THE EXPRESSION OF CONTRAST, EMPHASIS AND
DEFINITENESS IN ZULU

by

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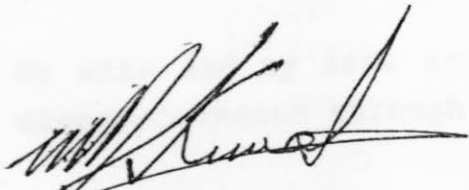
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DECLARATION

I declare that

"THE EXPRESSION OF CONTRAST, EMPHASIS AND DEFINITENESS IN ZULU"

is my own work. All the sources used or quoted have been
indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

M.B. KUMALO

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PREFACE AND SUMMARY

(i)   Purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is to investigate contrast,
emphasis and definiteness as they occur in Zulu
discourse.   Several modern writers, among them Bosch
(1985), Louwrens (1979), (1980) and (1983), Von Staden
(1968) & (1982), Van Rooyen (1978), Prinsloo (1984), Du
Plessis (1985) & (1986), Kosch (1988), Venter (1988), as
well as Wilkes (1976) and (1987) have made an in depth
study of some mechanisms not mentioned by traditionalists
in   their   treatment   of   contrast,   emphasis   and
definiteness.   Features which are treated in this regard
in this investigation include :

(a)   the use of words, for example, absolute pronouns,
as markers of contrast and emphasis;

(b)   the use of constructions like the ku- subject
concord, as markers of indefiniteness;

(c)   the use of objectival concords, and the present
tense -ya- as markers of definiteness and
emphasis; and

(d)   the use of word order change as a mechanism for
marking emphasis.

(ii)   Method of investigation

The method of investigation used in this research is that
of testing findings and conclusions by traditional as
well as modern grammarians of African languages, in
general, and Zulu, in particular, by means of applying
these findings and conclusions to suitable Zulu examples
and in literary texts.

Chapter 1 is concerned with the definition of the concepts,
contrast, emphasis and definiteness.

In chapter 2 focus is on the use of the absolute pronoun as a marker of contrast as well as of emphasis. Some overlapping between contrast and emphasis becomes noticeable.

Chapter 3 deals solely with the expression of emphasis in Zulu. The present tense _-ya-_ as well as change in word order are investigated as markers of emphasis in this chapter.

Definiteness is treated in chapter 4.

Chapter 5 is a summary of the three immediately preceding chapters in particular.

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CHAPTER 1

THE NOTIONS : CONTRAST, EMPHASIS AND DEFINITENESS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Contrast, emphasis and definiteness are grammatical features found in most languages of the world, including Zulu. However, these features are not always expressed in the same way. We can distinguish between various mechanisms which generate contrast, emphasis and definiteness in languages.

1.2 DEFINITIONS

1.2.1 Defining contrast

According to Emery & Brewster (1959:317), contrast refers to setting in opposition in order to show unlikeness; to compare by observing differences; and to place in immediate relation in order to heighten an effect by emphasising differences.

This view is also held by Hartmann & Stock (1972:53) who state that contrast in language refers to comparison. In phonology, for instance, the term contrast is used to refer to opposition between distinctive units. An opposition exists, for example, between voiced and voiceless stops at the beginning of a word in English as in /pin-bin/, /tin-din/.

All in all therefore, contrast exhibits unlikeness or comparison.

Investigation by Barnes, et al. (1968:340) has shown that contrast is, however, not limited to the phonological component of the grammar. Contrast can also be generated by syntactic and semantic

means, respectively. In Afrikaans, for instance, words such as 'daarenteë', 'daarteenoor', 'in teenstelling met', etc. are specifically used to generate contrast.

Examples:

(1)   (a) Sarie is mooi; Lida daarenteë is lelik.
           'USarie muhle, kanti uLida yena mubi.'
       (b) Nelie is 'n gawe meisie; haar broer daarteenoor is onvriendelik.
           'UNelie yintombazane elungile, kanti umfowabo yena akanamusa.'

In the semantic component, on the other hand, use is often made of words with contrastive meanings.

In languages such as English and Afrikaans, for instance, antonyms are used in idiomatic expressions for the purpose of contrast, but that is not so common in Zulu. However, in the following examples and many other Afrikaans idiomatic expressions, contrast is not so clear in their Zulu versions (Barnes, op.cit.:342):

(2)   'n Vriend deur <u>dik</u> en <u>dun</u> bystaan.
       'Ukusekela umngane noma kunjani.'

Obviously, constrast can be shown literally in the aforegoing examples in Zulu. However, we are here not concerned with literal expressions as such, particularly if they deflect us from our course.

Semantic contrast can also be expressed by means of opposite expressions, another form of antonyms, as for instance in the following Zulu examples:

(3)   umngane : isitha
        umfana   : intombazane
        inkosi   : indlovukazi
        -hle   : -bi
        -ningi   : -ncane

1.2.2 Defining emphasis

Emery. et al. (1959:493) say emphasis refers to special and significant stress of voice laid on particular words or syllables; to intensify or force of expression...

Hartmann and Stock (1972:76), on the other hand, describe emphasis as 'high pitch or heavier stress or both, given to a word or part of a word to indicate that it has special importance in an utterance.' In short therefore, emphasis is prominence or significance attached to an expression.

English and Afrikaans express emphasis by phonological means as for example:

(4)   (a)   I am going to town
                    but
        (b)   I am going to town
                    or
        (c)   I am going to town
                    or
        (d)   I am going to town, etc.

In Zulu, on the other hand, emphasis is expressed not by any phonological means but by morphological, semantic or syntactic means like, for example, reduplicated morphemes, copulative and relative concords, absolute pronouns, and change in word order.

The morphological means (referred to in the previous paragraph) bring about emphasis on the word category in which they feature (see examples (5)(a) and (b)), whereas the semantic means result in emphasis on the word that is qualified (as illustrated in example ((5) (c)). Change in word order results in the word in sentence initial position being emphasised (as illustrated in examples (5)(d) and (e)). The interposing of either the object NP or the adverb brings about emphasis on these words (as illustrated in (5)(f) and (g)).

(5)   (a)   Ngubaba okhulumayo.
              'It is dad who is talking.'
       (b)   Bafundisisa izibalo.
              'They are really learning the sums.'
       (c)   Zona izitshudeni ziyafunda.
              'The students, in particular, are studying.'
       (d)   Itiye, ugogo uyalithanda.
              'As for tea, grandmother likes it.'
       (e)   Uyalithanda ugogo itiye.
              'Grandmother really likes tea.'
       (f)   Ugogo, itiye uyalithanda.
              'As for tea, grandmother likes it.'
       (g)   Abafana balidlala kahle ibhola.
              'The boys play soccer very well.

1.2.3 Defining definiteness

Definiteness refers to the act of defining or identifying the limits; of discarding vagueness and generalisations; and of exactness. Definiteness, therefore, refers to the act of specifying precisely or with limitation, (Emery, et al., 1959:390).

Fowler (s.a.:106) states that 'definite means defined, clear, precise, unmistakable ... not dubious, vague, loose, inexact, uncertain undefined or questionable'.

In languages such as English and Afrikaans, definiteness is, inter alia, expressed by articles such as 'the/die' and indefiniteness by the articles 'a/'n'. Such formatives are lacking in Zulu, as Zulu makes use mostly of morphological and syntactic means to express definiteness and indefiniteness. This is illustrated in detail in chapter 4.

1.3 TREATMENT OF CONTRAST IN TRADITIONAL ZULU GRAMMARS

Van Eeden (1956:159) discusses definiteness and emphasis under degrees of comparison, and states that contrast may be expressed in Zulu by 'special adjectives (and relatives) which in Afrikaans are expressed by "comparative" and "superlative" degrees of comparison'. The adjective is converted into a copulative which is immediately followed by a comparative adverb with the comparative adverbial concord kuna-.

Example:

(6)   (a) Lowo mfana mkhulu kunami.
          'That boy is bigger/older than me.'
      (b) Izingonyama zinkulu kunezingwe.
          'Lions are bigger than leopards.'

Traditional Zulu grammarians have given very little attention to the phenomenon of the relationship between degrees of comparison and contrast. The nearest they got to treating contrast was to treat degrees of comparison, which is essentially not the same as contrast.

Examples:

(7)   (a) Umame muhle kumfazi lo.
          'My mother is more beautiful than this woman.'
      (b) Ngimkhulu kubo.
          'I am bigger/older than them.'

Van Eeden (1956:159) makes a further point that contrast may be strengthened by the adverb of manner <u>kakhulu</u> or the quantitative stem <u>-nke</u>.

Examples:

(8) (a) Lo mfana mncane <u>kakhulu</u> kunami.
         'This boy is much smaller/younger than me.'
     (b) Intshe inkulu kunazo <u>zonke</u> izinyoni.
         'The ostrich is bigger than all birds.'

Van Eeden (op.cit.:159) further points out that contrast may be brought about by means of the locative prefixal formatives <u>e-</u> and <u>o-</u> and the suffixal formatives <u>-ini</u> and <u>-eni</u>, instead of <u>kuna-</u>.

Examples:

(9) (a) Imvubu inkulu enyathini.
         'A hippopotamus is bigger than a buffalo.'
     (b) Indlovu inkulu ezilwaneni zonke na?
         'Is the elephant the biggest of all animals?'

Contrast can also be shown by means of the verb stem <u>-edlula</u> modified by an adverb from the adjective stem used with the class 14 noun class prefix <u>ubu-</u>, to which, the instrumental adverbial prefix <u>nga-</u> is prefixed,

Example:

(10) (a) Lo mfana uyangedlula ngobukhulu.
         'This boy is bigger than me.'

Contrast in Zulu may also be generated by the use of special words like, for instance, the absolute pronoun. Doke (1961:89) observes that in addition to its ordinary use, the absolute pronoun may be used emphatically, for the purpose of contrast. He points out that for this reason it has usually been

called the emphatic pronoun. Compare, for instance, the following sentence:

(11) Zikhulume izinsizwa, kodwa izintombi <u>zona</u> zithule.
'And the young men chatted, but the young women, on the other hand, remained silent,'

where the absolute pronoun <u>zona</u>, places the noun <u>izintombi</u> in contrast with <u>izinsizwa</u>.

Doke (1955:207) says that the occurrences of contrast, to which he refers as antithesis, are found in Zulu in certain aphorisms, of which the following examples might be noted:

(12) Ikhaba eyikhabayo;
Ikhotha eyikhothayo.
'It kicks what kicks it;
It licks what licks it
"Tit for tat"'.

Doke (op.cit.:207) states that in ordinary speech contrast is brought about by the employment of contrast conjunctives such as <u>kodwa</u>, <u>kepha</u>, <u>nokho</u>, etc. e.g.

(13) (a) Bona abanamanga, <u>kodwa</u> nina anazi iqiniso (sic).
'They are not deceitful, <u>but</u> you know not truth.'
(b) Le nja iyakhonkotha, <u>nokho</u> ayisukeli muntu.
'This dog barks, <u>nevertheless</u> it does not attack anyone.'
(c) Uwile <u>kepha</u> akalimalanga.
'He fell <u>but</u> did not get hurt.'

Traditional Zulu grammarians do not seem to say much more than this about contrast. Although contrast is treated by these grammarians, most of them did so in a very cursory fashion. There is, however, much more that can be said about contrast

in Zulu. This applies especially to the so-called
absolute pronouns, which shall be treated later
on. In fact, traditional Zulu grammarians had very
little to say about the absolute pronoun as a
contrast marker.

1.4 TREATMENT OF DEFINITENESS AND INDEFINITENESS IN TRADITIONAL ZULU GRAMMARS

In languages such as English and Afrikaans, definiteness
is, inter alia, expressed by articles such as 'the/die'
and indefiniteness by the articles 'a/'n'. Such
formatives, as already stated, are lacking in Zulu, as
Zulu makes use mostly of other syntactic means to express
definiteness and indefiniteness. This is illustrated in
detail in chapter 4.

Doke (1955:10) points out that there is a relationship
between definite nouns and agreement. He states that it
may be taken as a working rule that an indefinite subject
is not represented in the predicate by its class concord,
but by an indefinite concord or none at all. The natural
converse of this rule is that a definite subject or
object is represented by its class concord in the
predicate. Doke illustrates this point in his discussion
of the simple and compound subject and object. Examples:

1.4.1 Simple subjects and objects

     (i)   Agreeing subjects (=definiteness)

  (14) (a)   Abantu bayalwa.   (definite subject)
             'The people are fighting.'
             'People are fighting.'
      (b)   Izinkomo zikhona.   (definite subject)
             'The cattle are present.'

     (ii)   Non-agreeing subject (=indefiniteness)

(c)   Kuhamba umuntu.   (indefinite subject)
        'There travels a person.'

(iii) Agreeing objects (=definiteness)

(d)   Abantwana   bayazithanda   izinja   (definite
        object).
        'The children love dogs.'

(iv)   Non-agreeing objects (=indefiniteness)

(e)   Ngibona umuntu.   (indefinite object)
        'I see a person.'

1.4.2 Compound subjects and objects

Doke (1955:16) states that when the subjects are
indefinite, the indefinite class 17 concord is used
as in (15)(a) and (b) below and that when objects
are indefinite no concord corresponding thereto
appears in the verb as in (15)(c) and (d) below.

Subjects:

(15)   (a) Kudlela izinkomo nezimbuzi nezimvu lapha.
           'Cattle, goats and sheep graze here.'
       (b) Kwakhe abaNtu namaLawu nabaThwa lapha.
           'Blacks, Hottentots and Bushmen live here.'

Objects:

       (c) Sifuna izinkomo nezimbuzi nezimvu.
           'We want cattle, goats and sheep.'
       (d) Singabona abantu nezindlu nemithi.
           'We can see people and houses and trees.'

In discussing the definite compound subjects and
objects, Doke (op.cit.:16) says that roughly
speaking there are three aspects of treatment of
definite compound subjects and objects, which are
as follows:

(i) Treating the first word in the compound grouping as of greater relative importance than any other and thus deriving the concord therefrom, e.g.

(16) (a) Isalukazi nexhegu sifuna indlu.
'The old lady and the old gentleman want a house.'

(b) Le nja nomfana imanzi (sic).
'This dog and the boy are wet.'

(c) Abantu nezinkomo bashile emlilweni.
'The people and the cattle were burnt in the fire.'

(ii) Using the prefix ba- for personal compound subjects, the prefix zi- for animal compounds and the prefix ku- for material compounds and for compounds or mixed substantives, i.e. substantives of different noun classes, as in examples 17-19, below, respectively. e.g.

(17) (a) Umshayeli nenkosi yakhe bemukile.
'The driver and his chief have gone away.'

(b) Amaxhegu nezalukazi bayahleka.
'The old gentlemen and the old ladies are laughing.'

(18) (a) Ikati nengwe nofudu zeqile.
'The cat, the leopard and the tortoise have escaped.'

(b) Izinkomo namahhashi azidingi ukuphuza la manzi.
'The cattle and the horses do not need to drink this water.'

(19) (a) Ibhodwe negeja nezitsha kusendlini.
'The pot, the hoe and the plate are in the hut.'

(b) Isikhwama sami nemali kulahlekile konke.
'My pouch and money are all lost.'

