe - a paraffin tin.
 iGUDU - a smoking horn.
 ukuHABULa iGUDU - to take a draw at the hemp horn.
 isiHOSHO - a drawer (of a table, sideboard, etc.)
 ukuJOLa - to pass smoke and water through a reed while smoking dagga.
 ukuJONa / ukuTSHUMa - see ukuJOLa described above.
 isiKETEKETE - a lantern ; an underground lamp.
 iziKHALI zokuDLA - cutlery.
 isiKHONKWANE sikeGESI - an earth wire / a lightning conductor.
 isiKHUHLUzo - a grater.
 isiKHWAMA - a pocket ; a satchel.

- inKITSHo - a handle of jug, cup, tea-pot, etc.
 amaLAHLe emSHINI - a cigarette lighter's stones.
 amaLAHLe eTHOSHI - torch batteries.
 iNKALANKALe - a padlock.
 umNXUMe - a feeding bottle for a baby.
 isiPAKUPAKU - a journey can (made of plastic material).
 isiPHEFU - poor home-made paraffin lamp.
 umaPHIPHe - lavatory basin.
 umPHEKembUZI - native pot - smaller than iBHODwe loTSHW-
 ALe.
 isiPHUPHe - pink face soap.
 unoPITOLO - a small native pot.
 umQAMELO - a pillow / cushion.
 isiQHANO / isiQHOBOSHO - a safety-pin.
 isiQHIXAMO - a back rest of a chair, bench or seat.
 isiQUMQUMU - a piano.
 isiQWETHo - a large safety-pin.
 isiSHISO - iron (for washing), hence: electrical
 instrument for massaging the body.
 iSHUMBu - a billy can.
 uSIBe - a pen.
 uSIBe lweWAYILENSE - an aerial (of a radio).
 iTHALe - a pantry.
 isiTHentEFane - see isiDEHEZANE explained above.
 umUTHI weziCATHULO / wokuPENDa / wamaZINYo / wezinWELe /
 wokugCOBe uBUSo, etc. - shoe polish / paint / tooth paste /
 hair cream / face cream, etc.
 iTHUNGa - a metal vessel used for carrying a labour-
 er's food at work.
 ukuTHUNGa iTIYe - to serve tea.
 ITSHE / ITSHE lokugAYe - a manually-operated machine
 for grinding corn.
 inTULIsaNGANE - a dummy.
 isiTOLOTOLO / isiTWELETWELE - a Jewish harp.

- isiTUKULU - the stem of a hemp horn.
 isIXHA sokHIYe - a bundle of keys.
 unOXHAKA - a bird or animal trap operated by setting
 a spring.
 iLIXUTHo - a tooth brush.

4.3.3. Domestic Animals.

- iBHANSI - a greyhound.
 uBHOVa - a bulldog.
 iDADe - a duck of any variety.
 iGOVU - a Dutch hound which is said to have been
 Dingane's favourite breed.
 iLIMAKU - a small dog, e.g. the Scotch Terrier.
 uMANGOBE - a domestic cat. (uMANGOBE is sometimes
 shortened to INGOBE where the letter refers
 to both the male and female cat and the
 former is reserved for female cat with litter)

4.3.4. Finery.

- iCICI - an ear-ring.
 ubuCWICWICWI - European finery.
 inDONDo - (i) brass ball worn round the neck.
 " " - (ii) brass rattle used on horse harness
 and by traditional Zulu dancers.
 inDANDATHo - a finger ring.
 isIQQIZo - bangle, armlet, etc.
 ubuHLALu - bead/ beads.
 ukuHIZe - to wear showy clothes.
 umHIZo - a robe.
 INGxOTHe - brass armlet worn around the lower arm.
 isIQHWEBo - yellow cloth duster used as finery by
 young men in the Msinga district.

ubUSENGe - twisted wire worn on the wrists, the
calves, and on the upper arm.

ISONGe - brass or copper ring worn on the wrist.

4.3.5. Foodstuffs and Related Matters.

imBASHe - soft mealies that are beginning to dry up
(or more correctly, mealies that have delay-
ed to dry up.)

umBHOBe - buttermilk.

uBHOMBHOM(u) - kidney beans (a word used in Masinga).

umBHOSho wesINKWA - a loaf of bread.

umBHUBHUDlo - a sweetened solution used as a drink.

isiDADede setIYe - very strong tea.

isiFINe - tasty European food (consisting of
a variety of dishes).

umGOQo wesINKWA - see umBHOSho wesINKWA, above.

umQQIMANE - a loaf of bread.

umcHABULO - sediments left in unstrained coffee.

ihLEZe - a mealie-cob.

inHLUZe - squeezed fruit drink.

umMBILe - maize.

izINANDINANDI - confectionery.

umNTANYe - a sweet drink.

isiPHUZO esiHLWAHLWAZelcye - a fizzy drink.

umQATHene - a hard biscuit.

iQEBELengwane - a pancake or fried bread.

izITHELo ezisETHINini - canned fruit.

izITHELo eziGqUNYiwe - -do-

izITHELo zeTHINI - -do-

isiTHOKELo - condiment.

uTSEGe - buttermilk.

inTSHAbokwe - skimmed milk.

imVIMBe - sausage.