(c) Amasi nesinkwa ngiyakuthanda kokubili.
'I like both curdled milk and bread.'

    (d) Umlilo wakushisa, indlu nakho konke okukuyo.
        'The fire consumed the house and all it
        contained.'

    (iii) Employing the concord representing the
        substantive nearest to the predicate, e.g.

(20) (a) Umkhumbi nabantu bashonile.
       'The ship and the people went down.'
    (b) Amandla nobudoda buligugu.
       'Strength and manliness are valued possessions.'
    (c) Masiwathenge amabhantshi nezigqoko.
       'Let us buy both jackets and hats.'

It will be shown later that Doke's treatment of definiteness/indefiniteness is lacking in several ways. He, for instance, does not consider the syntactic differences between definite and indefinite nouns, nor the occurrence of these notions, viz. definiteness/indefiniteness, in the case of the so-called oblique object nouns.

The fact that non-agreeing subject and object nouns can be either definite or indefinite is also not accounted for in Doke's approach. These and other matters concerning definiteness and indefiniteness are dealt with in more detail in a subsequent chapter.

1.5 TREATMENT OF EMPHASIS IN TRADITIONAL ZULU GRAMMARS

Zulu grammarians like Van Eeden (1956:24) for instance, distinguish between two kinds of emphasis, i.e. 'sinsklem' or 'sintaktiese klem' and emphasis generated by phonological means or 'woordklem', as he calls it.

According to Van Eeden (1956:24)

    'Sintaktiese klem (sinsklem) wat gebruik word om
    die nadruk op een of ander woord in 'n sin te laat
    val, speel 'n rol in sommige tale, bv. Afrikaans en
    Engels, maar nie in Zoeloe nie'.

As far as emphasis on words is concerned, Van Eeden
(op.cit.:24) states :

    'Woordklem is egter baie belangrik in Zoeloe, maar
    hier dien dit in hoofsaak ook nie om woorde wat in
    betekenis verskil, te onderskei nie'.

In this regard Van Eeden (op.cit.:24) gives two examples
in which words are differentiated from one another solely
by means of stress, e.g. 'kopie' (copy) and 'kopie'
(bargain).

Doke (1961:300) states that :

    'in Zulu there is no sentence stress used to
    indicate emphasis, but word order may be altered to
    produce the same effect'.

Doke goes on, however, to state that in this way the
normal order of the object after the verb may be altered.
It may be placed first in the sentence, in which case it
becomes copulative and the predicate is made relative.
Example:

(21) (a) <u>Yizinkomo</u> engizifunayo.
       '<u>It is the cattle</u> I want.'
    (b) <u>Ngumuntu</u> engimbonayo.
       '<u>It is a person</u> I see.'

Although Doke does not say so, this is but only one
example involving word order change. Word order change
is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

Doke (1955:208) points out, however, that it is not only
the subject or object that may be emphasised as a result
of change in word order, but that any other word in the

sentence may be emphasised by moving it to sentence initial position where it may appear either inflected or uninflected. Doke illustrates this by means of examples such as the following:

(22) (a) UMagema ufuna ukushayela inqola yami namuhla.
          'Magema wants to drive my wagon today.'
      (b) Ukufuna uyafuna uMagema ukushayela inqola yami.
          'Magema really wants to drive my wagon.'

In order to emphasise the main verb, ukushayela, it may be changed into a copulative and moved to sentence initial position, e.g.

      (c) Ukushayela inqola yami, akufunayo uMagema.
          'What Magema really wants is to drive my wagon.'

In order to emphasise the object, it may also be changed into a copulative and moved to sentence initial position as in:

      (d) Yinqola yami uMagema afuna ukuyishayela namuhla.
          'It is my wagon that Magema wants to drive today.'

In the foregoing discussion, Doke illustrates how emphasis may be placed on each word in turn, in a sentence, by moving it to sentence initial position, and in most cases by converting it into a copulative. He illustrates also, as in sentence (22)(b) above, how the infinitive may be used to mark emphasis on the main verb. However, a more detailed discussion and evaluation of both traditional and modern views on emphasis in Zulu, follows in chapters 2 and 3.

The normal position of the object in a sentence is after the predicate (Doke, 1955:7) e.g.

(23) Ngiyababiza abafana.
      I am calling (them) the boys.'

However, according to Doke (1955:7) when the object is shifted to a sentence initial position it becomes more emphatic, e.g.

(24) <u>Abafana</u>, ngiyababiza.
'The boys, I am calling them.'

Cf (22)(d) and (24) above, both of which refer to emphasis on the object NP.

Finally, Doke shows that two alternative methods may be used in order to emphasise the possessive: viz.

(i) by using the possessive pronominally with its antecedent noun, e.g.

(25) (a) uMagema ufuna ukushayela <u>eyami</u> inqola.
'Magema wants to drive <u>my</u> wagon.'

(ii) by using the copulative form of the possessive moved to sentence initial position, e.g.

(b) <u>Ngeyami</u> inqola uMagema afuna ukuyishayela namuhla.
'<u>It is my wagon</u> that Magema wants to drive today.'

Like the object, the subject of a sentence has a specific proximate position, and that is before the predicative (Doke, op.cit.:7). This is its normal position which requires no further attention.

In recent times South African Grammarians have taken a fresh look at these features, viz. emphasis and definiteness in the African languages, but in as far as Zulu is concerned, a more in depth study of these grammatical features still has to be made. The purpose of this study is to attempt that.

1.6   CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in the foregoing paragraphs to show that in languages such as English and Afrikaans, inter alia, contrast and emphasis are normally phonologically expressed whereas in Zulu they are expressed syntactically.

Further, it has been shown that definiteness and indefiniteness in English and Afrikaans for example, are generated by means of the articles 'the/a' and 'die/'n', respectively, whilst in Zulu this phenomenon is expressed in other ways, which shall be treated in detail in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN AS MARKER OF EMPHASIS AND CONTRAST

2.1 TREATMENT OF THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN BY TRADITIONAL NGUNI GRAMMARIANS

Traditional grammarians such as Doke (1961), Van Eeden (1956), Nyembezi (1972) and Ziervogel, et.al (1976), all contend that the function of pronouns is, inter alia, to replace nouns in sentences. The views quoted hereunder are more or less representative of the traditional era, except that Louw, et.al. (1978) do not venture any opinion concerning the claim that pronouns may stand instead of nouns in sentences.

Van Eeden (1956:121) states that,
   'Pronomen tree in hoofsaak met dieselfde funksie as
   'n nomen op, en is ook (net soos 'n nomen) 'n
   volledige en selfstandige woord, d.w.s. dit is nie,
   soos die subjeks- en objekskonkord, 'n formatief
   nie. Dit word gebruik, - nie alleen in die plek
   van nie, maar ook in apposisie tot 'n nomen, d.w.s.
   saam met 'n nomen, en dan kan dit nie net na die
   nomen optree nie, maar ook daarvoor', e.g.

(1) (a) Ubaba ushayela imoto.
        'Dad drives the/a car.'
    (b) Yena ushayela imoto.
        'He drives the/a car.'
    (c) Ubaba yena ushayela yona imoto.
        'Dad drives the/a car.'

Louw, et.al. (1978:87) confirm the above-mentioned
definitions when they say,

> ''n absolute pronomen is 'n tipe pronomen wat slegs
> 'n sekere nomen aandui sonder om dit te beskryf of
> enige besondere kenmerk van so 'n nomen aan te gee'.

Nyembezi (1972:49) has this to say about the pronoun:

> 'Igama elima esikhundleni sebizo, lenze umsebenzi
> webizo, kusobala ukuthi: ISABIZWANA' (It is clear
> that a word which stands in the place of a noun,
> and does the function of a noun, is a word that
> projects itself as a noun - which means a PRONOUN).

Ziervogel, et.al. (1976:45-49) on the other hand do not
attempt to define what a pronoun is, except to briefly
discuss its form, function and derivation.

However, Ziervogel, et.al. (op.cit.:10) describe the
absolute pronoun as a pronoun which, inter alia, takes
the place of the noun as subject and as object of the
sentence. Traditional grammarians are supported by
Kunene (1975:171) in their contention that the absolute
pronoun stands in the place of a noun when she claims
that:

> 'Zulu ... has a variety of pronominal forms that
> can be used in the place of ... a co-referent noun'.

From the definitions given above, it is clear that most
traditional Zulu grammarians regard absolute pronouns as
words that can replace nouns in sentences.

Traditional Zulu grammarians are, by and large, in
agreement as to how absolute pronouns are supposed to
function in the grammar of Zulu. Their views in this
regard are summarized more or less by the five ways
Nyembezi (op.cit.:50) gives of how these words are
normally used. They are the following:

(i) The absolute pronoun may <u>precede</u> a noun, e.g.

(2) (a) <u>Yena umfana</u> uyathanda ukuhamba.

'<u>The boy</u> is fond of going about.'

(b) <u>Bona oMandla</u> sebewuqedile umsebenzi wabo.

'<u>Mandla</u> and the others have now completed their work.'

(ii) It may <u>succeed</u> a noun, e.g.

(3) (a) <u>ULanga yena</u> uhambe izolo.

'<u>Langa</u> left yesterday.'

(b) <u>Izinkomo zona</u> zizoya entabeni.

'<u>The cattle</u> will be herded to the mountain.'

(iii) It may be the subject of the sentence <u>in the place</u> of a noun, e.g.

(4) (a) <u>Yena</u> (umfana) uyahamba kusasa.

'<u>He</u> (the boy) will go away tomorrow.'

(b) <u>Lona</u> (ihhashi) lidla utshani nommbila.

'<u>It</u> (the horse) eats grass and mealies.'

(iv) It may be the object of the sentence <u>in the place</u> of a noun, e.g.

(5) (a) Ubaba ufuna <u>yena</u> (umfana).

'Dad is looking for <u>him</u> (the boy).'

(b) Inja ibulale <u>zona</u> (izinkukhu).

'The dog killed <u>them</u> (the fowls).'

(v) Finally, the absolute pronoun may be used <u>appositionally</u> with other pronouns in a sentence, e.g.

- with demonstratives:

(6) (a) Abafana bagawule <u>wona lo</u>.

'The boys chopped <u>this very one</u>.'

(b) <u>Laba bona</u> abasebenzi ngani?

'Why aren't <u>these very ones</u> not working?'.

- with quantitative pronouns:

(a) Hambani <u>nina</u> <u>nonke</u>.
   'Go away <u>all of you</u>.'

(b) Bakhuluma izilimi zakhona <u>zona</u> <u>zonke</u> (sic).
   'They speak <u>all</u> the indigenous languages of that place.'

Nyembezi (1972:50) tells us that:
   'Lesi sabizwana sivama ukusisebenzisa uma sifuna ukugcizelela inkulumo' (We usually use this pronoun when we intend emphasising speech), e.g.

(7)   (a) Angiyiboni <u>mina</u> imbazo.
      '<u>I</u> do not see the axe.'

      (b) <u>Mina</u> ngizokushaya uma ungezwa.
      '<u>I</u> will thrash you if you are naughty.'

      (c) Uthi <u>yena</u> akasayingeni leyo.
      'He says <u>he</u> is no longer interested in that affair/matter.'

      (d) <u>Thina</u> siyasebenza kodwa <u>bona</u> bazihlalele nje.
      '<u>We</u> are working, but <u>they</u> are just sitting (doing nothing).'

Doke (1955:208) describes emphasis as the use of language in such a way as to bring more prominence or special importance to the subject or object. He explains, however, that in certain languages, e.g. English and German, word stress or force of utterance conveys emphasis, and that this is not the case in Zulu where it is achieved in several ways, one of these being the use of the absolute pronoun.

Examples:

(8)   (a) UMagema ufuna ukushayela inqola yami namuhla.
      'Magema wants to drive my wagon today.'

Cf.

(b) UMagema ufuna ukushayela <u>yona</u> inqola yami namuhla.
'Magema wants to drive my (very) wagon today (and not, for instance, my car).'

In addition to the above summary by Nyembezi, Van Eeden (1956:124) adds that in some constructions, the corresponding concord may be used instead of the absolute pronoun to bring about a shift in meaning, e.g.

(9) (a) Sifuna ukuzizingela.
     'We intend hunting <u>them</u>.'
                  instead of
     (b) Sifuna ukuzingela <u>zona</u>.
     'We intend hunting <u>them</u>, in particular.'

In another context, Van Eeden (op.cit.:125) mentions that:
'omdat 'n pronomen wat sy aanwending betref, gelykwaardig aan 'n nomen is, moet dit duidelik wees waarom die konkords (<u>ngi-</u> en <u>u-</u>) ook gebruik moet word in 'n sin soos:

(10) (a) <u>Mina</u> ngiyafunda, <u>yena</u> uyadlala kuphela.
      '(As for me) I study, (he) he only plays.'

Van Eeden (op.cit.:125) states further:
'n Pronomen kan in geen omstandigheid - soos 'n konkord - dien om 'n predikatief aan 'n nomen te skakel nie.'

2.2   CRITICISM ON THE TRADITIONAL VIEW CONCERNING THE FUNCTION
       OF ABSOLUTE PRONOUNS

Most of the traditional grammarians quoted above agree in
one way or another, that pronouns in Zulu may stand in
the place of a noun. (Cf. Doke (1956:80), Van Eeden
(1956:124), Ziervogel et. al. (1976:45) and Nyembezi
(1972:49)).

Wilkes (1976:61) disputes the assertion that the absolute
pronoun, in fact, any pronoun in Zulu, can be used in the
place of a noun. Wilkes argues that if the so-called
pronouns had indeed replaced nouns in sentences in Zulu,
as these writers claim, one would expect that such a
replacement would not cause any semantic difference in
the   sentences   involved   since   pronominalisation   is
obviously not a process that causes any change in
meaning. In other words, if the view advocated by these
writers is correct, then there should have been no
semantic difference between sentences such as (11)(a) and
(12)(a) below, and their pronominalised counterparts in
(11)(b) and (12)(b). This is, however, clearly not the
case, e.g.

(11)   (a) Abantwana bayaganga.
           'The children are naughty.'
       (b) Bona (abantwana) bayaganga.
           'They are naughty.' (with emphasis on they)

(12)   (a) Ubaba uhlabe izinkukhu.
           'Dad has slaughtered fowls'
       (b) Ubaba uhlabe zonke (izinkukhu).
           Dad has slaughtered all of them.'
               (with emphasis on all of them)

Wilkes (op.cit.:61) argues that sentences (11)(b) and
(12)(b) above, cannot be regarded as being derived from
sentences (11)(a) and (12)(a), respectively.

He asserts that the semantic difference between sentences
(11)(a) and (b) and between sentences (12)(a) and (b)
above, is clear evidence why pronouns cannot be regarded
as substitutes of the nouns in sentences (11)(a) and
(12)(a), respectively.

Wilkes (1976:61) says that he regards the so-called
absolute pronouns as pronouns only when they occur
without their antecedent nouns in sentences. (We shall
be returning to this matter later).

Wilkes argues that in terms of Doke's and van Eeden's
views, examples such as:

(13) (a) Ngibiza yena.
         'I am calling him.'
     (b) Ngithanda bona.
         'I love them.'

must be regarded as transformations of sentences in which
a class 1 and 2 noun, respectively, occurs, e.g.