3.8. Needle-work.

- ukuBEKela isizIBA eNGUTSHeni - to sew a patch onto
a garment.
- isiBEKelo - patch
- unaBUBAnc - a type of cloth.
- imBUNga - downs (feathers)
- inBUNga - fluff or nap of clothes.
- isiCHIBi - a piece or patch of cloth.
- ukuCICIYELa imBOBO - to darn a hole.
- ukuCWILISA izingUBo - to soak washing.
- ukuDIYA ingUBo - to cut a piece of cloth to size.
- inDWANGU - a cloth.
- inDWANGU eGQAKazile - coarse material.
- inDWANGU eHADLazekile - -do-
- inDWANGU eLUKIwe - knitted material.
- inDWANGU ePHICiwe -do-
- inDWANGU eWuQHOTHo - stiff material
- isiDWEDwe - discarded piece of cloth.
- umDWESHU - a strip of cloth torn from a
larger one.
- umELUKo omQOLo - a garter stitch.
- ukuFAFAza izingUBo/ukuMATisa izingUBo - to
sprinkle clothing.
- isiFANELo - pattern in dress-making.
- isiFEBE - a press stud.
- ukuFEKETHisa - to embroider.
- isiFEKETHiso sesiQU - stem stitch.
- umFINGCizo - a pleat round the waist of a dress.
- ukuFINYELA kwendWANGU - the shrinking of material.
- umGOBo wangaPHANDLE - outer fold/hem.
- inDWANGU emAHAYe - a coarse material.
- isiHIBE senKINOBHo - button loop.
- ukuHLAMBulula - to rinse clothes.
- uHLENDLa - the crease of a garment.
- ukuHUBHa - to tack along with large stitches.
- ukuHUMA/ukuHUBHela/ukuHIDA - see ukuHUBHa above.
- umAKHANJana - a head pin.
- umKHELAPHEZULU - top sewing.
- UKOTINI wesANDLa-hand sewing cotton.
- UKOTINI womSHINI-machine sewing cotton.

- isIKOTSHi - checked material.
 ukuMONYUka - to slip off (in knitting.)
 ukuMONYUlela - slip stitch.
 INCAKUsha - cloth with a bluish colour used by
 women as a shawl.
 ubuNONSUNONSU - poor quality cloth.
 ukuNYENYEZA izingUBo - to sprinkle clothes.
 uPHAQA - a press stud.
 ukuPHETHa - to cast off (in knitting.)
 umPHETHo wangaPHANDLE - the outer hem.
 INALITi yokuPHICa - a knitting needle.
 ukuPHICa ngokuYEKETHISa - to knit loosely.
 isiPHIKa - collar of a dress.
 umPHINDo - facing (cloth).
 IQHOSHa - a stud; pin; brass button.
 ukuQHOSHa - to pin together; fasten; or to
 fasten with a clip.
 umQOLo - a crease (of garment).
 isIQONGa sikaKOTINI - cotton reel.
 umQULu - roll of material.
 ukuSHWABANA kwendWANGU - see ukuPINYELA kwendWANGU.
 ukuSIKa ingUBo - to cut a dress.
 umSIKo - fashion.
 INSIPHUNSIPHa - a fringe with tassels like those
 of a school girl's girdle.
 inSONTe - wool.
 umSWESwe - a strip of cloth.
 iTAFULa lokuSHISa izingUBo - ironing table.
 iTAFULa lokuSHISela izingUBo- -do-
 inTAMBo yenSONTe - woollen yarn.
 umTHOTHaniso - running stitch.
 umTHUNGi - tailor/dress-maker.
 umTHUNGo - a stitch.
 umTHUNGo oCAMBALELe - run and fell seam.
 isiTISHi esisATHAMBo lenHLANZI - a fish-bone
 stitch.
 inVUTHU yenDWANGU - shreds of cloth.
 iziTISHi ezilingANayo - regular stitches.
 isiTISHi somPHETHo - hemming. (qual.)
 isITOTIKana - a false hem.
 isIXHA - a skein of wool.

isiZIBa - a patch of cloth.

A.4. Hlonipha.

uBETHo - an organ.
 ubaBUKeleni - a shilling piece.
 iBHADUle - a horse. (iHASHi).
 isiCOKAMa - a train. (isiTIMELa)
 uCUCUZa - blackjack. (uQADOLo) This is according to Bryant.
 inDALi - money (iMALi)
 iDIYelo - a sickle. (isiKela)
 iGAMBANE - a potato. (iZAMBANE)
 umGANDelo - lit. the day for walking heavily after a week's toil; Saturday. (umGQIBELo)
 iGAYo - a wheel. (iSONDo)
 iGCANGe - a bank. (iBHANGe)
 uGCCINGi - an organ. (uGUBHu)
 iGCOGCwe - a pot. (iBHODwe)
 uGENCe - a cane knife (uCELEMB)
 isiGXOKo - a hat. (isiGQOKo)
 umGWADI - a European. (umLUNGu)
 umGWADIU - a road. (umGWAQo)
 iHLEPHULO - a sickle (isiKELa)
 iJODLELa - a bottle (iBHODLELa)
 iJULUKwe - a trousers. (iBHULUKwe)
 iKHANzi - a pot. (iBHODwe)
 inKIZo - cloth. (inDWANGU)
 umKHWINTSHi - a Mosotho. (umSUTHu)
 iKHWELElo - a horse. (iHASHi)
 iLEPHULa - a plough. (iGEJa)
 iMADI - a book. (iNCWADI)
 iMETHa - a brass amulet. (iNGXOTHa)
 iNADI - an overcoat. (iJAZi)
 umNCAZa - maize. (umMBILa)
 ukuNCUMAYELa - to preach. (ukuSHUMAYELa)
 iNCUNDo - education. (imFUNDo)
 isiNCWAMa - a satchel. (isiKHWAMa)
 uNINGo - a telephone. (uCINGo)
 iNJOMANE - a horse. (iHASHi)
 inQINa - a wheel. (iSONDo)

inTWiSho	- piece of cloth worn by amaBHINCa girls, usually tied over the shoulders. (iBHAYi)
ubuPHETHU	- beads. (ubuHLALu)
ukuQAKAQa	- to write. (ukuBHALa)
umQHADASi	- a European. (umLUNGu)
ukuSHAQa	- to attend church. (ukuSONTa) hence iSHAQa - (i) a week. (ii) a church.
umTHUKULUKo	- a Monday. (umSOMBULUKo)
isiTHUNYiso	- a firearm. Lit. that which gives off smoke. (isiBHAMu)
isiTSHWAMA	- a satchel. (isiKHWAMA)
umWEZi	- a European. (umLUNGu)

A.5. Social Matters.