(14) (a) Ngibiza umfana. (class 1)
         'I am calling the boy.'
     (b) Ngithanda abantu. (class 2)
         'I am fond of people.'

He, however, disputes this as not being true since the
meanings of sentences (13)(a) and (b) differ from those
of sentences (14)(a) and (b), respectively, in what he
regards as, at least, one very important way, i.e.
sentences (13)(a) and (b) include a semantic moment of
emphasis in their meanings which is completely absent in
sentences (14)(a) and (b), from which they supposedly
have been derived.

The fact that these sentences differ in meaning,
obviously means that sentences such as (13)(a) and (b)
cannot be regarded as having been derived from sentences
such as (14)(a) and (b), respectively. In other words,

sentences (14)(a) and (14)(b) cannot be the underlying structure of sentences such as (13)(a) and (13)(b).

This, by implication, means that the absolute pronouns in sentences (13)(a) and (b) cannot be considered as the transformational equivalents of nouns which they are supposed to have replaced.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that even the name, 'absolute pronoun', is inappropriate for these words. Emery et.al. (1956:5) define absolute as being free from restriction or limitation; conditional or unconditional; unqualified and perfect. Grammatically, they define absolute as being syntactically independent. Hence our above-mentioned conclusion. It is, however, not entirely clear why Doke uses the term 'absolute' to name these words. It is possible, however, that his decision to name these words in this way was influenced by his view that these words completely, i.e. absolutely, replace nouns in sentences.

It is necessary at this stage to consider the real functions of absolute pronouns in Zulu, as it is clear from what has been stated above: they are not replacement words.

2.3   FUNCTIONS OF THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN

There seems to be general agreement between traditional and modern grammarians regarding the functions of absolute pronouns other than being substitution words.

2.3.1   Absolute Pronouns as Emphatic Determiners

Wilkes (1976:75) agrees somehow with Emery, et.al. (op.cit.:5) when he argues very strongly that the absolute pronoun is not as absolute as Doke and others claim it to be, but that it is

basically (i.e, in underlying structure) an
emphatic determiner of a noun and that it
becomes a pronoun only when its antecedent noun
is deleted. Wilkes argues that the basic use
of these words is <u>together</u> with nouns.

Absolute pronouns may be used as front determiners, i.e.
when preceding their coreferent nouns, or as back
determiners, when they succeed their coreferent nouns.
For example:

    (i) Absolute Pronouns as front determiners

(15) (a) Uma umuntu ehlwanyela ummbila, uvuna <u>wona</u>
       ummbila.
       If a person plants mealies, he reaps <u>mealies</u>
       (and nothing else).'
    (b) <u>Yona</u> inhliziyo yami mhlawumbe iyobambi.
       'My <u>heart</u> in particular shall perhaps worsen.'

    (ii) Absolute Pronouns as back determiners

(16) (a) UJames <u>yena</u> wathi ukuba behlukane noBill
       wayeselanda uJack noJabulani.
       'James (and not one of the others), after
       having parted with Bill, then went and fetched
       Jack and Jabulani.'
    (b) UJames <u>yena</u> wasalela emuva.
       'James (and not one of the others) then
       remained behind.'

With reference to Swazi, Ziervogel (1952:45) says:

    'It (the absolute pronoun) may also be employed to
    stress the object or subject, e.g.

(17)   (a) Bafati bayati <u>bona</u>, asati <u>tsine</u>.
            'The women, <u>they</u> know, <u>we</u> don't.'
       (b) Lihhashi <u>lona</u> lamkhahlela <u>yena</u> (umfana).
            'The horse <u>it</u> kicked <u>him</u> (the boy).'

Louw et. al. (1978:88) mentions that:
       'Alhoewel dit gewoonlik nie noodsaaklik is om die
       pronomen te herhaal voor 'n verbum of kopulatief
       nie, ... word dit tog soms gedoen indien die subjek
       beklemtoom word, bv.' (examples in Xhosa):
(18)   (a) <u>Yena</u> ufuna ukuhhamba.
            'He wants to <u>go</u> - away.'
       (b) Ndibona <u>zona</u> iinkomo
            'I see <u>them</u> the cattle.'

In pursuit of the emphatic use of the so-called absolute
pronoun, Wilkes (1976:75) compares two sentences, viz.

(19)   (a) <u>UJames</u> uthi <u>yena</u> uyagula.
            'James says <u>he</u> is sick.'
       (b) <u>UJames</u>$_1$ uthi <u>uJames</u>$_1$ uyagula.
            '<u>James</u>$_1$ says <u>James</u>$_1$ is sick.'
       and argues that:

            'Hier is daar egter duidelik nie van enige
            emfase sprake nie en sal (19)(b) ook nie in die
            oppervlaktestruktuur as (19)(a) voorkom nie
            maar as (19)(c) naamlik:
       (c) <u>UJames</u>$_1$ uthi <u>u</u>$_1$yagula.'

            'Die tweede optrede van <u>James</u> in (19)(b) kan
            ook nie as [+ emfase] in die dieptestruktuur
            gemerk word nie aangesien klem in die
            Bantoetale nie 'n prosodiese aangeleentheid is
            nie maar 'n sintaktiese een.'

       Doke (1955:89) and Van Eeden (1956:124) also allude
       to the absolute pronoun as a determiner of
       emphasis, as for instance in:

(20) Doke : <u>Mina</u> ngikhuluma iqiniso.
       'As for me, I speak the truth.'

(21) Van Eeden: (a) Mina ngiyafunda ...
              <u>'I</u> am studying ...'
          (b) <u>Wena</u> uthi basendlini ...
              <u>'You</u> say they are in the house ...'
          (c) Ngifuna <u>yona</u> induku
              I want (precisely) the kiérie.'

According to Louwrens (1983:59) when the so-called absolute pronoun is used for emphasis in Northern Sotho, it may appear only prenominally. Louwrens (op.cit.:59) defines emphasis as a 'special prominence with which a particular referent is presented at a given point in a discourse, depending on the requirements of the discourse'. The latter condition highlighted by Louwrens has not been mentioned by other linguists quoted above.

Louwrens (op.cit.:60) observes that an analysis of the distribution of properties of the absolute pronoun with regard to nouns which function as the subject and object of a sentence reveals an interesting difference which can be summarised as follows:

> 'In sentences with SVO word order, the pronoun may either precede or follow the noun when it is the subject of the sentence, while it may only precede the noun when it functions as the object noun in the sentence, e.g.

(22) (a) <u>Yena</u> umalume wazi isiZulu.
     'Particularly, uncle knows Zulu.'
  (b) Umalume <u>yena</u> wazi isiZulu.
     'Uncle on the contrary, knows Zulu.'
  (c) Umalume wazi <u>sona</u> isiZulu.
     'Uncle knows particularly Zulu.'
           and not
  (d) *UMalume wazi isiZulu <u>sona</u>.'

Louwrens (1983:60) goes on to say that stated
differently, this means that nouns which appear
preverbally may either be contrasted or emphasised,
while nouns which appear post-verbally, may only be
emphasised and never contrasted. Louwrens'
explanation, shows clearly that the two usages have
different syntactical implications. In due course
we shall give full treatment of contrast to bring
out its significance under 2.3.2 below.

Louwrens (op.cit.:60) argues that if the context
requires the noun appearing as object to be
contrasted, it must obligatorily be moved to the
left of the verb, in which case it may either
precede the subject as in (23)(a) or follow it as
in (23)(b) below:

(23) (a) IsiZulu sona, umalume uyasazi.
         'Zulu, on the contrary, uncle knows it.'
     (b) Umalume, isiZulu sona uyasazi.
         Zulu on the contrary, he knows it.'

Louwrens (op.cit.:60) argues further that a
possible explanation for this distribution
restriction on the pronoun can be arrived at if the
hypothesis is accepted that the object of a
sentence is semantically so closely associated with
the verb, that these two constituents form, as it
were, a single semantic unit.

Louwrens (op.cit.:60)continues and says that if the
absolute pronoun succeeds the noun in object
position in sentences with SVO word-order, contrast
is not restricted to the noun above, but the verb
is also drawn into the domain of the contrast. He
argues that in a context which requires the

contrasting of only the object, the post-nominal use of the pronoun has the effect of spreading the contrast beyond the boundaries of the object; thus affecting the verb as well.

Von Staden (1982:79) too asserts that absolute pronouns are used to emphasise the meaning of nouns or other forms of substantives.

(24) (a) Insizwa ibintshontshe izimpahla.
'The young man had stolen the goods.'

(b) <u>Insizwa yona/Yona insizwa</u> ibintshontshe izimpahla.
'The young man, on the contrary, had stolen the goods/As for the young man, he had stolen the goods'.

2.3.1.1 Use and sentence position of absolute pronouns with regard to direct and indirect objects

In the event of absolute pronouns (emphatic determiners) co-occurring with direct or indirect objects nouns, one of the following structures will result depending on the object to be emphasised:

(i) Both the direct and indirect object nouns are accompanied by their relevant absolute pronouns, e.g.

(25) (a) Uthisha unika <u>yena</u> umfundi <u>yona</u> incwadi.
'The teacher gives <u>the very pupil</u> <u>the very book</u>.'

(ii) Either the direct or the indirect object noun is accompanied by its absolute pronoun, e.g.

(b) Umama uphekela <u>yena</u> ugogo umdokwe.
'Mother cooks soft porridge for <u>grandmother</u> particularly.'

(c) Babilisela itiye <u>wona</u> amanzi.
'They are boiling <u>water</u> particularly for tea.'

In all the above examples in (25)(a) - (c), the absolute pronouns are emphatic determiners.

2.3.2 Absolute Pronouns as Contrastive Determiners

Wilkes (1976:76) states that:
> 'As woorde met 'n emfatiese funksie, word hierdie bepalers ook dikwels in sinne aangewend om kontras tussen een of meer sake te bewerkstellig soos bv. in:

(26) (a) USipho uthanda uJabulile kepha <u>yena</u> akamthandi.
'Sipho is fond of Jabulile but <u>she</u> is not fond of him, (i.e. some other person)', (where <u>she</u> and him/her are contrasted).'

(b) UThoko ukhuluma iqiniso kepha <u>yena</u> uSipho ukhuluma amanga.
'Thoko tells the truth but <u>Sipho</u> tells lies, (where <u>Sipho</u> and <u>Thoko</u> are contrasted).'

(c) AmaZulu awenzi kanjalo kepha <u>wona</u> amaXhosa enza kanjalo.
'Zulus do not behave that way, but Xhosas do.' (where 'Xhosas' and 'Zulus' are contrasted).'

Wilkes (op.cit.:77) continues and says:
> 'Alhoewel die gebruik van die 'absolute' voornaamwoorde' as nabepalers betreklik noukeurig nagegaan is en ook met hul gebruik as voorbepalers gekontrasteer is, kon ek, behalwe miskien vir 'n graduele klemverkil, geen duidelike betekenisverskil tussen die pre-en postnominale optredes van hierdie woorde opspoor nie'.

However, Louwrens (1983:59) states that the
absolute pronoun is used for the purpose of
contrast, when and only when it appears in the
post-nominal position of the subject noun.
Louwrens claims that in such instances the pronoun
has the pragmatic function of constrasting the
discourse referents referred to by its antecedent,
with one or more referents within the same context
of discourse. Although Louwrens (op.cit.:59)
discusses the absolute pronoun in Northern Sotho,
his conclusions seem to apply in Zulu as well, as
the following example indicates:

(27) (a) 'Sengathi   abakwaMsane   bona   babengalwi
          ngamkhonto, babethungela imizi yezitha zabo,
          bebashisela phakathi abantu.   Baningi abafa
          lapho kodwa uNxaba yena waphunyula, wabaleka
          wayobhaca ehlathini.' (Nyembezi 1958:39)

          'It is as if the Msanes, on one hand, did not
          use assegais for fighting, but that they used
          to set their enemies' homes on fire, and burn
          them inside (the houses).   There are many
          people who died there, but unlike them, Nxaba
          escaped and ran away and took refuge in the
          forest.'

In terms of Louwrens' definition of the absolute
pronoun, the use of this pronoun here implies that
Nxaba is contrasted with all the others mentioned
in the praises who died in battle. Further, the
Msanes are also contrasted with all other clans
expressed or implied in the praises who used
assegais for their way of conducting warfare.

Van Eeden (1976:124) also recognises the
contrastive use of absolute pronouns in sentences
such as:

(28) (a) <u>Mina</u> ngiyafunda, <u>yena</u> uyadlala kuphela.

'<u>I</u>, am studying, (but) <u>he</u>, on the other hand just plays.'

(b) <u>Wena</u> uthi basendlini kodwa <u>yena</u> uthi basebenza emasimini.

'<u>You</u> say they are in the house, but <u>he</u>, on the other hand, says they are working in the fields.'

Kunene (1975:172) says that sentences such as:

(29) <u>USipho</u> <u>yena</u> <u>u</u>funa ukudla.

Sipho, he he-want food.'

but Sipho (himself) wants food.'

have a contrastive reading. This becomes explicit in example (30) below because the second part of the sentence which includes the absolute pronoun is contrasted with the first part, which does not, e.g.

(30) Abafana bafuna ubisi, <u>uSipho</u> <u>yena</u> <u>u</u>funa ukudla.

'The boys want milk, but Sipho (himself) wants food.'

However, there need not always be two items explicitly mentioned in contrast. One can be omitted as being understood, as for instance is the case in example (29), above.

Concerning example (30), Kunene (op.cit.:173) states that the absolute pronoun <u>yena</u> is used to contrast the subject, <u>Sipho</u>, with other members of a group, <u>abafana</u> (the boys), to which <u>Sipho</u> belongs. She considers pronouns such as the absolute pronouns as pronouns that must be distinguished from bound pronouns such as the subject and object concords which are not independent words, but formatives. Kunene points out that the unbound pronoun has been left out in:

(31) Abafana bafuna ubisi, uSipho ufuna ukudla.
      'The boys want milk, and Sipho wants food.'

She claims that the sentence is interpreted as
non-contrastive and that Sipho is not seen as a
member of the group of boys. In the English
version thereof, and instead of but is used.

Kunene (op.cit.:173) makes a point that when
sentence (31) is used with kodwa (but), it becomes
ungrammatical because it is non-constrastive. She
observes that if, on the other hand, we use kodwa
and na- with sentence (30), then the sentence with
na- will be ungrammatical. Example:

(32) Abafana bafuna ubisi (kodwa u-) Sipho yena ufuna
                          (*no-)
      ukudla.
      'The boys want milk (but) Sipho (himself) wants
                         (*and)
      food.'

Kunene points out that sentences (30) and (32) are
thus contrastive while sentence (31) is not. They
are merely conjoined.

Chafe (1976:33) suggests that three factors are
involved in contrast, viz.

(i)   awareness, which he calls background
      knowledge, assumed to be known to both the
      speaker and addressee;

(ii) the set of possible candidates where the
speaker actually contradicts a belief of the
addressee's. Chafe claims that the speaker
assumes that a limited number of candidates
is available in the addressee's mind ... and
that there is proneness to regard the
sentence as contrastive as the number gets
smaller ... and finally, that contrastive
sentences are qualitatively different from
those which simply supply new information
from an unlimited set of possibilities;

(iii) the assertion of which candidate is the
correct one and that this is the real work a
contrastive sentence does.

Chafe (op.cit.:35) mentions that what is
communicated by a contrastive sentence is that a
certain focus item rather than other possible ones
is correct, but that that cannot be regarded as
information in the sense of a referent newly
introduced into the addressee's consciousness.

In discussing the sentence: Ronald made the
hamburgers, Chafe notes that it is here that the
pairing of these candidates for these roles is
being asserted. He argues that if we are to take
possible pairings of agents with patients of make
in this particular situation, one of the correct
pairings (the speaker asserts) is Ronald with the
hamburgers. (Perhaps Sally made the salad but
Ronald made the hamburgers).

He points out that these are double contrast sentences. However, Chafe (op.cit.:37) makes one very important observation here, namely that contrastiveness is expressed through intonation and stress and that in a certain manner through word order. It has already been mentioned that in Zulu intonation and stress are not markers of contrast. Word-order change, which will be discussed later on, and absolute pronouns are.

Wilkes' examples in (26)(a), (b) and (c) above, conform with Chafe's (op.cit.:33) factors involved in contrast, and in particular the factor mentioned in (iii) above.

2.3.3 Basic function of the so-called Absolute Pronouns

Louwrens (1979:59) claims that the absolute pronoun functions primarily as a nominal qualificative, ... prenominally or post nominally. In addition, Louwrens (op.cit.:59) identifies two different discourse pragmatic functions of the absolute pronoun which relate directly to the position it takes with respect to the antecedent. He states that these are the emphatic and the contrastive functions. This contention is discussed from different angles and aspects in all examples discussed between (28) and (30) above.

Wilkes (1976:75) argues very strongly that the basic use of absolute pronouns is together with nouns. Absolute pronouns may be used as front or back determiners (see 2.3.1 (i) and (ii) above).

Wilkes (op.cit.:80) concludes his discussion of the functions of the absolute pronoun by saying:

> 'Ons kan die bespreking van absolute voornaamwoorde van Zulu afsluit deur te sê dat hierdie woorde nie in Dokeaanse sin voornaamwoorde is nie maar dat hulle onderliggende _emfatiese_ bepalers is wat in oppervlaktestrukture of met dieselfde funksie of, kragtens die voornaamwoordelike (kongruensie-) morfeem wat hulle insluit, as emfatiese voornaamwoorde kan optree'.

From the above discussion, Wilkes already identifies emphasis as the main function of the absolute pronoun, while Louwrens identifies both the emphatic as well as the contrastive function. Their emphatic function seems to be the more basic one as it has a less restricted distribution than its contrastive counterpart as Louwrens (op.cit.:59-60) and Wilkes (op.cit.:76) have shown. It would, therefore, seem more justifiable to refer to absolute pronouns as emphasisers.

2.4 EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF ABSOLUTE PRONOUNS IN LITERARY TEXTS

In the foregoing paragraphs, absolute pronouns have been considered in isolated and non-contextual sentences. The literary text discussed hereunder, like all others, intends to present a live and actual situation, described in a character's speech or in the explanation by the narrator. The following is a conversation between MaSibisi and her sister Ntombini as taken from C.T. Msimang's work: AKUYIWE EMHLAHLWENI. MaSibisi left her own place of residence and has gone to her sisters'. Her co-wives have given birth to both boys and girls and she, to girls only. She feels her co-wives have cast a spell over her, which her sister refuses to accept. Ntombini's refusal to accept MaSibisi's version makes the two sisters quarrel as shown in the following quotation:

(33) (a) "Kanti [1]wena dadewethu wabanjani?
Sengibamele ngaliphi phela ngoba ngivumela
[2]wena nje ngithi kungcono ukwethemba itshe
kunokwethemba umuntu. [3]wena ngitshele nje
ukuthi bakuhlupha ngani ngoba ngiyakubona nje
usuze waba lugojwana ..."

(b) "... Naye uThwala angavuma athi ngangiqhamuka
qede owethu bathande ethunzini. [4]Bona
oMaNzuza laba asebengibiza ngocezwana.
Isithembu! Ngiyasesaba."

(c) "Ngakho njalo ngoba bethi ulucezwana?"
Aphenduke ahleke uMaSibisi : "Ungangihlekisi
ngingaqonde kuhleka [5]wena Ntombini.
Okocezwana ngiyakubona, kukhona okukhulu".

(d) "Kuthuke ngegama lakho dadewethu".

(e) "Ungaphangi umdaka ntombi kababa. Yiza
nendlebe ngize nendaba ... Nginabantwana
abangaki [6]mina? Ngabe uyabazi?"

(f) "AbakwaMaNzuza [7]bona bathathu, uSipho, -
izibulo - elelanywa uDuma, bagcinelwe
intombazanyana, uZamathwala".

(a) '"What kind of a person are you, in particular,
sister? In which way am I supporting them when
I am in agreement with you, in particular, that
it is better to trust a stone than to trust a
person. You, particularly, tell me what it is
they are bothering you about, because I now see
you have become so lean ..."

(b) " ... He (Thwala) too can concede that when I
appeared on the scene, the others felt like
hiding. I am referring particularly to this
very MaNzuza and company who refer to me as a
lean person. I never again wish to be involved
with co-wives".

(c) It is simply because they say you are lean?"
MaSibisi turned and laughed : "Please do not
make me laugh as I am not in the mood for
laughing, you, in particular, Ntombini. I am
not very bothered about their reference to the
leanness, there is something bigger".

(d) "State exactly what it is, sister".

(e) "Do not be hasty, dear sister. Come and listen ... How many children do I, in particular, have? Do you know them?

(f) "MaNzuza's children are three, it is Sipho - the first-born child - followed by Duma and the little girl, Zamathwala".

[1]wena is an emphatic determiner relating to the subject of the sentence, dadewethu, which it precedes and which has been singled out here for emphasis to highlight the kinship and to eliminate even the slightest confusion in the relationship between MaSibisi and Ntombini on the one hand, and MaNzuza and MaMhlongo on the other.

[2]wena functions pronominally in this context.

[3]wena is an emphatic determiner, used pronominally, referring to dadewethu. The narrator wants dadewethu and not any one else to respond. [4]bona is an emphatic determiner referring to MaNzuza and company, in particular, and to nobody else.

[5]wena, referring to Ntombini, implies a cultural norm that Ntombini, MaSibisi's sister, of all people, ought to know how embarrassing it is, culturally, for the 'great wife' not to have a son as a first-born child; worst still, if she does not have a son as one of her children. [5]wena is used vocatively and is a determiner of emphasis referring to the addressee, Ntombini. MaSibisi does not want Ntombini in particular, to make her laugh because she realises that Ntombini is ignorant of the underlying cause of the feud between MaSibisi and MaNzuza.

[6]mina is a pronoun and refers to the addressor, MaSibisi, the subject of the sentence. It is important to MaSibisi that Ntombini mentions how many children she,

MaSibisi, in particular has, because only then can
Ntombini recognise the predicament she, MaSibisi, is in,
of not having a son for a first-born child, compared to
MaNzuza and company.

[7]bona is a pronominal determiner of contrast referring
to abakwaMaNzuza who are contrasted with MaSibisi because
if her sister, Ntombini, becomes convinced about
MaSibisi's failure to give birth to boys, as being the
cause of the feud, Ntombini would find it easy to support
and agree with her.

In the following passage from Msimang's (1982) BUZANI
KUMKABAYI, pp. 9-10, absolute pronouns are used to mark
contrast.

(34) Wayesejuba ukuba kubulawe izinkabi ezine ukuze
abantu badle benele, wajuba ukuba umhlabi nomhlinzi
wezinkomo enze umsebenzi wakhe. Uthe esuka wabe
esecela umntwana uNkwelo abe yiso lakhe, [1]yena
wabe esebuyela endlini.

Linkonone kakhulu ibandla, ikakhulukazi izikhulu
zombuso. [2]zona zibona ukuthi inkosi ibhimbile
ukuba iwakhunge omabili amawele.

'He (Jama) then ordered that four more cattle be
killed in order that the people should eat to their
satisfaction, he also ordered the slaughter and
skinner of the cattle to do his job. Thereafter he
asked prince Nkwelo to be his eye, and [1]he, on
the other hand, then retired back into the house.

'The court complained bitterly, and in particular
the senior officers of the kingdom. [2]They, on
the other hand, think the king has blundered in
presenting both twins with (traditional) gifts.'

[1]Yena is used pronominally and refers to the subject (Jama) (understood) of the sentence. It is a determiner of contrast since it indicates that Jama retired back to the house and not Nkwelo.

[2]zona is also used pronominally and refers to izikhulu, the senior officers. It is also a marker of contrast since it indicates that the senior officers and not the king, suspect that the king has committed a blunder.

2.5 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion based on the works of traditional grammarians together with those of modern scholars like Chafe, Kunene and particularly Wilkes and Louwrens, one can conclude that absolute pronouns are basically emphatic determiners of nouns, and not replacement or substitution words as traditional grammarians suggest. They become pronouns only once their antecedent nouns have been deleted or where they are shifted from their basic sentence position.

CHAPTER 3

OTHER POSSIBLE MARKERS OF EMPHASIS

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The mechanism treated in the previous chapter is not the
only one used in Zulu grammar for the purpose of
expressing emphasis. There are other means, like, for
instance, the employment of the present tense -ya- and
word order change which are considered by grammarians
such as Doke (1961), Cole (1982) (for Tswana), Cope
(1982) and Van Eeden (1956).

3.2   THE PRESENT TENSE -ya-

The so-called present tense -ya- is a grammatical
morpheme that occurs only in the present tense, positive
conjugation of the verb in the indicative mood, as for
instance in :

(1)   (a)   Abantu ba_ya_sebenza.
              '(The) People are working.'
       (b)   Abantu ba_ya_sebenza impela.
              '(The) People are really working,' etc.

Both traditional and modern grammarians of Zulu treat
this morpheme. Their contributions will be considered
separately in the following paragraphs:

3.2.1 Treatment of the present tense -ya- in traditional
grammars

There are two present tense forms in Zulu, the
so-called long form with -ya- and the short form
without -ya-.

Doke (1961:167) refers to the present tense incorporating the _-ya-_ morpheme as the <u>continuous</u> or <u>definite</u> present tense. Doke does not state why he refers to this tense form as the continuous or definite present tense. Ziervogel (1952:97) (for Swazi) refers to this tense form as the <u>continuous</u> present tense, expressing an action which is being carried out and is going on.

It seems safe to assume that he refers to it as the continuous present tense for the same reason as given by Ziervogel, et.al. (1976:47) who refer to this tense form as the <u>long</u> present tense or <u>continuous</u> present tense. Van Eeden (op.cit.:229) refers to this tense form by two names, viz. the <u>definite</u> and the <u>long</u> present tense. In addition to the above, Cole (1982:441), Doke and Van Eeden, each stipulates a number of rules determining the use of the long present tense form. These rules will be discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

Grammarians like the ones quoted above, normally distinguish between a so-called long and a so-called short present tense form for Zulu and the other African languages. The long form incorporates the _-ya-_ morpheme, as indicated in (1) above, while the short form does not, as for instance in:

(2) (a) Izingane zikhala kakhulu.
          '(The) Children cry a lot.'
     (b) Abantu basebenza engadini.
          '(The) People work in the garden.'

Both Cole (1982:441) and Van Eeden (1956:246) state
that the long form is used when the verb is in
sentence final position, as in (1)(a) above. Van
Eeden concludes, however, that there are instances
when it may not appear in sentence final position,
such as for instance in (1)(b) above.

The occurrence of the present tense -ya- in
sentence final and in sentence non-final positions
is discussed in the following paragraphs:

3.2.1.1   The long present tense form in sentence final
           position

Doke (1961:335) asserts that when the verb is in
sentence final position, or more particularly, when
it has no expressed substantival object or
descriptive extension following it, the long form
is used.

In such instances an objectival concord may or may
not be used, depending on whether an object is
implied or not. He gives the following examples:

(3)   (a)   Bayafika.
              'They are coming.'
       (b)   Yebo, siyazibona.
              'Yes, we see them.'

(4)   (a)   Ngiyayifuna.
              'I want it.'
       (b)   Inkosi iyavuma.
              'The chief consents.'

3.2.1.2   The long present tense form in sentence
           non-final position

Van Eeden (op.cit.:251) who discusses this
phenomenon in full, states that the long form can

be used together with <u>the object</u> of a sentence or
with <u>an adverbial adjunct</u>. He argues further that
in such instances, the use of -ya- serves as a
marker of emphasis of the verb e.g.

(5)   (a) Ngi<u>ya</u>funa ukuya edolobheni.
            'I <u>do want</u> to go to town' (with emphasis on
            'want').
       (b) Uthanda ukungena? Yebo, ngi<u>ya</u>thanda ukungena.
            'Would you like going in? Yes, I <u>would like</u>
            going in (with emphasis on 'like').

3.2.1.2(a) The long present tense form with an object

Cole (1982:443) argues that when the verb has a
substantival object following it, and when this
object is also represented in the verb by its
concord, the long form must be used. He further
elaborates that in such cases, the <u>object is
emphatic</u>. The same applies in Zulu. Examples :

(6)   (a) Ngi<u>ya</u>mazi uyihlo.
            'I know him, <u>your father, that is</u>.'
       (b) Ngi<u>ya</u>wabonga amazwi akho, baba.
            'I <u>am</u> thanking you <u>for your sentiments</u>, sir.'

Doke (1961:335) states that when the verb is
followed by a definite object, the long form is
used together with the objectival concord, e.g.

(7)   (a) Si<u>ya</u>babona abantu.
            'We <u>see</u> the people.'
       (b) U<u>ya</u>luhlakaza uthango.
            'He <u>demolishes</u> the fence.'

He points out further that the object may be expressed by a pronoun instead of a noun, as in :

(8)   (a) Ngiyakufuna lokho.
             'I want that.'
        (b) Siyabathanda bonke.
             'We like them all.'

Van Eeden (1956:252) points out that:

'Aangaande die gebruik met die langvorm van 'n infinitief as die objek, moet opgemerk word dat in die geval van sekere verbumstamme, soos -thanda, -funa, -cabanga, -(e)saba, ens. die objekskonkord -ku- ook soms nie gebruik word nie, maar dan gee die verbumstam in sommige gevalle 'n enigsins ander betekenis weer as wanneer daar wel van die objekskonkord gebruik gemaak word'.

He gives the following examples:

(9)   (a) Ngiyathanda ukuzingela (infinitive=non-object)
             which he translates as:
             'Ek begeer om te jag/Ek wil graag jag',
             i.e. in English:
             'I like to hunt.'
        (b) Ngiyakuthanda ukuzingela (infinitive=object)
             which he translates as:
             'Ek hou daarvan om te jag/Ek hou van jag',
             i.e. English:
             'I am fond of hunting.'