umANDULELi	- a precursor. (Bryant.)
isaZISo	- proclamation or advertisement.
iBHINCa	- a person who dresses and lives according to traditional style.
iBOLwane	- "Rascally, bad-tempered fellow, as a Native boy who has "gone rotten" by bad life in the towns." Bryant.
umBOMBo	- 'the Englishman', according to Bryant.
umBUKiso	- a show; an exhibition.
umCULisi	- a choir master.
umCULO	- a concert.
inCWALi	- ladies' hairdresser (as those found in the cities.)
inCWASIMENDe	- a person who dresses and behaves like a Whitenan.
umUNTU womDABu	- the Blackman.
unDABazabANTU	- a Native Commissioner.
ukuDABula inCWADI yomSHADo	- to divorce.
umaDAKenI	- a tramp. (a Whitenan).
unDUNankULu	- a Prime Minister.
umuDLu	- a party, dinner, etc.
iDOKODo	- a tabernacle.
ukwEMBATHa	- (i) to assume European clothing. (ii) to assume Christian belief, way of life.

- amaFUTHa ePHUMaLIMI - fat of a Whiteman.
- inGADa - according to Colenso: ' a good-for-nothing White person.'
- isiGEJLa - a Senator in the South African Parliament.
- isiQILa - a slave.
- iGUMGEDLELa - a soldier.
- umHANGa - a tanned European.
- umHAYangedWA - a solo.
- omasiHLALisane - a couple living in unlawful co-habitation.
- inHLALo - life, manner of living. see Bryant, 1905.
- inHLALakahLE - social welfare.
- inHLANGANo - an association, union, etc.
- umHLANGANo - a meeting (a modern type with chairman, secretary, and other officials. Originally, a tribal meeting was known as inBIZo.)
- unobuhLE - lit. 'mother of beauty', said of a beauty queen.
- iHUZU - a person who deserts his home for town life.
- ukuKHANYa - civilization.
- ukHETHo - election.
- inKOSi - a magistrate or employer.
- ukuKHUTHUza - (i) to search the pockets.
(ii) to rob someone.
- umKHUTHUzi - a pick-pocket.
- ukuKIPITa - to live unlawfully as man and wife.
- ukuKLEBHULa iNCWADi yomSHADo - lit. to tear the marriage certificate; to divorce.
- unoKLINTi - a Chinaman.
- isiKOQOKOQO - a money box used in street collections.
- umaLALePAYIPini - a White tramp. (Lit. 'one who sleeps in the drain.'
- umLUNGu - European.
- isiMBaNGODi - a degenerate person (usually a Blackman) who lives on digging holes for bunying illicit brew of the shebeen queens.

- IMBUKa - (i) follower of John Dunn
(ii) a detribalised person who deserts his home permanently to live in the towns or on the mines.
- ubuMNYAMA - uncivilized or unenlightened state of life.
- umNDINDo - loose life in the towns.
- unoNDINDwa - a loose woman found in the towns.
- iNEne - gentleman.
- iNENekazi - lady.
- uNGQONGQOSHe - a minister of state.
- umNYANGo - a state department.
- iNYATHi - night soil.
- iNYela - a bastard.
- iNXUSa - (i) a delegate to a meeting.
(ii) member of a commission.
(iii) the Commissioner-General (generally known as iNXUSa likaHULUMENi).
(iv) an envoy.
- isiPHAKANYiswa - an appointed chief as against an hereditary chief.
- iPHETHolo - a suburb.
- iPHINI - (i) an oar.
(ii) tennis racquet, bat, etc.
(iii) deputy, e.g. deputy minister of state.
- iQADASi - a Boer.
- umQHAFi - a rogue. (A Blackman).
- isiQHAZA - an uneducated person.
- iQHETHo - a sitting at table.
- ukuQHUQHUMBela - a modest way of dancing performed by girls of Christian converts as against the 'throwing out-of-legs' performed by the girls of the amaBhiko.
- iQOLa - a ruffian or robber.
- umaQUMBane - bad and sulky type of European employer.
- umaSHANEla - a sweeper. (Usually one whose duty it is to sweep at his place of work.)
- uSHISA/uSHISaNYAMA - a native eating house.

- uSIBa - a pen.
 uSOMPUNgANA - a remover of night soil.
 ukuSHWILIZa - to dance according to European
 fashion.
 uTSOTSi - a criminal or loafer.

A.6. The Church,

- isABELo seFA - a share of estate.
 izAGA - proverbs or Book of Proverbs.
 uMAKHelwana - a neighbour (referring to man
 in general.)
 unALUSi - a shepherd. Psalm 23, 1.
 isAMBATHo - raiment Matt.6. 25.
 isAMBULo - the Book of Revelation, Divine
 Revelation.
 uSOMANDLa - the Almighty. Rev.21: 22.
 uMAZISI - a prophet.
 BABa weTHU (oseZULwini) - Our Father which art in
 Heaven.
 umbHALo - the Holy Scriptures.
 umbUSo weZULa - The Kingdom of Heaven.
 ukuBUSisa - to bless.
 baBE naKHO kuCHICHIME - have life abundantly.
 John 10 : 10.
 uMOYa oCWEBileyo - The Holy Spirit.
 inDODana yomuNTU - The Son of Man.
 idWALa - strength. Psalm 19: 14.
 ukwEMUKELa unuNTU - lit. 'to receive a person into
 the Christian community.' Hence,
 to confirm.
 umENGAMELi - a president.
 izenZo zabaPOSITOLI - Acts of the Apostles.
 ukuFAKAZa - to give testimony (in religious
 service.)
 umFANEkiso - parable.
 imFIHLakalo - mystery.
 ukuFUNDa - to learn under school situation.
 ukuFUNDa - to read.
 umFUNDi - a disciple.
 inFUNDiso - teaching; doctrine.
 - minister.