(10)   (a) Ngiyesaba ukulwa (infinitive non-object)
             which he translates as:
             'Ek is bang om te veg/Ek is bang vir die (een of ander) geveg,
             i.e. English:
             'I am afraid to fight (infinitive non-object)

(b) Ngi<u>ya</u>kwesaba ukulwa (infinitive=object)
     which he translated as:
     'Ek is bang vir 'n geveg/vegtery.'
     i.e. English
     'I <u>am</u> afraid of a fight.'

Van Eeden (1956:253) draws attention to the fact
that the long form without the object concord in
sentences such as:

(11) Mina ngi<u>ya</u>funa ukuzingela, kodwa anginasibhamu
      'I do want to go hunting, but I do not have a gun,'

shows <u>emphasis</u> falling on the verb
      'ten einde aan te toon ... dat die betrokke
      handeling werklik plaasvind of die betrokke
      toestand werklik bestaan'.

Van Rooyen (1978:117) is also of the opinion that
<u>-ya-</u> is an emphasiser. He sights these examples to
prove his point:

(12) (a) Nomalanga, ngikubuza kahle ukuthi uyini wena
           noNgqengelele?
           'Nomalanga, I am asking you nicely, what is
           your relationship with Ngqengelele?'
      (b) Ngi<u>ya</u>buza ngithi uyini wena noNgqengelele?
           'I <u>am</u> asking, what is your relationship with
           Ngqengelele?'

Van Rooyen argues that <u>ngiyabuza</u> is more emphatic
than <u>ngikubuza</u>. This contention is evaluated
further on.

3.2.1.2(b) The long present tense form with an adverb

It is generally agreed by all the traditional grammarians mentioned above that the regular sentence position of the _-ya-_ present tense form is sentence final.

Cole (1982:444) and Van Eeden (1956:253) indicate that there are certain exceptions to the rules concerning the use of the long form in sentence final position. One of these is relevant here: Cole states that temporal adverbs have less influence on the verb than do adverbs of place and manner and that they may be preceded by the long form. He claims that the long form, in this case, is slightly more emphatic or definite or expressive of continuous action, e.g.

(13) (a) Ngiyahamba manje.
           'I am going, i.e. I am going away now.'
      (b) Ubaba uyabuya namhlanje
           'My father is coming back today.'

Van Eeden (op.cit.:253) points out, that it is usually, the adverbs of place and time, that occur with the long form.

(14) (a) Abafazi bayasebenza namuhla.
           'The woman are working today.'
      (b) Uyahamba epulazini.
           'He is going away from the farm.'

He argues that adverbs of manner, especially adverbs such as kakhulu, kabi, kahle, and kancane, serve merely to strengthen or weaken the action expressed by the verb, which is the reason why they usually occur with the short present tense form. Van Eeden concedes, however, that there are instances where adverbs are used to emphasise the action, as for instance in examples such as:

(15) (a) Uyadlala nalo mntwana? Yebo, ngiyadlala naye.
'Are you playing with this child? Yes, I am playing with him/her.'

(b) Ngisithathe isando? Cha, ngiyasebenza ngaso, thatha imbazo.
'May I take the hammer? No, I am using it, take the axe instead.'

Finally, with regard to the long present tense form used in non-final sentence position, Van Eeden (1956:254) cites examples of its use with both an adverb as well as an object in the same sentence construction, presumably to show emphasis on the action as he states on pages 251 and 253 respectively, e.g.

(16) (a) Abelusi bayazisenga kusihlwa izinkomazi.
'The herdsmen do milk the cows in the evening.'
(b) Ngiyayishaya ekhanda inja.
'I am striking the dog on the head.'

Regarding the use of the long present tense form in non-final position, Doke (1961:337) indicates that its emphatic significance is seen when used with an emphatic adverb such as nempela, e.g.

(17) (a) Nempela ngiyaya eShowe.
'I am really going to eShowe.'

3.2.1.2(c) The long present tense form with the indefinite subject concord ku-

Van Eeden (op.cit.:255) is of the opinion that certain verb stems, especially those with the passive and neuter extensions as well as some intransitive verb stems such as for instance, -banda, 'be cold', -shisa 'be hot', etc. often use the indefinite subject concord ku- in the long present tense, e.g.

(18) (a) Kuyashisa namuhla.
         'It is hot today.'

     (b) Kuyabonakala ukuthi uhlala lapha.
         'It is obvious that you live here.'

Van Eeden points out that in the above-mentioned
examples
          'die langvorm ... gebruik word omdat hulle
          (die sinne) volledige gedagtes uitmaak ...',

3.2.1.2(d) The long present tense form followed by the
           Participial Mood

Van Eeden (1956:254) draws attention to the few
occasions when the long form may be followed by a
complement in the participial mood, and claims that
this occurs when the action of the infinitive verb
requires special emphasis in examples such as :

(19) (a) Nangu umntanakho, uyadlala egula.
         '(Look) here is your child, he/she really
         plays while being sick.'

     (b) We mfana, unyoko uyahlupheka ekufuna.
         'Boy, your mother really has difficulty in
         looking for you.'

3.2.1.2(e) The long present tense with the enclitics -ke
           and nje

Van Eeden (op.cit.:255) notes that the enclitics
-ke and nje are often used with the long form
according to whether there is need for the action
to be emphasised or not, meaning that the inclusion
of the enclitic implies emphasis, e.g.

(20) (a) Niyabona-ke, namuhla ngifuna niyohlakula
         laphaya ethafeni.
         Right then, today I want you to go and do some
         weeding over there in the plain.'

(b) Ngiyazi-ke ukuthi bafuna ukuntshontsha
     isibhamu sami.
     'Well, I know that they intend stealing my
     gun.'

Van Eeden (1956:255) shows, however, that the
enclitic -ke does not serve to express a
description or qualification of the verb to which
it is attached and that its omission from the
sentence has no influence whatsoever, on the
meaning as can be seen from the translation he
gives of the following sentence:

(21) (a) Ngiyangena/Ngiyangena-ke.
           'I am going in.'

3.2.1.2(f) The occurrence of -ya- with the auxiliary verb
           se-

According to Van Eeden (op.cit.:375) when the long
present tense form occurs with the auxiliary verb
se-, it is conjoined with the main verb, as for
instance in:

(22) (a) Useyaphumula < use - yaphumula
           'He is now resting.'
      (b) Sengiyaphumula < (ngi)se - ngiyaphumula
           'I am now resting.'

According to Van Eeden (op.cit.:375), there is, in
such instances, more and stronger emphasis on the
action expressed by the verb. Consider, for
instance the following examples :

(23) (a) Ubaba akasasebenzi, useyaphumula.
'My father no longer works, he now rests.'

(b) We mfowethu, awungisize ukubamba le nkunzi!
Qha, sengiyahamba.
'Hey brother, could you please help me harness
this bull! No, I am going away now.'

3.2.1.3   Definiteness and the long present tense -ya-

Doke (1961:167 and 334) refers to this form as
the continuous or the definite form.   In
addition to statements discussed in 3.2.1 (a)
and (b) above, Doke (op.cit.:337) observes
that when the object is expressed by a noun or
an absolute pronoun, the continuous tense with
the object concord may be used to indicate an
emphatic action, or a definite object, e.g.

(24) (a) Uyamfuna uMpande na?
'Do you really want Mpande?'

(b) Siyamfuna yena.
'We really want him.'

Van Eeden (1956:230) claims that:
'dit (is) nie duidelik waarom die benaminge
"onbepaald" en "bepaald" gekies is nie',
in reference to the short and the long present tense
forms. He continues,

'Bowendien moet ten aansien van die kort teenoor
die lang teenwoordige tydvorm ... in hul
onderskeidelike benaminge ook ander oorwegings
geld, veral dié van die prominent gestelde of
beklemtoonde teenoor die nie-prominent gestelde of
onbeklemtoonde handeling, in welke geval van 'n
emfatiese teenoor 'n nie-emfatiese (onemfatiese)
wyse gepraat kan word'.

Van Eeden makes no further comments on this matter neither does he give examples in respect of his statement.

Cope (1982) appears to be the only traditional Zulu grammarian, apart from Van Eeden, to have done an in depth study of the long present tense form. Cope (1982:38) refers to the long present tense form as the present tense final form. He says that the final form may be used in non-final sentence positions for the sake of emphasis, as for instance in:

(25) (a) Uyakhuluma kahle.
'He is speaking well (actually)' or
'He does speak well (generally).'

Cope (op.cit.:38) observes that emphatic statements are used most often to counteract contradiction, and gives the following examples:

(26) (a) Uyaphuma! Ehhe, uyaphuma impela.
'He/She is leaving! Yes, he/she is leaving indeed.'
(b) Uphuma namhlanje! Ehhe, uyaphuma namhlanje.
'He/she is leaving today. Yes, he/she is leaving today.'
(c) Uyaphuma namhlanje impela.
'He/She is leaving today indeed.'

Cope (op.cit.:32) agrees with grammarians such as Van Eeden (op.cit.:253) that the adverb of manner nje and the adverb of time, manje, are some of those adverbs that prefer the final form, although this is determined entirely by context, as for instance in :

(27) (a) Bayalisusa manje.
'They are removing it now.'
(b) Bayalisusa nje.
'They are just removing it.'

Although Cope refers to examples (28)(a) and (b), below, respectively, as indefinite and definite statements, the subjects are respectively indefinite and definite for the simple reason that in (28)(a) the indefinite subject concord is ku- whilst in 28(b) the subject is pronominal. Cope (op.cit.:38) points out that the use of the final form in non-final sentence positions is more common with locative adverbs than with other adverbs. Cope states that in such cases, the use of the 'final form' is obligatory, for instance in:

(28) (a) Kuyashisa phandle. (indefinite statement)
           'It is hot outside.'
      (b) Bayadlala phandle. (definite statement)
           'They do play outside.'

Cope's (op.cit.:38) view that the use of the 'final form' is obligatory with locative adverbs is incorrect. The answer to the question :

(29) (a) Bahlalaphi?
           'Where do they live?'
would not be
      (b) Bayahlala eSoweto.
           'They are living in Soweto.'
but
      (c) Bahlala eSoweto.
           'They live in Soweto.'

Like Cole (1982:443) and Van Eeden (1956:252), Cope (1982:38) argues that in order to emphasise the object, the object concord related to that object must co-occur with it, e.g.

(30) (a) Uyawufuna umsebenzi.
           'He does want work.'
      (b) Bayalisusa ibhala.
           'They are removing the barrow.'

In addition to the above, Cope (1982:39) makes a clear distinction between what he calls an emphatic statement and an emphatic object. He argues that when the object concord is used, it is usual for the object either not to be used at all, or to precede the subject, in which case it is also emphasised, e.g.

(31) (a) Ba<u>yawu</u>thanda ushukela. (emphatic statement)
           'They do like sugar.'
      (b) Ushukela, abantwana ba<u>yawu</u>thanda.
           (emphatic object)
           'As for sugar, the children like it.'

According to Cope (op.cit.:39) it is not necessary to use the object concord in emphatic statements or where an adverb is introduced between the verb and its (infinitive) object, though its use is possible. He cites the following examples:

(32) (a) Ba<u>ya</u>thanda ukudla ushukela.
           'They do like eating sugar.'
      (b) Ba<u>ya</u>thanda kakhulu uku<u>wu</u>dla.
           'They do like very much eating <u>it</u>.'

In the foregoing paragraphs in 3.2.1 as well as in 3.2.2 the views of traditional Zulu grammarians have been discussed with reference to the present tense -ya-. These views will now be summarised.

Traditional grammarians, viz. Cole, Cope, Doke, Van Eeden and Van Rooyen have identified several usages of the long present tense form. They are in agreement in so far as they all assume that the basic function of the present tense -ya- is to serve as a marker of emphasis. They identified it as occurring in verbs in sentence final and non-final positions, the latter occurrence being exceptional and more emphatic than the former. Not much

attention is given to the occurrence of the present
tense -ya- in sentence final position, as this is
its regular and non-complicated occurrence.

3.2.2   Treatment of the present tense -ya- in modern grammars

In the foregoing paragraphs attention was focussed on
traditional grammarians' views of the long present tense
form.   Attention will now be paid to the views of modern
grammarians concerning the long present tense form.
Grammarians whose views will be considered are Van Rooyen
(1978), Ponelis (1980), Du Plessis (1986), Von Staden
(1982), Bosch (1985) and Venter (1988).

3.2.2.1   Du Plessis' standpoint regarding the long
          present tense form

Du Plessis' approach to the long present tense
form differs markedly from that of the other
grammarians, in that he does not view it solely
as an emphatic marker, but also discusses it in
relation to aspect.   Du Plessis (1986:71)
states that the present tense in Xhosa and
other African languages '...is in many instances
morphologically an unmarked tense'. He points
out, however, that there is a distinguishing
morpheme, -ya-, which might be regarded as a
marker of the long form of the present tense.
In the paragraphs that follow, du Plessis'
semantic notions of aspect as a category of the
present tense -ya- with reference to inception,
duration and termination of the action, shall
be discussed.

3.2.2.1(a)   Semantic features of the long present tense
             form

Du Plessis (1986:72) refers to semantic
notions such as <u>stativity</u>, <u>progressivity</u>,
<u>duration</u>, <u>completion</u>, <u>habituality</u>, <u>iteration</u>,
<u>momentariness</u>, <u>inception</u> and <u>termination</u> as
distinctions recognised in Xhosa and other
African languages concerning the long present
tense form.

In addition to the above, Du Plessis (op.cit.:72)
also notes other semantic features of the long
present tense form when this form occurs with
adverbs as complements. These will be treated in
the following paragraphs:

3.2.2.1(b) The long present tense form with the adverb of
time, <u>manje</u>

Du Plessis' (op.cit.:72) reference to the
imperfect aspect is not quite clear when he
discusses the <u>-ya-</u> being followed by an
adverbial complement in a sentence such as
example (33)(a) below. Such a sentence is in
the imperfect aspect because the action is
still in process, i.e. it is not yet
complete. However, Du Plessis (op.cit.:72)
contends that when complements such as adverbs
are used together with sentences (33)(a) and
(b) below, they can be readily found with no
difference in meaning, e.g.

(33) (a) Ngi<u>y</u>akhala manje. (specific time)
'I am crying now.'
(b) Ngidla isiteki manje. (habitual)
'I am eating stake <u>now</u>.'

Du Plessis (1986:72) mentions that as against the imperfect aspect in the sentences in (33), the perfect may be recognised in the present tense form in the case of some stative verbs, e.g.

(34) (a) Ngiyajabula.
           'I am glad.'
      (b) Ngiyagula.
           'I am ill.'
      (c) Kuyabanda.
           'It is cold.'

He (op.cit.:72) states that with these verbs, the features perfect and present time, describe an action that has been completed in the past and finally, an action that is occurring at the time of reporting.

The perfect aspect is recognised in the stative verbs in example (34) above in which the consumated state is signified by the verbal root. The stative verb translates 'become ...' while the perfect aspect translates 'be in the state ...' The perfect aspect which is recognised in stative verbs is that the process signified by the verbal root has been completed and the subject noun finds himself/itself in a state as for instance in :

(35) (a) Ngiyajabula.
           'I am happy.'

The process of becoming is here completed and sustained and consequently has become a state of 'being happy', i.e. happiness. The same applies to verbs such as -gula 'be sick' etc. The fact that stativity is lexicalised, only means that in these verbs it is not morphologically marked. Compare for instance:

(36)   (a)   -khath<u>a</u>la   :   -khath<u>e</u>le
              'become tired :   'be tired'
              -thul<u>a</u>   :   -thul<u>e</u>
              'become quiet :   -be quiet
              -hamba 'go'   :   -hamb<u>ile</u> '<u>be</u> gone.'

Stative verbs such as <u>-gula</u> 'be sick', <u>-banda</u> 'be cold', etc on the other hand have no morphological markers in the past tense.

3.2.2.1(c) The notion 'emphatic' in the long form of the present tense

Du Plessis (1986:73) notes that the notion 'emphatic' is regularly found with the long present tense where the object and the verb used, are in agreement, i.e. where an object concord is used together with the object, as for example in :

(37)   (a)   Ng<u>iya</u>mbona umfundi.
             'I <u>do</u> <u>see</u> <u>her</u>, the student.'
       (b)   Ng<u>iya</u>mazi umfazi.
             'I <u>do</u> <u>know</u> <u>her</u>, the woman.'

Du Plessis (op.cit.:73) argues that although there is clear emphasis on the verb in these sentences, there is still reference to the present time, which means that the use of emphasis on the verb does not exclude temporal reference.

3.2.2.1(d) The notion 'occasional' in the long form of the present tense

Du Plessis (1986:73) points out that the notion 'occasional' has not received formal attention in African grammar, and gives the following examples to show that they lack temporal reference, i.e. they do not refer to any specific or particular time, e.g.

(38) (a) Ngiyayigqoka ivesti.
           'I do put on a vest occassionally/sometimes.'
      (b) Ngiyayifunda incwadi.
           'I do read a book sometimes.'

He admits, however, that examples such as these may also refer to events occurring at the time of reporting.

Du Plessis (op.cit.:73) believes there are verbs with the present tense long form in sentences such as (37) and (38) above, which may be found with the notion 'occasional' only as in (38) and not emphatic, as in (37). He lists in this regard the following verb stems and expressions:

(39) (a) <u>-dla</u> 'eat', <u>-buza</u> 'ask', <u>-phuza</u> 'drink',
           <u>-khipha</u> 'take out', <u>-funda</u> 'read', and <u>-khwela</u>
           'climb in.'

(40) (a) Ngiyasidla isiteki.
           'I do eat steak occasionally.'
      (b) Ngiyawuphuza umuthi.
           'I do drink medicine sometimes.'

Du Plessis (op.cit.:73) points out that there may be a sub-class of verbs which may be used in the long form with the notions 'emphasis', 'occasional' and 'perfect time'. The verbs may be found in sentences such as:

(41) (a) Ngiyambona umfundi.
'I do see the student (now)'
I do see the student (occasionally).'
(b) Ngiyayithola indawo.
'I do find a place (now)'
'I do find a place (sometimes).'

Views of grammarians such as Van Rooyen, Von Staden, Ponelis, Bosch, Venter and Kosch, will now be considered. Van Rooyen (1978:117) also regards and treats the present tense -ya- morpheme as an emphasiser, e.g.

(42) Ngiyabuza ngithi uyini noNgqengelele?
'I am asking, what is your relationship with Ngqengelele?'

However, Van Rooyen (op.cit.:134 & 136) makes a clear distinction between focus and emphasis. He claims that when a particular section of a sentence is in focus, that section receives prominence. Focus draws the attention of the listener to new information. Emphasis, on the other hand, he argues, occurs after focus has been applied. Emphasis can only be on old information.

Von Staden (1982:76) too claims that the morpheme -ya- may be applied to emphasise verbs. He suggests that this is stronger in verbs appearing with object concords in which case both the object (if present) and the verb will be emphasised:

(43) (a) Bayihlupha kakhulu
'They trouble him a lot.'
(b) Bayayihlupha kakhulu.
'They trouble him a lot.'
(c) Bayayihlupha indoda kakhulu (sic).
'They trouble the man a lot.'

According to Ponelis (1980:113) the long present tense form, to which he refers as 'die lang presens', occurs in specific instances in the grammar of Northern Sotho, viz. in the indicative, present, positive conjugation, which occurrence also applies in Zulu. Ponelis observes that:

'die lang presens kan voorkom in sowel ... stelsinne ... as algemene vraagsinne':

like in the following Zulu sentences:

(44) (a) UJabu uyangena.
           'Jabu comes in.'
      (b) Kuyakhiwa.
           'There is building taking place.'

(45) (a) Ingabe uyahlupheka yini?
           'Are you struggling?'
      (b) Uyanesaba na?
           'Is he afraid of you?'

Ponelis (op.cit.:114) continues :

'in die volgende gevalle verskyn die lang presensvorm in afhanklike sinne ...:

(46) (a) Kuthiwa ngiyafuneka.
           'It is said I am required.'
      (b) Besicela ukuthi nisisize ngoba abantwana bayakhala.
           'We are asking you to help us because the children are crying.'

Basically, Bosch's (1985) study deals with subject and object agreement in Zulu. She (op.cit.:50) notes that pronominalized objects, i.e. those which are presupposed to be 'given information' and are therefore omitted from the surface structure, show obligatory agreement with the predicate, e.g.

(47) (a) Umame uyakupheka (ukudla).
'Mother cooks it (the food).'
(b) Abafundi bayawafunda (amabhuku).
'The students are reading them (the books).'

Like the other grammarians, Bosch (op.cit.:50) points out that an object agreement morpheme may co-occur with its co-referential object, e.g.

(48) (a) Abantwana bayalicula iculo.
'The children sing the song.'

Bosch (op.cit.:51) makes a further point in stating that it is not clear whether object agreement is optional in a sentence such as the one above, or whether the use of the object concord has semantic implications.

She notes that Zulu grammarians do not provide a clear answer on this matter.

Bosch (op.cit.:71) observes that object agreement in Zulu seems to conform to all the functions of cliticization such as pronominalisation, e.g.

(49) (a) Ngiyamsiza.
'I help him.'
(b) Ngiyamsiza umalume.
'I help uncle.'

In a rare direct reference to the long present
tense form, Bosch (op.cit.:91) observes that when
the long form is used with the object noun
following the verb, object agreement is obligatory,
e.g.

(50) (a) Umfana uyayishaya inja.
          'The boy hits the dog.'

Venter (1988:110) identifies two functions of the -ya-
morpheme. He states that the primary function of -ya- is
that it is the boundary marker of a complete commucative
unit in the indicative verb. Coupled with this primary
function, is the secondary function, viz. emphasis which
is derived from the prominent semantic unit of the verb
containing the -ya-.

A view that the -ya- morpheme is not an emphasiser, is
held by Kosch (1988:2), who investigated its occurrence
in Northern Sotho.

Kosch (op.cit.:2) observes that a popular explanation
regarding the implication of the presence of -a- is that
it emphasises the action. Kosch points out that in
actual fact, actions may also be emphasised irrespective
of whether -a- appears in the verb or not. Kosch states
that what primarily determines whether an action may
receive emphasis or not, is its information status in the
discourse, i.e. whether it is given or new information.
Only given, i.e. old information may be emphasised.

Kosch (op.cit.:2) points out further that emphasis is
also assigned to information on account of its position
at the beginning of a sentence. If an action therefore
appears in sentence initial position whether in the long
or short form of the verb, it is emphasised. Kosch is
emphatic that it is not the -a- which assigns emphasis on
an action, and that it should therefore, not be regarded
as a marker of emphasis.

3.2.3   Evaluation of the traditional and modern views concerning the significance of the so-called long present tense form as a marker of emphasis

It must be noted that the foregoing discussion includes all the syntactic environments in which the present tense -ya- occurs, irrespective of whether the writers concerned deal with the generation of emphasis per se or not. The evaluation following hereunder is concerned only and strictly with those sections in which the grammarians claim there is emphasis generated.

3.2.3.1   The present tense -ya- as a marker of emphasis

Examples have been cited in the foregoing paragraphs to show the effects and/or non-effects of the present tense -ya- in final as well as in non-final sentence positions.

It is generally agreed by grammarians such Cole (1982), Cope (1982), Doke (1955), Du Plessis (1986), Van Eeden (1956) and Van Rooyen (1978) that when the verb ends the sentence, or more particularly, when it has no expressed substantival object or descriptive extension following it, the long form of the present tense is used obligatorily with or without an objectival concord. This study shows that it is also generally implied by the grammarians mentioned above that when the present tense -ya- occurs in the verb in sentence final position, only emphasis is possible. The same grammarians imply generally again, that when the present tense formative -ya- occurs in sentence non-final position there is more emphasis, as for instance in 3.2.1.2(a)-(f).

There is nothing in the examples cited that suggests any sign of emphasis, consequently the assumption that _-ya-_ generates emphasis by grammarians such as Cole, Cope, Doke, Van Eeden and Van Rooyen must be regarded as doubtful.

Venter (1988:110) recognises a primary, i.e. sense completion function, and a secondary, i.e. emphatic function of the _-ya-_. But Kosch (op.cit.:12) is adamant that _-a-_ is not a marker of emphasis.

This investigation has clearly shown that conclusions such as those referred to above concerning the present tense _-ya-_ as a marker of emphasis are unfounded. If _-ya-_ denotes emphasis wherever it occurs, it would be virtually impossible to utter non-emphatic statements in Zulu. It will be noted in the evaluation of Du Plessis' views later on, that he, a modern grammarian, regards the notion 'emphatic' as occurring under specific circumstances, and not throughout. No evidence could be found to substantiate such views. In fact, this investigation has shown that as far as the notion 'emphasis' is concerned, very little difference, if any, exists between present tense verbs with _-ya-_, i.e. verbs in the so-called long present tense form, and present tense verbs without the _-ya-_, i.e. verbs in the so-called short form, as for instance in:

(51) Msimang (op.cit.:10)

(a) <u>Siyesaba</u>, Mageba, (b) <u>sesaba</u> imiswazi nemikhokha emzini wenkosi ... (c) <u>Sesabela</u> impilo yakho Ndaba, (d) <u>sesabela</u> ikusasa likaZulu. (e) <u>Siyesaba</u>, wen' omnyama.'

(a) <u>We are afraid</u>, your Majesty, (b) <u>We are afraid</u> of misfortunes and unpleasant consequences in the king's homestead ... (c) <u>We are afraid</u> for your sake, your Majesty, (d) <u>we are afraid</u> about the misfortune of the Zulu nation, (e) <u>We are afraid</u>, oh! "black one."

Examples (51)(a) and (e) above, feature the present tense <u>-ya-</u> while examples (51)(b), (c) and (d), do not. The text shows clearly that none of these sentences, i.e. (51)(a) and (e) above, exhibits any form of emphasis.

3.2.3.2   The long present tense form and an object NP

Grammarians such as Cole (1982:443), Cope (1982:38), Doke (1961:337), Van Eeden (1956:235) and Van Rooyen (1978:117) offer different reasons why there is emphasis when the long present tense form is followed by an object. According to Cole (op.cit.:443) and Cope (op.cit.:38) it is obligatory to use the object concord when there is a substantival object.

Cole claims that in such instances the object is emphatic, e.g.

(52) Msimang (op.cit:54)
      Nebala ibingelele into kaNgcolosi. Kuthi ingani
      uMkabayi uyaye asijamele emehlweni isesheli sakhe
      nxa simbingelela, athi u<u>ya</u>mbheka uLamula
      akhophokhophozele, amehlo akhe ale ukuhlangana
      nakaLamula.

      'Indeed Ngcolosi's son greeted. Whereas Mkabayi is
      used to look her suitors straight in the eye when
      he greets her, in her attempt at <u>looking at Lamula</u>,
      she started blushing, her eyes refusing to meet
      with Lamula's.'

      Doke (1961:337), on the other hand, claims that
      sentences such as (52) above, indicate an emphatic
      verb while Van Eeden (1956:253) claims that when
      the long present tense form is followed by an
      infinitive object without its objectival concord,
      emphasis falls on the verb, as in:

(53) Mina <u>ngiyafuna</u> ukuzingela.
      '<u>I do want</u> to go hunting.'

      Differences such as those mentioned above, viz.
      Cole's (1982:443) emphatic object, Doke's
      (1961:337) emphatic verb and Van Eeden's (1956:253)
      emphatic verb followed by an infinitive object,
      Cope's (1982:39) emphatic objects and emphatic
      statements, etc. clearly show that the grammarians
      concerned have not succeeded in finding the real
      answer to the notion 'emphatic'. Moreover, none
      among them has ever proven the true function of the
      long present tense form.

3.2.3.3.   The long present tense form with an adverb

Grammarians such as Cole (1982:444), Doke (1961:337), Cope (1982:38), Du Plessis (1986:72) and Van Eeden (1956:253) are all agreed about the co-occurrence of the long present tense form with one kind of adverb or another. Cole (op.cit.:444) for instance, believes that temporal adverbs have less influence on the verb than do adverbs of place and manner. Van Eeden (op.cit.:253) on the other hand believes that it is usually the adverbs of place and time, and especially the latter, which occur with the long form. He is supported by Cope (op.cit.:38) and Du Plessis (op.cit.:72) about temporal adverbs having preference with the long present tense form. Doke (op.cit.:337) on the other hand states that the emphatic significance of the non-final sentence position of the long present tense is more noticeable when used with the adverb of manner, nempela, e.g.

(54) (a) Ngiya eShowe.
           'I am going to eShowe,' but
      (b) Nempela ngiyaya eShowe.
           'I am really going to Eshowe.'

However, most of the foregoing claims are most of the time not substantiated, neither are they verified. This study shows that the function of adverbs is to modify the verb, which implies emphasis, if any, falling on the adverb itself, as in:

(55) (a) Abafazi bayasebenza namuhla.
           'The women are working today.'
      (b) Uyahamba epulazini.
           'He is going away from the farm.'

(c) Ngiyadlala <u>naye</u>.
'I am playing <u>with him</u>.'

(d) Bayakhuluma <u>impela</u>.
'They are <u>really</u> talking.'

There is no evidence in the above discussion concerning the long present tense form and adverbs, showing <u>-ya-</u> as a marker of emphasis.

3.2.3.4 The long present tense form with emphatic statements and emphatic objects

Among the grammarians mentioned above, Cope (1982:38) is the only one to make a clear distinction between what he calls an emphatic statement and an emphatic object.

By implication, emphatic statements have emphasis marked on the verb, while emphatic objects have emphasis marked on the object, for example in:

(56) (a) Ehhe, <u>uya</u>phuma impela.
'He/She <u>is</u> leaving indeed.'

(b) U<u>yawu</u>funa umsebenzi.
'He does want work.'

3.2.3.5 The long present tense form and the auxiliary verb <u>se-</u>

According to Van Eeden (1956:375), when the present tense <u>-ya-</u> co-occurs with the auxiliary verb <u>se-</u> there is more and stronger emphasis on the action expressed by the verb, as for instance in:

(57) (a) Ubaba akasebenzi, useyaphumula.

'My father no longer works, he now rests.'

(b) We mfowethu, awungisize ukubamba le nkunzi.

Qha, sengiyahamba.

'Hey brother, could you please help me harness this bull! No, I am going away now.'