- inGALo - a cubit. (18 ins.)
 iGOSa - elder or deacon in a church.
 isiGUQo - prayer.
 imiHELo - sorrows. Matt. 24: 8.
 isihLAbELELo - a psalm.
 ukuHLAMBUIULa - to make a confession.
 isihLANZo - purgatory.
 ihLELo - denomination.
 maliHLONISHwe iGAMA laKHO - "Hallowed be Thy Name." (V)
 isihLENGo - a means of saving.
 umHLENGi - the Saviour.
 ukuHLUBUKa - to become a proselyte in the
 Christian faith. II Thess. 2: 3.
 umaHLULi - judge, as in Book of Judges.
 isihOGO - hell.
 isikhAMO - a wine press. Proverbs 3 : 10.
 emKHAWULweni omuNYE weZULa kuze kuBE komuNYE -
 from one end of Heaven to another.
 Matt. 24 : 31. (1924)
 okHOKHElwayo - a hireling. John 10: 12.
 ukuKHOLwa - to believe; to have faith.
 ikHOLwa - a believer; a Christian.
 ukuKHONza inKOSi - to worship God.
 ukuKHONza iziTHOMBe - to worship idols.
 ukuKHONza abaNGCWELe - to minister to the saints.
 inKONzo - church service.
 isikhONzi - altar attendant.
 inKOSi - God.
 ukuKHOTHAMa - to worship.
 ukuKHULEKa - to pray.
 umKHUIULi - Saviour.
 umLINDo - watching of the coming of the Son
 of Man, hence: a vigil.
 umLINDelo - a vigil.
 isilILO - Book of Lamentations.
 umLINGwa - a probationer.
 umMANGALiso - a miracle.
 umMOYa eNGCWELe - the Holy Spirit.
 umUSa - God's grace.
 inGOMa - hymn.
 ukuNIKELa - to make a church donation.

- umNINimANDLa oNKE - the Almighty. Rev.22 : 22
(1959) (1924 edition uses
uSomANDLa)
- unoNHLEVU - early Christian convert.
- ukuNQAMLEZa - to crucify.
- uNQAMLEZo - crucifixion.
- ukuNQUMa - to excommunicate.
- PHAKADe - for ever.
- kuze kuBE PHAKADe- for ever.
- PHAKADe naPHAKADe- for ever and ever; everlasting.
Rev.22: 5. (1959) (1924 edition
uses PHAKADe).
- isiPHAMBANo - a cross.
- iPHEFu - a tale. Psalm 90: 9. (1959)
- ukuPHEHLELELa - to christen.
- ukuPHELa kweZWE - lit. the end of the world, hence:
the consummation of the age.
Matt. 28: 20.
- ukuPHENDUka - to repent; to become converted.
- imPENDUko - conversion.
- amaNZi okuPHILa - the water of life.(lit. the
substance of everlasting life.)
- ukuPHINGa - to commit adultery. Exod.20 :14.
- ukuPHUMa - to break away from one's church
denomination, hence : uPHUMo -
secession.
- amaBANDLa oPHUMo - separatist churches.
- umQASHwa - servant. Luk.15 : 17. (1959)
(1924 edition has isiSEBENZi)
- umQINiso - confirmation.
- (ukuBA) uSAWOTi weZWE - lit. ' to be the salt of the
earth', to be of good report.
- umSINDISI - the Saviour.
- inSINDISO - salvation. Rom.13 : 11 (1959)
- ukuSHUMAYELa - to preach.
- intSHUMAYELO - sermon.
- uSUKu lweSABATHa - the Sabbath day, Sunday.
- ukuTHANDAZa - to pray.
- umTHANDAZo - a prayer.
- ubuTHATHu - the Holy Trinity.

isiTHEBE	- the Holy Eucharist.
umTHELisi	- the publican.
isiTHELo	- deeds or works of a person.
isiTHOMBe	- an idol.
iziTHUNYwa zamaBANDLa	- messengers of the churches. II Cor. 8 : 23. (1959)
imVUSELELo	- a revival meeting.
umYALo	- injunction, commandment.
umZALwana	- member of Christian church, hence: 'brother.'
uZAMCOLo	- the deluge.
IZULu	- heaven.

A.7. The School.

A.7.1. GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

isAKHi	- formative.
isANDiso	- lit. 'that which is additional', adverb.
isANDLa	- (i) handwriting. (ii) signature.
isiBABAzo	- interjection.
iBIZo	- a noun.
iBIZomVAMa	- common noun.
iBIZomuNTU	- personal noun.
iBIZonTO	- impersonal noun.
iBIZongXUBe	- compound noun.
iBIZoQHO	- proper noun.
iBIZoQQa	- collective noun.
iBIZoSIMo	- abstract noun.
iziGABa zamaBIZo/amaHLELo amaBIZo	- classes of the noun.
isiCHASISo	- the qualificative.
ukweHLUKanisa	- classification.
isENZO	- verb.
isENZukuTHI	- lit. 'the what-you-do-it' - ideophone.
ukweQa	- to elide, hence: elision.
umFAKela	- a borrowing.
unGWAQA	- a consonant.
uHLELo	- grammar; conjugation.

isiJOBELELo	- diminutive.
unKAMISa	- a vowel.
isiKHANYiso	- the descriptive.
iNKATHi	- tense.
isiKHULiso	- augmentative.
(umuNTU) oKHULUMayo	- lit. 'the speaker'. - first person.
(umuNTU) okuKHULUNYwa naYE	- lit. 'the person spoken to' - the second person.
(umuNTU) okuKHULUNYwa ngaYE	- lit. 'the person who is discussed' - the third person.
ubuLILi	- gender.
ubuLILi besiFAZane	- feminine gender.
ubuLILi besiLISa	- masculine gender.
ubuLILi LILi	- common gender.
umLUMBANiso	- coalescence of vowels.
isiMELana	- the relative.
iNANI	- enumerative.
isiNCIPHiso	- diminutive.
iNDLELa yeSENZO	- mood.
ukuNCOZULula	- parsing.
ubuNINGi	- plural.
ubuNYE	- singular.
impAMBOSi	- derivative (verbal)
isiPHANo	- possessive.
isiPHAWULO	- adjective.
iziQONDiso	- implications.
isiQU	- the stem (morpheme).
isiQALo	- the prefix.
umSUKa	- the root morpheme.
isiVUMelwano	- the concord.