Van Eeden's claim that se- lends more and stronger emphasis on the action expressed by the verb is not evident in the translations. The auxiliary verb se- is not an emphasiser, despite the claim that it lends more emphasis on the verb. The auxiliary verb se- is an aspectual marker translating 'now' indicating inception. This auxiliary verb, though a proclitic, i.e. a bound morpheme that is prefixed, seems to have the same modifying influence on verbs as adverbs.

3.2.3.6   Evaluation of modern grammarians regarding the long present tense form

Du Plessis' (1986) approach differs extensively from that of any of the grammarians quoted above in the sense that he does not view -ya- solely as a marker of emphasis, but draws attention to its other semantic notions. These notions which he does not illustrate, include stativity, progressivity, duration, completion, habituality, iteration, momentariness, inception and termination, as mentioned previously.

In his discussion of the long present tense form with the adverb of time and the notion 'occassional', Du Plessis (1986:72 & 73) makes no claim, whatsoever, that the long present tense form is a marker of emphasis. -ya- is not a marker of emphasis, as claimed by Du Plessis in his discussion of the notion 'emphatic'.

The examples given by Du Plessis (1986:73) with regard to the notion 'emphatic', are contained in a special category of verbs which have to do with sense and emotion, -bona, -azi, etc. which are possibly in themselves emphatic as in:

(58) (a) Ngiyambona umfundi.
           'I do see her, the student.'
      (b) Ngiyamazi umfazi.
           'I do know her, the woman.'

Unlike the other types of verbs, when these 'sensory' verbs are used in the positive conjugation, whether in the short or the long form of the present tense, they possibly include the notion 'emphatic'.

Therefore, although Du Plessis' discussion of the long present tense form is much more acceptable with his inclusion of aspect than is the case with the other grammarians quoted above, he still does not state exactly how and why the notion 'emphatic' and 'occasional' should be linked to the -ya-

Although Van Rooyen (1978:117) and Von Staden (1982:76) also claim that -ya- is an emphasiser, they do so without any substantiation.

It has been mentioned above that although Bosch and Ponelis (1980:114) treat the present tense form, they make no overt reference to the -ya- as a marker of emphasis.

Bosch (1985:91) claims that when the long form is used with the object noun following the verb, object agreement is obligatory. This study shows, however, that whenever the direct object follows the -ya- in the verb, the use of the objectival concord is obligatory.

The only thing new in Ponelis', (1980:114) treatment of the long present tense is his reference to it as appearing in the so-called sentence final position.

Venter (1988:110), like Du Plessis (op.cit.:71-73), identifies more than one function for te -ya- morpheme. He regards the emphatic function as secondary, which differs substantially from the traditional view.

However, Kosch's (1988:2) conclusion that -ya- is not a marker of emphasis is entirely acceptable to this study, as indeed, it is not.

3.2.4 Conclusion

A close consideration of all views canvassed concerning the present tense -ya- as a marker of emphasis, as is claimed by traditional and modern Africanists like Cole (1982), Cope (1982), Doke (1955 & 1961), Van Eeden (1956) Van Rooyen (1978) Von Staden (1982), Du Plessis (1986) and Venter (1988) shows that such a view of this morpheme is unfounded. Each one of these linguists has a different reason why he regards -ya- as a marker of emphasis. They all agree, however, that when the present tense -ya- is in a sentence which is not followed by an adjunct, the regular position of such a construction containing -ya- is sentence final.

Du Plessis (1986:72&73) and Venter (1988:110) see the
present tense -ya- not only as an emphasis marker, but
also as having several semantic aspectual features such
as stativity, progressivity, duration, completion,
habituality, iteration, momentariliness, inception,
termination and occasional and sense completion,
respectively.

Van Rooyen (1978:117) also regards the -ya- morpheme as a
marker of emphasis in a sentence such as:

(59) (a) Ngiyabuza ngithi uyini noNgqengelele?
           'I am asking, what is your relationship with
           Ngqengelele?'

           because, as he claims, in this sentence:

           'word die nadruk spesifiek op die handeling
           ngiyabuza gelê'.

There is, in fact, no evidence, whatsoever, which
supports the claim that -ya- generates emphasis, as
illustrated.

Possibly grammarians such as Cole (1982), Cope
(1982), Doke (1955 & 1961), du Plessis (1986), Van
Eeden (1956) and Van Rooyen (1978) confuse emphasis
with focus, which Werth (1984:7) defines as:
           'that section of discipline which concerns
           itself with the information ... and also to
           mean something like the object of attention'.

Werth notes that emphasis is of two kinds, viz.
prominence and non-prominence, both of which are
very often conflated, i.e. blended into one, under
the term focus.

Van Rooyen (1978:105) claims that it is clear that there is uncertainty about what is understood by emphasis. He suggests further that it is not only uncertainty about the meaning of emphasis, but that there is also confusion about focus. Van Rooyen (op.cit.:107) points out:

'Hoewel hulle (emfase en fokus) as afsonderlike entiteite beskou word, gebeur dit dikwels dat hulle interafhanklik optree, en soms selfs saamval op 'n sinsmoment.'

Crystal (1985:123) considers focus as a term used by some linguists in a two-part analysis of sentences which distinguishes between the information assumed by the speaker, and that which is at the centre (or focus) of his communicative interest. He states that 'focus' in this sense is opposed to presupposition.

Louwrens (1979:16) on the other hand, suggests that:

'Uit hulle hantering van die terme wil dit egter voorkom asof skrywers soos Chafe (1975:33 et. seq.), Givon (1975a:199), Ponelis (1976:57), e.a., onder fokussering diè proses of prosesse verstaan waarvolgens daar aan 'n besondere item in 'n sin, spesiale prominensie verleen word. Tale wend vir diè doel verskil- lende fokusseringstrategieë aan, soos, o.a. (a) deur die betrokke woord in 'n ander sintaktiese posisie aan te bied as diè waarin dit normaalweg in basiese sinne verskyn; (b) deur gebruik te maak van spesiale fokusmorfeme; (c) deur fonologiese middele (soos bv. klem in Afrikaans); en (d) deur die aanwending van ander taalmiddele, soos, bv. die sogenaamde "voornaamwoorde"'.

Absolute pronouns were discussed in Chapter 2, as markers of both contrast and emphasis. Word-order change is discussed in 3.6, below,

However, focus is on the verb itself when it contains the -ya- in sentence final position., i.e. on the action and not on the -ya-. African grammarians mentioned above wrongfully attribute the notion 'emphatic' to the -ya- morpheme., when, in fact there is focus on the verb, the -ya- being primarily a sense completion morpheme and secondarily a verb focalising morpheme, e.g.

(60) Msimang (1982:31)

'Siyakhala isizwe, Mageba, sikhala ngesikubona kwenzeka esigodlweni.'
'The people are moaning, your Majesty, they are moaning about what they see happening at the "palace".'

In non-final sentence position, the present tense -ya- is optional because focus and attention is no longer on the verb.

There is another morpheme in Zulu, namely, the perfective -ile which is regarded as a marker of emphasis by writers such as Doke (1961), Van Eeden (1956) and Van Rooyen (1978). Is it true?

What has already been said above about -ya- holds for -ile with (il- according to Van Rooyen (1978:121)), Doke (1961:337), Ziervogel (op.cit.:77), Ziervogel, et.al (1967:87) Van Eeden (1956:258) and Venter (op.cit.:114), all having something to say about -ile. Doke (op.cit.:337), Van Eeden (op.cit.:259) and Van Rooyen (op.cit.:121) claim that -ile is a marker of emphasis, as in:

(61) (a) Ngimfun<u>ile</u> umfana.
'I wanted the boy; I needed the boy.'
(b) Abantu bazithand<u>ile</u> izinkomo.
'The people liked the cattle.'

Since the long present tense form has been fully treated in the preceding sections of this chapter, the following quotation from Van Eeden (1956:259) will suffice in respect of <u>-ile</u>, viz.

'Daar bestaan ... twee vorms van die perfektum: die volvorm met <u>-ile</u> en die kortvorm met -ė. Soos by die kort en lang teenwoordige tydsvorms is die hoofverskil tussen hierdie twee vorms van die perfektum nie 'n semantiese nie, maar hang uit hul gebruik ... bo-al af van die konstruksie of samestelling van 'n sin waarin hulle optree...', e.g.

(62) (a) Nomalanga, ngikubu<u>ze</u> kahle ukuthi uyini wena noNgqengelele.
'Nomalanga, I asked you politely what the relationship is between Ngqengelele and yourself.'

(b) Ngikubuz<u>ile</u>, ngithi uyini wena noNgqengelele?
'I have asked you, what is the relationship between Ngqengelele and yourself.'

There is no evidence evinced from the writings consulted to prove convincingly that <u>-ile</u> is a marker of emphasis, but of sense completion and focus, in the same way as <u>-ya-</u>, e.g.

(63) (a) Bahamb<u>ile</u>.
'They have gone.'
(b) Bahamb<u>e</u> izolo ngemoto.
'They left yesterday by car.'

Finally, contrary to popular and general conclusions concerning the present tense -ya-, it has been pointed out in the preceding paragraphs that there is no convincing evidence that -ya- is a marker of emphasis, but that it is primarily a sense completion and secondary a verb focalising morpheme.

As Van Rooyen (1978:118) claims,

> 'die vormelement -ya- ... het die funksie om sinsvolledigheid aan te dui.'

This happens in all cases where -ya- appears in sentence final position in a construction. -ya- is certainly not an emphasiser.

3.3 CHANGE IN WORD ORDER AS A MEANS TO ESTABLISH EMPHASIS

The discussion that now follows is about change in word order as a means to mark emphasis.

Concerning word order change, Van Rooyen (1978:137) states that:

> 'Woordomstelling is op verre na die algemeenste manier waarop fokus in die Zoeloesin verkry word. Dit kom eenvoudig daarop neer dat wanneer jy die hoorder se aandag op iets wil bepaal, jy daardie iets, of dan die woorde wat jy daarvoor gebruik, eerste noem. Dit is dan die eerste woorde wat die fokus in die sin dra'.

The normal and neutral word order in Zulu and other African languages is SVO, e.g.

(64) (a) Abantwana bathanda ushukela.
       'Children like sugar.'
     (b) Inkosikazi ifuna ingane.
       'The woman is looking for a/the baby.'

According to Louwrens (1980:72)

'In die Ngunitale kom daar twee sintaktiese verskynsels vry algemeen voor wat grammatici teenswoordig moeilik vind om te interpreteer en te verklaar: Die eerste hou verband met die volgorde waarin die subjek, werkwoord en objek in sinne tot mekaar verskyn; en die tweede, met die gebruik van sogenaamde voorwerpskakel'.

Prinsloo (1984:19) on the other hand, remarks:

'Dit is opmerklik dat navorsers die terme subjek en objek gebruik maar nie probeer om dié terme volledig te omskryf nie. Die rede hiervoor moet daarin gesoek word dat daar moontlik geen enkele eienskap van 'n objek of subjek is wat universeel geldend is nie'.

Here now follows a discussion of the mechanisms of word-order change applied in African languages to generate emphasis.

3.3.1 Subject postponement

Cole (1982:428) asserts that in the case of Tswana, emphasis of the subject is achieved by moving it from its nominal preverbal position to a sentence final position, e.g.

(65) (a) Uthenge izinkomo izolo, ubaba.
         'He bought the cattle yesterday, my father did.'
     (b) Usebenza impela uJabu.
         'He works very hard, Jabu does.'

Von Staden (1982:74) also supports this view on emphasis on the subject by means of subject postponement, as for instance in:

(66) (a) Ikhehla lifikile ekuseni.
           'The old man arrived this morning.'
      (b) Lifikile ekuseni ikhehla.
           'The old man arrived this morning.'

Cole (1982:444) argues further that when the subject is postponed, it becomes semi-parenthetical (semi-inserted) and has no effect on the preceding verb which appears in the long form, unless there is an emphatic object or descriptive adjunct present, in which case either the object or the verb is emphasised, respectively, e.g.

(67) (a) Ngiyabuza, mina.
           'I am asking, I am.'
           Ubisi, uyaluphuza umfana.
           As for milk, the boy drinks it.'

Doke (1955:8) looks at it from a different angle, in the sense that to emphasise the subject 'with more emphasis than its normal initial position gives', it is usual to make it predicative and to transform the rest of the sentence into a relative construction, e.g.

(68) (a) Izinkabi zidonsa inqola.
           'The oxen are pulling a wagon.'
           Yizinkabi ezidonsa inqola.
           It is the oxen which are pulling a wagon.'

      (b) Abafana babanga umsindo.
           'The boys are making a noise.'
           Abafana ababanga umsindo.
           It is the boys who are making a noise.'

3.3.2 Backshifting of objects

Cope (1982:39) states that when the object concord is used with the non-final form of the verb, the object is backshifted to stress the adverb as is the

case with the objects <u>ushukela</u> and <u>inqola</u> in the following sentences:

(69) (a) Baw<u>u</u>thanda <u>kakhulu</u> ushukela (abantwana).
        'They like it <u>very much</u>, sugar, that is, (children do).'

      (b) Ihhashi liy<u>i</u>donsa <u>ngamandla</u> inqola.
        'The horse pulls it <u>forcefully</u>, the wagon, that is.'

3.3.3 Fronting of objects

Van Eeden (1956:252), Cole (1982:427), Cope (1982:39) and Von Staden (1982:71) point out that emphasis can be generated on objects by moving them to sentence initial position, as for instance happens in the following examples:

(70) (a) <u>Ukuzingela</u> ngiyakuthanda.
        'As for hunting, I like it very much.'

      (b) <u>Ukulwa</u> ngiyakwesaba.
        'As for fighting, I am afraid thereof.'

      (c) <u>Ushukela</u>, abantwana bayawuthanda.
        'As for sugar, the children like it.'

Von Staden (op.cit.:71) further points out that a grammatically active sentence may also be changed to a passive sentence to give greater importance to an object which would then become the grammatical subject of the sentence, e.g.

(71) (a) Uthisha ushaye umfana ogangileyo.
        'The teacher has punished the naughty boy.'

      (b) <u>Umfana ogangileyo</u> ushaywe nguthisha.
        '<u>The naughty boy</u> has been punished by the teacher.'

Doke (1955:209) states that in order to emphasise the object, it is usual to make it predicative and to move it to sentence initial position as in:

(72) (a) <u>Yinqola</u> eziyidonsayo izinkabi.
           'It is the wagon, the oxen are pulling.'
      (b) <u>Yinqola</u> izinkabi eziyidonsayo.
           'It is the wagon, the oxen are pulling.'

Ponelis (1980:122) shows that the preposing of
objects is an important factor in raising Northern
Sotho sentences from what he refers to as level 1
to level 2, showing the independence of clauses, as
for instance in :

(73) (a) <u>Indoda le</u>, siya<u>yi</u>dinga.
           'We want <u>this man</u>.'

Kumalo et. al. (1987:15) argue that object nouns
are often found in preverbal position. They state
that in such cases the object noun is usually
emphasised or contrasted, as for example in:

(74) U<u>q</u>wa<u>yi</u> siyo<u>wu</u>thola kuphi?
      <u>As for tobacco</u>, where shall we find it?'