A.7.2. LITERARY TERMS.

isAHLUKo	- chapter.
isAHLUKwana	- verse.
iziBAYa	- brackets.
umBUZO	- question.
umBUZi	- question mark.
iNDIKIMBa	- subject.
isiFENGQo	- a figure of speech.

isiFINGQo	- an abridgment.
iHABa	- hyperbole.
abaKAKi	- brackets.
iKHASi	- a page.
iKHEFu	- a semicolon; iKHEFana - a comma.
uKHEFuDWI	- dash.
uKHEFuNANGo	- colon.
uKHULUNYiwe	- lit. 'Mr. what-has-been-spoken'. Quotation mark.
uLANDELisa	- colon.
isiNGATHEKiso	- a metaphor.
isiNGENiso	- introduction.
uNGQI	- a full stop.
iNXENYe	- a part or section of written work.
uNZO	- a full stop.
uMONGo	- the gist (usually of a comprehension test).
izimPAWU zokuKHANYisa	- punctuation marks.
imPINDa/imPINDo	- quotation.
isiQEPHU	- a section.
uQHAPHAMBILI	- preface.
umuSHO	- lit. 'a saying' - sentence.
inTSHENo	- index.

7.3. TRANSPORT and COMMUNICATION.

umGWAQo	- a road.
inHLANGano	- junction (of a road, railway.)
umKHUMBi	- a boat.
isiKHUMUlo	- a harboun, air-port, etc.
inDIza	- an aeroplane.
inDIzamKHATHi	- a space-craft.
inQOLa	- a waggon.
ukuSAKAZa izinDABa	- to broadcast news.
umSAKAZo	- a radio.

7.4. DAYS OF THE WEEK.

umQIBELo	- day for finishing work.
uNYAKa	- a year.
iNYANGa	- a calendar month.
umSOMBULUKo	- day of the unfolding of the week.

umSOMBULUKo, wesiBILI, wesiTHATHu, wesiNE, wesiHLANu -
 Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday. These
 days of the week are referred to simply as -
 ulwesiBILI, ulwesiTHATHu, ulwesiNE, ulwesiHLANu,
 respectively, nowadays.

umVULO - 'opening day of the week',
 umZUZu - a minute.

A.7.5. COUNTING.

isiGIDI - a million.
 iKHULu - a hundred.
 inKULUNGWANE - a thousand.

A.7.6. GENERAL.

iBALaZWE - a map.
 ukuBHAla - to write.
 unoBHAla - a clerk.
 ukuCIKIza - to analyse.
 ukuCWILa - to fail an examination.
 ukuCWIYa - to analyse chemically.
 umFANekiso - statue, image, etc.
 umFANekisi - painter; sculptor.
 isiFAKAZelo - testimonial, certificate.
 umFUNDi - pupil, learner, scholar.
 isiFUNDiswa - an educated person.
 isiFUNDo - lesson.
 isiFUNDi/umFUNDi - subscriber to a newspaper.
 umFUNDaZE - a bursary or scholarship.
 ukuHLOLa iziNGANE zesiKOLE - to examine school
 children.
 inKANYiso - enlightenment; Western civiliz-
 ation.
 ukuKIWIKLWiza - to scribble.
 inKULisa - a nursery school.
 umLINGISwa - character (in a book).
 inCWADI - a book; a letter; standard of
 education, e.g. Std.2.
 umNQWAMBa - an academic hood.
 unobaNTWana - a creché lit. 'the mother of
 children.'

imiNYEZANE	- academic dress.
umPHATHisiHLALo	- chairman.
iPHEPHanDABa	- a newspaper.
ukuPHUCUKa	- to become civilized.
impUCUKo	- civilization.
ukuQOQODa eziFUNDweni	- to excel at lessons
umTHOBanHLIZIYo	- consolation prize.

A.8. Roots used in Law-courts

umBAMBelI	- an agent.
isiBOPHo	- a bond.
iCALa lomBANGo	- a civil case.
ukuCHITHa/ukuVIMBa	- to ban.
ukuDINGiswa	- to be banished.
ukuFAKAZa	- to give evidence; hence, ubuFAKAZi- evidence.
isiFUNGo	- an affidavit.
ukuQBEKEZa	- house-breaking.
ingQONDo	- long-term prisoner.
iGUNYa	- authority.
inKOHLIso	- fraud.
ukuMANGALa	- to report a case; hence, umMANGALi - plaintiff.
umMANGALelwa	- defendant.
isiQAPHELiso	- warning.
iQONQwa	- internee.
PHANYEKa	- execute.
umSHAYi	- messenger of the court/isikhONZi- messenger of the court.
umSHUSHisi	- public prosecutor.
isonDLO	- maintenance.
ukuTHENGa	- bribery.
uVATi	- hut tax.
isiVUMelwano	
uziyaNTUNTa	- indeterminate sentence; hence, uziyaNTUNTa.
omNCANE	- 2-5 years; uziyaNTUNTa omKHULa- four to nine years.

In the following list we give English terms and their Zulu equivalents :-

Accomplice	- umsizi wesaphulamthetho.
assault	- ukushaya ngokungavunyiwe emthethweni.
advocate	- ummeli wasemajajini.
allegiance	- ukuzithoba nokwethembeka embusweni.
attestation	- ukufungela ukugcina isithembiso.
beacon	- isikhonkwane sabadabuli.
crime	- ukwephuka komthetho.
enforce	- ukuphoqa ukuba inhlonipho isebenze.
incest	- ukuhlangana ngokwenyama noyigazi lakho.
interdict	- ukuvimba ngomthetho.
jurisdiction	- amandla okusebenzisa umthetho.
justice	- okulungile emthethweni.
rule	- okujwayelekile ngokomthetho.
ordinance	- umthetho osebenza esifundeni ngesifunda.
probation	- ukuhlola ilungu ngaphambi kokuba lamukeleke ngokuphelele.
repeal	- ukubulala umthetho obukade usebenza.
review	- ukuhlolwa kwecala ekade lithethwa imantshi ijaji.
sheriff	- isikhonzi sasenkantolo yamajaji.
surety	- umuntu omela omunye ekuhluphekeni kwakhe.
trespass	- ukuba sendaweni ongenamvume yokuba kuyo.

1.9. Roots used in Hospitals

uBHUBHani	- plague.
aDABULIBHAYi	- permanganate of potash.
inDLALa engenalutshumo	- a ductless gland.
isiDIKIZisamizWA	- an anaesthetic.
umDLAVUza	- cancer.
izinDUKU zokuDONDOlozela/izimBOKo	- crutches.
umFUTHo weGAzi	- blood pressure.
isiFo esisULElwanayo	- contagious disease.
isiFo sikaSHUKELa-	diabetes.

isiFo esiTHATHelwanayo - infectious disease.
 ukuGCABa - to vaccinate.
 umGCABo - vaccination marks.
 igCIWANE - bacteria.
 amaGOLWANE - delirium tremens.
 ukuGOMa - to immunise.
 inGXIBONGo/uQhoko- leprosy.
 uHLAKa - stretcher.
 umHLATHi-NGQI - tetanus.
 inHLAYIYana eseGAZini - antibody.
 ukuHLINZA - to perform an operation.
 ukuMLOLwa kwesiDUMBu - post mortem examination.
 JOVa - inject; hence umJOVo - injection.
 isiIONDa - ulcer.
 -KLAYa - dissect.
 uMANKUNKUNKU - dropsy.
 inDAWoluCWATHa - Acorus calamus.
 inDAWoluTHI - the white iris.
 umPETEPETE - poliomyelitis.
 iziNUNGuNUNGwana - germs.
 isiNQANDakuVUNDa - antiseptic.
 oPHUTHUma - first-aid workers.
 isiPOPOLo - stethoscope. (or isiXilongo.)
 iTHUMBu leNANzi - duodenum.
 isITHUVi - lavatory.

A.10. SPORT.

ukuBAMBa - to mark opponent. (soccer)
 isiBAMBo - handle of golf-club.
 omBHANQwa - doubles (tennis.)
 iBHOLa eliKHOKHelayo - professional soccer.
 unoBHUTSHUzwayo - soccer.
 isiCOCO - championship title.
 inDEBe - trophy.
 ukuDLA - blade (of golf-club)
 umDLALo onethile - a poor game.
 ukuFAKa iGOLi - to score a goal.
 iGEJa - card of the spades suit.
 isaGILa/iKILABHu - wood (golf)
 inGIBELi - a champion rider of horses.

isiGQEBHe	- card with red heart.
ukuGQOKa imiBALa yeKILABHu	- to wear the colours of the club.
isiHLENGi seDOLo	- knee-guard; isiHlengi seqakala-ankle-guard.
isiKHINDi	- trunks.
umHLIKwe/umaDevana	- king (cards)
umJIBa	- a double kick (soccer)
inKOMo	- a rabbit.
isiKHONKWANE seBHOLa	- peg (golf)
isiLWANE	- tiger (in sport)
unOMPEMPE	- referee (soccer)
inANI	- score.
iziINTI	- goal posts.
inTWENTSHE	- catapult.
inQINDi	- boxing.
uQABANE/umCIJwane	- diamond (in playing cards).
imiQANGala/izimFIJOLi	- musical instruments.
inSIMBi	- iron (golf-club.)
amaVUKana	- amateur.
uZIHUNQu	- ace of clubs.

A.11. IDIOMS.

ukuBA inKOMo eBHOLeni	- to be a very poor soccerite.
ukuBA lukHUNi neMALi	- to be thrifty.
ukuBA yiPIGOGO	- to be conceited.
ukuBA inZALo kATHAYELA	- to be born under European living conditions.
ukuBAMBa idILESi	- to stand in a queue.
ukuBAMBa okuFUNDiwe	- to understand one's lessons.
ukuBAMBa iGUDU	- to take a pull from the horn.
ukuBAMBa umJAHo	- to win money on horse-race bets.
ukuBAMBa iMALi	- (i) to owe someone money. (ii) to earn a lot of money. (iii) to make deductions from a person's wages or salary.
ukuBAMBa inKONZO	- to serve a labour contract in lieu of residence and food rations on a farm.
ukuBAMBa inKUNZi	- to hold up someone with intent to rob.

- ukuBAMBa isiTIMELa - to board a train.
- ukuBAMBa iTOHo - to do temporary work or to be in part-time employment.
- ukuBAMBa uSIBa - to have a particularly good handwriting.
- ukuBANJwa uGESi - to be shocked by electricity.
- ukuBASela iCALa - to follow up a debt.
- ukuBASela isiKWELETu - to follow up a debt.
- ukuBEKa emJAHweni- to place a bet on a race horse/s.
- ukuBEKela iHASHi - same as above, i.e. ukuBEKa em-JAHweni.
- ukuBEKa iTAFULa - to lay the table.
- ukuBEKa iTSHE - to lay a memorial stone; tombstone; occasionally, a foundation stone.
- ukuBEKa isiHLALo - to be ridden (of a horse.)
- ukuBEKa izANDLa - to bless.
- ukuBHADLa eJELe - to serve a goal sentence, usually a long one.
- ukuBHANSA kweNYANGA - a month that has an additional day to the usual thirty days, i.e. 31 days or 29 days in February on a leap year.
- ukuBIZwa iJELe - to look for trouble that may land one in gaol.
- ukuBOPHa iFINDo lomSHADo - to solemnize a marriage.
- ukuBOPHa umUNTU - to arrest a person.
- ukuBOSHelwa ukuDLA - to have one's diet prescribed by a doctor.
- ukuBUYa kweTAFULa- subsidence of soil at mine.
- ukuCHITHa umFAZi - to divorce one's wife.
- ukuCHITHa amaHOLIDE - to spend holidays.
- ukuCHITHa iMALi - to spend money.
- ukuCINDEZELa iPHEPHA - to print a newspaper.
- ukuCWILISa iziMALi zabaNTU - to embezzle other people's money.
- ukuDABUKa kweGODa- the end of Mpande's association with Dingane.
- ukuDABULa umSHADo- to divorce.
- ukuDAKwa iMBAWULa- to suffer from carbon monoxide poisoning.

- ukuDEDEla iHASHi/iBHAYISIKILI - to give a horse a free rein/ to let the bicycle run on its own without having to paddle, especially while riding down a slope.
- ukuDIDA iBHUKu: - to assume a new name.
- ukuDILIKelwa iJELe - to serve a life sentence.
- ukuDILIZA esiTOLo- to buy a lot of articles from a shop.
- ukuDLA amaTHE omLUNGU - to hero-worship the Whiteman.
- ukuDLA imBODLELa - to drink European liquor excessively.
- ukuDLA iMALi - to spend money, usually carelessly.
- ukuDLA iMALi luHLAZa - to incur debt banking upon unearned wages.
- ukuDLA uKHISIMUSi- to celebrate Christmas.
- ukuDLA isiDLo - to celebrate the Holy Eucharist.
- ukuDLA inDWANGU - to dress smartly.
- ukuDLA emATHANYULeni - to commit sodomy.
- ukuDLA izAMBANE likaPONDo - to lead a life of ease and comfort.
- ukuDLALa umJAHo - to place bets on the horse race.
- ukuDLiwa zinDUNDUma - to desert one's home in order to go and live a loose life in the cities.
- ukuDLULisa iCALa - to lodge an appeal.
- ukuDLULisa iPULANI leNDLU - to approve a building plan.
- ukuDONSwA iJELe Cf. ukuBIZwa iJELe above.
- ukuDONSa eJELe - to serve a long term of imprisonment.
- iDUKu liMe ubuYENDE - the flag is flying half-mast.
- ukuDUKUza ebuQABeni - to live a heathen's life.
- ukwENZa isiVUMelwano- to sign or enter into a contract with someone.
- ukwENZa ngAPHANDLe kwesANDLa - to do something without the proper authority.
- ukwENZa inKULUMo - to address a gathering.

- ukwEMBATHa iBHANTSHi - to join a church movement
such as the women's prayer union.
- ukuFAKa isiCATHulo- to kick someone.
- ukuFAKa isAHLUKaniso - to divorce.
- ukuFAKa emJAHweni - Cf. ukuBEKa emJAHweni above.
- ukuFAKa eJOKweni - to let someone to work very hard.
- ukuFULATHela unKULUNKULu. - to be a non-believer.
- ukuyiFUNDa iVALiwe- to read between the lines.
- ukuGAYa uBISI - to churn milk.
- ukuGINGQa isiTHUPHa- to have finger-prints taken.
- ukuGQIBa ngeMALi - to bribe someone.
- ukuGQOBHa iMALi - to make the last effort of re-
covering one's money from the
debtor.
- ukuGQOMa unGWAQo - to dig the road.
- ukuGQOGQa abaNtU - to awaken labourers (at the
mine compounds.
- ukuGUQisa iHASHi - to knee-halter a horse.
- uku GWEBela inTAMBo - to impose a death penalty
upon a person.
- ukuHAMBa iCALa - to attend a long drawn-out case.
- ukuHAMBa izinkANTOLo - to be engaged in endless
litigation.
- ukuHLABa umSEBENzi- to strike a job.
- ukuHLABa inCWADi - to write a letter.
- ukuHLALa PHEZu kwemALi - to be niggardly with one's
money.
- ukuHLABana ngamaLENGISO - to pass an examination
with distinction.
- ukuHLABa amaSOYi - to cut sods.
- ukuHLANGanisa iFINDo lomSHADo - Cf. ukuBOPHa iFINDo
lomSHADo.
- ukuHLANZwa ngumMELi (eCALeni) - to be defended
successfully by a lawyer.
- ukuHLELEMBa iHASHi- to train a horse.
- ukuHLENGwa komHLABATHi - the rehabilitation of the
soil.
- ukuHLOHLa isiBHAMu- to load a gun.
- ukuHOLEla (umuNTU) oPHATHe - to lead into an ambush.

- ukukHALelwa zinSIMBi - to be arrested.
 ukukHIPHa iSISu - to commit abortion.
 ukukHUMUka emSEBENZini - to come/go off duty.
 ukulaHLa iBHESHu - to adopt Western dress.
 ukulIMa ngezINKABi - to use a plough for tilling the
 soil.
 ukumBOza umQONDo - to hypnotize.
 ukumISA iDUKu - to announce or publicize a new
 love affair by hoisting a white
 flag at the boy's home.
 ukungamAZi umLUNGu - to be an independent worker
 who does not seek employment
 under a Whiteman.
 ukungamPHATHi umLUNGu - same as ukungamAZi umLUNGu.
 ukuNIKela ngeGAZi- (i) to donate blood for purposes
 of transfusion.
 (ii) to sacrifice, like Jesus
 Christ.
 ukuSHAYa ngesibHAMu - to shoot.
 ukuSHAYa isibHEDLELa- to assault a person very badly.
 ukuSHAYa isiCATHulo - to perform the boot dance.
 ukuSHAYa iBHESi - to sing bass, tenor, etc.
 ukuSHAYa uCINGo - to telephone.
 ukuSHAYa inDESHENi - to stand to attention.
 ukuSHAYa umDUVo - to go on strike.
 ukuSHAYa inGOBOLWANE - to maintain the rail tracks.
 ukuSHAYa inKWENTu- to make the whip crack.
 ukuSHAYa iPHRUFu - initial printing in preparation
 for proof reading (Mariannahill
 Press.)
 ukuSHAYa amaPHEPHa - to play cards.
 ukuSHAYa ngomSHINi - to type.
 ukuSHAYa inSIMBi - to ring a bell or bicycle clock.
 ukuSHAYa inTENGo - to fix the price of an article.
 ukuSHAYa amaTHIKITHi - to clip passenger's tickets
 (in a bus or train.)
 ukuSHAYELa iMoTo - to drive a car.
 ukuSHISa inKOMO - to brand a beast.
 ukuSHAYisa emSEBENZini - to be off duty.
 ukuSHAYa isiPIKi - to speak a mixed language where
 such 'mixture' consists of Zulu
 and English. (see Colenso.)

- ukuSUSa umSHINI/imOTO - to start a machine, car, etc.
 ukuSOPHa imPAHLa - to buy clothes on credit (term
 used on the mines.)
 ukuPHAPHATHEKa kweGAZi - anaemia.
 ukuPHEHLa iBHOTEla - to make butter.
 ukuPHUPHa/ukuPHUMa kweNGUBo - the fading of the
 garment.
 ukuTAPa iGOLiDe/...LAHLa - to mine gold, coal, etc.
 ukuTHANDa iziKETi- to be fond of the fair sex.
 ukuTHATHa iCULo/iGAMa/inGOMa - to start a hymn.
 ukuTHATHa iGAZi - to draw blood for medical
 purposes.
 ukuTHATHa inHLAMVu- to point someone with a gun.
 ukuTHATHa inKOLo - to adopt Christianity.
 ukuTHATHa isiTHOMBe - to have a photo taken.
 ukuTHATHa imINWE - to take finger prints.
 ukuTHASISelwa iGAZi - to be given blood.
 ukuTHENGA umuntu - to bribe a person.
 ukuTHINTa iBHOLa/uPIYANE/isiGINCi - to excel at
 playing soccer/ the piano/
 guitar.
 ukuTHUTHa inYATHi - to remove the night soil.
 ukuVUMa iZONo - to confess.
 ukuZUKa iHASHi - to break in a horse.

There are some idioms which do not use the infinitive
 as the introductory phrase (word) e.g.

- abanDIEBe zikhANYa iLANGa - Europeans.
 abatheKELisi beGAZi - blood donors.
 imALI eSHISIwe - good money (in wages).
 iNDIU iVALiwe - a black team of oxen. (occasionally
 applied to a black suit.)
 iNDIU emNYAMa - a prison cell; usually used as a
 locative, viz. usendlini emnyama -
 he is in prison (generally one not
 yet tried.)
 iGAMa laseKHAYa/lasesiKOLeni - a child's name by
 which he is known at home or at
 school.

iNJA neKATi/iKATi neGUNDANE - to be arch enemies.
 iCALa leGAZi - a criminal case.
 iCALa lomBANGo - a civil case.
 iCALa lesiNENE - a case involving the Immorality Act.
 isiDINSi semALi - a lot of money.
 umGOQO weBALa - colour-bar.
 umHLAHLAVu weMOTO- a car in a bad state of repair.
 isIKHOVa esiluhlAZa- a five-pound note (ten rand.)
 amaPHUPHu ezIKHOVa - pound notes (two rand.)
 amaTOMu omBUSo - the authority of Government.

There are a few phrases used singly which nevertheless have an idiomatic import, e.g.:

ukuDLiwa - to become bankrupt.
 ukuGOQKiswa - to be given long-term imprisonment.
 ukwEMBULeLa - to present one's old clothes to someone.
 ukuHLUBUla - to lack clothing.
 iJIKanKEZO - a Christian who drinks privately.
 isIKHAFu - food.
 inKANTINI - European liquor.
 imiNYEZANE - academic dress.
 iPHUMALIMI - a European.
 ukuSHONa - to lose a lot of money (in business.)
 ukuWA - to be bankrupt.
 uziyaNTUNTa - indeterminate sentence.

A.12. PROVERBS.

Akalibonanga eliWinayo - he/she failed.
 Akukho thusi lathetha lilodwa - it takes two people to start a fight.
 Akwaziwa thunga lobuya nenkintsho - the results are uncertain.
 Ngodli dlakalasi ijazi lephoyisa - by force.
 Umfundisi kamzali umfundisi - children seldom take after their parents.
 Wahamba okwejuba likaNowa - he left for good.

Wakhahlelwa ihashi/imbongolo esifubeni - he is a liar.
Uyoyikhomba indlu enotshwala - you will tell the
truth.

Ukhaliphe nganxanye njengomese - he thinks that he
is wise.

Inkomo imbiwa ematsheni kobeLungu - Gems are the
Whiteman's wealth.

UmLungu angathunga isicoco - it can never happen,
it is impossible.

Usebenzela ihashi elifile - "hy werk vir 'n dooie
perd."

Washa khekhe lokuzosa - serves you right !

Insumansumane imali yamakhanda - a miracle.

Amathanga ahlanzela abangenamabhodwe - opportunity
usually favours those who don't need it.

A. 13. MISCELLANEOUS.

- iCilongo - trumpet, bugle.
UkuCondobezela - to be a perfect shot.
umaConsane - kind of intoxicating drink.
uCwecwe/ungCwecwe/uKhethe - iron sheets.
imFungumfungu - piano accordion.
unoGada - night watchman.
inGalawana - tug.
Gandaya (umgwaqo) - macadamise a road.
uGavini - intoxicating drink, made from
sugar cane.

iGobela - arch in a building.
isiGomfane - highly intoxicating drink made
in towns.

imiGqongqo - rifles.
uGqungqumui - gooseberry.
uHoho - tunnel.
umHlakuva - castor-oil bush.
iHlubi - a type of fowl with no feathers
on the neck.

uHlwayi - pellet.
umHubhe - a lane.
unoJele - gaoler.
umuJu - rifle range.

iJoye - datura.
 umKhehlekehle/umDiekedle - an old rickety thing.
 umaNuka - a variety of gum tree.
 umaZithibe - teetotaller.
 isiMalisane - Hedotis scabrida.
 iMbote/iMpoti - Ammocharis falcata.
 iMbumbulu - ammunition.
 isiMbumbuthelo - Funnel.
 isiMehlane - small liquor bottle.
 isiMongotho - Martynia annua.

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