3.3.4 Object interposing

Cole (1982:428) points out that sometimes the
subject is displaced by interposing the object
between it and the verb. In this case, both
subject and object are emphasised, as for instance
in:

(75) (a) <u>Ubaba</u>, <u>izinkomo</u> u<u>zi</u>thenge izolo.
           'As for my father, <u>concerning the cattle</u>, <u>he</u>,
           bought <u>them</u> yesterday.'
      (b) <u>Uthisha</u>, <u>izitshudeni</u> u<u>yazi</u>fundisa.
           'As for the teacher, concerning the students,
           he teaches them.'

3.3.5 Syntactical order of qualificatives

Doke (1955:47) notes that qualificatives always accompany and succeed substantives which they qualify. He states, however, as does Von Staden (1982:71) that in order for qualificatives to be markers of emphasis, they occur prenominally and are thus treated syntactically as qualificative pronouns, e.g.

(76) (a) Umuntu <u>omkhulu</u> ufikile.
           'The <u>important</u> person has come.'

                    but

      (b) <u>Omkhulu</u> (umuntu) ufikile.
           '<u>The important</u> one (person) has come.'

(77) (a) Bayazithanda izinkomo <u>zami</u>.
           'They are fond of <u>my cattle</u>.'

                    but

      (b) <u>Ezami</u> (izinkomo) bayazithanda.
           '<u>Mine</u> (cattle, that is) are liked.'

According to Doke (op.cit.:47) when qualificatives are used together in a series in the same sentence, the general word order is that possessives and enumeratives precede adjectives and relatives. Doke points out, however, that the above-mentioned order of precedence is not a hard and fast rule, implying that contextually, the latter two qualificatives may be more emphatic than the former, e.g.

(78) (a) izinkomo <u>zami</u> ezinkulu.

           '<u>my</u> big cattle.'

      (b) ihhashi <u>linye</u> elimnyama.

           '<u>one</u> black horse.'

      (c) induna <u>yayo</u> eqotho.

           '<u>his</u> honest captain.'

      (d) zinkomo <u>ziphi</u> enizithengileyo?

           '<u>which</u> cattle have you bought?'

Doke (1955:48) draws attention to the fact that there is no preferential word order between possessives and enumeratives, just as there is none between adjectives and relatives. He (op.cit.:49) concedes, however, that the qualificatives which need to be <u>emphasised</u> usually take precedence over the others, e.g.

(79) (a) Isisebenzi <u>esikhulu</u> esiqotho sikhona.

           'The <u>big</u> honest workman is present.'

      (b) Isisebenzi <u>esiqotho</u> esikhulu sikhona.

           'The <u>honest</u> big workman is present.'

(80) (a) Ufuna hhashi <u>liphi</u> (e)lami?

           '<u>Which</u> horse of mine do you want?

      (b) Ufuna hhashi <u>lami</u> liphi?

           'Which horse of <u>mine</u> do you want?'

(81) (a) Hamba utshele umalume akunike induku <u>enkulu</u> yami.

           'Go and tell my maternal uncle to give you my <u>big</u> stick.'

      (b) Leso sifo samonela ubuso <u>obuhle</u> bakhe.

           'That disease disfigured her <u>beautiful</u> face for her.'

Similarly, according to Doke (op.cit.:52) when one substantive has several adjectives qualifying it, the first adjective is supposed to be more emphatic than the rest following it, as for instance in:

(82) (a) umuntu <u>omkhulu</u> omubi.
'the evil <u>big man</u>.'

(b) umuntu <u>omubi</u> omkhulu.
'the big <u>evil</u> man.'

3.3.6 The short form with the <u>ku-</u> subject concord

Van Rooyen (1978:148) states that <u>ku-</u> is not;

'die verteenwoordiger van 'n spesifieke naamwoord uit die <u>ku-</u> klas nie. Dit is ook nie die onderwerpskakel wat die lokatiefklas <u>ku-</u> verteenwoordig nie soos byvoorbeeld sou gebeur in 'n sin soos die volgende':

(83) Emanzini khona <u>ku</u>phila izinhlanzi.
'In the water (there) live fish.'

Van Rooyen points out that this <u>ku-</u> is indefinite and simply implies the existence of something either concrete or abstract, or an idea, or any action, process or state. Van Rooyen (op.cit.:148) cites the following examples:

(84) (a) <u>Kwa</u>vela umhlola.
'<u>There</u> occurred something awe-inspiring.'

(b) <u>Kwa</u>banda amathumbu.
'<u>One's</u> intestines got cold:Fig. <u>One</u> got a fright.'

(c) ... ukuthi <u>ku</u>zochitheka igazi ...
'... that blood will flow: Fig. ... that <u>there</u> will be some killing.'

(d) <u>Ku</u>hlatshwe imbuzi emnyama
'<u>A</u> black goat has been slaughtered.'

Van Rooyen (1978:149) claims that focus is on the words umhlola, amathumbu, igazi and imbuzi in these sentences. He notes that the indefinite ku- in the sentence indicates that the noun that succeeds the predicate is emphatic.

Van Rooyen (op.cit.:149) argues that the ku- that occurs in the following sentence, viz.

(85) "Kuyangethusa nami lokho, Gala," kuphendula uKomfiya.
      '"That sort of scares me too, Gala," answered Komfiya.'

is not an emphasiser. The ku- in kuyangethusa is not the indefinite ku- because it refers specifically to lokho, whereas the ku- in kuphendula is the same as that already referred to above.

Van Rooyen (op.cit.:149) argues, therefore, that because this ku- refers to something specific, it cannot be regarded as the indefinite ku- referred to in the previous example. For that reason, it cannot be a marker of emphasis.

Von Staden (1982) argues that if the indefinite subject concord ku- is used with the verb that precedes the subject or other words, the postponed subject following the verb will have greater prominence than when it precedes the verb, and also more than the verb itself, e.g.

(86) (a) Ikhehla lifike ekuseni.
           'The old man arrived in the morning.'
      (b) Kufike ikhehla ekuseni.
           'The old man arrived this morning (sic).'

3.4 EVALUATION OF THE VIEWS CONCERNING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WORD ORDER CHANGE AS A MARKER OF EMPHASIS

3.4.1 Change in the order of subjects and objects

According to most grammarians of African languages, word order change as a mechanism for generating emphasis affects mainly two categories, namely, subjects and objects. To a lesser extent, Doke (1955) also includes qualificatives in this category. According to writers such as Cole (1982), Cope (1982) Van Eeden (1956) and Van Rooyen (1978) subjects and objects in African languages can be emphasised by moving them from their basic sentence positions. Let us now consider the various facets of word order change.

3.4.1.1 Postponement of subjects

Cole (op.cit.:444) and Louwrens (op.cit.:72), a.o., agree that in Tswana and Xhosa, in particular, and in other African languages, generally, the subject may be moved from its preverbal position to a post-verbal one. Cole goes on further to claim that such movement brings about emphasis on the subject moved as such. However, Cole does not supply evidence to support his argument as to how the rightward movement of the subject makes it emphatic. Besides, Cole seems to be the only grammarian to hold this unfounded view.

Although Givon (1974) and Hyman (1974), both quoted by Louwrens (1980:89-90), regard subject postponement as an 'after thought' on the part of the speaker/writer, Louwrens rejects that argument.

Louwrens nonetheless does not associate subject postponement with emphasis, neither on the subject itself nor on the verb that has moved to the left, as for instance in :

(87)   Msimang (1982:15)

(a)   <u>Athinte</u> isikhwehlela kancane uJama, abheke
      inkosikazi yakhe ayifice yona ibheke phansi
      kepha abone ngempela ukuthi ebunzini layo
      kulotshwe uvalo olwesabekayo ...

(b)   <u>Iphendule</u> ilokhu ibheke phansi <u>iNdlunkulu</u>.
      Izwi layo ligedezela manje, kuthi noma
      ikhuluma ide ishaywa yintwabi ...

(c)   <u>Abone</u> ngamanye amehlo manje <u>uJama</u>

(a)   'Jama cleared his throat and then looked
      towards his wife and saw her looking down, but
      observed, indeed, that on her forehead was a
      clear description of a terrible fright ...

(b)   'The <u>queen</u> <u>replied</u> still facing down. Her
      voice was now trembling, to the extend that
      although she spoke, she kept on having a
      hiccup ...'

(c)   'Jama now <u>saw</u> things differently ...'

Examples such as these do not seem to include any
emphasis on the subject. Therefore, the conclusion
that subject postponement brings about emphasis on
the subject cannot be accepted nor supported in
this study.

However, subject postponement seems to lend focus
on the verb that has taken precedence at sentence
initial position. Msimang (1982) uses this
technique very effectively. Consider the following
examples:

(88)   (a)   <u>Safika</u> isikhathi sokuba uJama ... afeze isiko
             ... (Msimang, op.cit.:5)
             'The time <u>came</u> for Jama to conclude the custom
             ...'

(b) <u>Wabakhalima</u> abantu abadala uMhlaba ...

'Mhlaba <u>warned</u> the elderly people of the danger ...'

(c) <u>Aphefumulele</u> phezulu uZinsonge ...

'Zinsonge panted heavily ...'

(d) <u>Abone</u> umntwana uNkwelo ...

'Prince Nkwelo <u>realised</u> ...'

Doke (1955:8) seems to be the only one who has succeeded in showing how emphasis may be generated on the subject., i.e. by transforming the subject NP to a copulative with the rest of the sentence becoming a relative construction, and not by subject postponement, e.g.

(89) (a) Isikhathi safika sokuba uJama ...

'The time came for Jama to ...'

(b) <u>Yisikhathi</u> esafika sokuba uJama ...

'<u>It is the time</u> that came for Jama to ...'

Movement of subjects does not create emphasis on subject NPs.

3.4.1.2 Movement of objects

(a) Fronting of objects

Cope (1982:39), Doke (1955:8 & 209), Van Eeden (1956:252), Bosch (1985:50) and Ponelis (op.cit.:122) are all agreed that the object may be preposed when its concord is used in the verb. The three former grammarians associate this object preposing with emphasis and the latter two are neutral in that regard.

It is generally accepted by most African linguists such as Cole (1982:27), Van Eeden (1956:252), etc that when the SVO changes either to OSV or VOS the new word that is fronted becomes emphasised. Fronting of

(c)   Backshifting of objects

Cope (1982:39) claims that when the object is backshifted and when the object concord is used with the long present tense form, it generates emphasis on the adverb, as for instance in:

(92) (a) Ihhashi liyidonsa ngamandla ingola.
           'The horse pulls it, forcefully, the wagon, that is.'

      (b) Bawuthanda kakhulu ushukela.
           'They like it very much, sugar, that is.'

This claim must be rejected for the fact that Cope does not verify nor does he substantiate this claim. Cope contradicts himself in suggesting that emphasis may also be registered by the nature of the adverbs themselves.

It has already been argued and concluded above in the discussion of the present tense -ya- that adverbs as modifiers of verbs, generate emphasis in their own right, and not for the reason originally claimed by Cope.

3.4.1.3   Movement of qualificatives

Doke (1955:47) argues that in order for qualificatives to be markers of emphasis, they occur prenominally, for instance in:

(93) (a) Omkhulu umuntu ufikile.
           'The important one (person) has come.'
      (b) Ezami (izinkomo) bayazithanda.
           'Mine (cattle, that is) are liked.'

On the strength of the argument presented above, viz. that the change from the neutral of SVO to VOS or OSV and even SOV, words that take precedence by occupying sentence intial position, become emphasised. In other words, subject postponement implies emphasis on the verb that has taken sentence initial position. Similarly, object preposing implies emphasis on the object NP that has taken sentence initial position. This includes the precedence of qualificatives among themselves, whether subjectivally or objectivally. Those preceding others are emphasised, e.g.

(94) (a) Isisebenzi esikhulu esiqotho sikhona.
           'The big honest workman is present.'

      (b) Ufuna hhashi liphi lami.
           'Which horse of mine do you want?'

      (c) Hamba utshele umalume akunike induku enkulu yami.
           'Go and tell my maternal uncle to give you my big stick.'

      (d) Leso sifo samonela ubuso bakhe obuhle.
           'That disease disfigured her beautiful face for her.'

3.4.1.4   The short form and the ku- subject concord

Although Van Rooyen (1978:148/9) makes a clear distinction between the indefinite ku- and the ku- in a sentence such as:

(95) 'Kuyangethusa nami lokho, Gala,' kuphendula uKomfiya.
      '"That sort of scares me too, Gala," answered Komfiya,'

his argument that in the case of the use of the indefinite ku-, the post-verbal subject NP is emphasised, cannot be accepted as indicated in 3.3.6.

It has been argued over and over that any word that is sentence initial is emphatic. It follows therefore, that in the VOS word order as in the above-mentioned examples, the VP is emphasised. The indefinite ku- simply has focus by virtue of its occurring in the sentence initial verbal position. Van Rooyen's argument can therefore not be supported.

3.5 ADDITIONAL MARKERS OF EMPHASIS

Von Staden (1982:75) has identified additional emphasisers which, will be discussed hereafter.

3.5.1 Reduplication of morphemes

Von Staden (op.cit.:78) identifies what he terms as certain reduplicated morphemes that highlight the intensity or thoroughness of actions or other matters, such as the reduplicated forms of the verbal suffixes -is- and -el- and the dimunitive suffix -ana :

(96) (a) Uthisha wababhalisa igama.
    'The teacher made them write a word.'
  (b) Uthisha wababhalisisa igama.
    'The teacher made them write a word.'

(97) (a) Bambophela esihlahleni.
    'They tied him to a tree.'
  (b) Bambophelela esihlahleni.
    'They tied him well to a tree.'

(98) (a) Mangikusize, mfana.
'Let me help you, boy.'
Mangikusize, <u>mfanyana</u>.
'Let me help you, <u>little boy</u>.'

3.5.2 Reduplication of roots

Von Staden points out that in some words, the roots may be reduplicated to focus the attention to the meaning of such words, as in the adverb of the following sentence:

(99) (a) Abaculi bahlabelela kahle.
'The singers are singing well.'

(b) Abaculi bahlabelela <u>kahlehle</u>.
'The singers are singing <u>well</u>.'

3.5.3 Adverbs

Von Staden (op.cit.:80) draws attention to certain adverbs and other words used adverbially, which may also be added to sentences to highlight the meaning of other adverbs:

(100) (a) Babakhe kahle.
'They had built well.'

(b) Babakhe <u>kahle kakhulu</u>.
'They had built <u>very well</u>.'

(101) (a) Isisebenzi sasihlakula kakhulu.
'The worker was hoeing hard.'

(b) Isisebenzi sasihlakula <u>kakhulu kabi</u>.
'The worker was hoeing <u>very hard</u>.'

(c) Isisebenzi sasihlakula <u>kakhulu impela</u>.
'The worker was hoeing <u>hard indeed</u>.'

(d) Isisebenzi sasihlakula <u>kakhulu kabi impela</u>.
'The worker was hoeing <u>very hard indeed</u>.'

3.5.4 Certain nouns

Von Staden (op.cit.:80) shows that certain nouns such as <u>uqobo</u>, <u>isibili</u> and <u>mathupha</u> may also be used to draw attention more specifically to substantives : e.g.

(102) (a) Umfana wayebamba isebi.

'The boy was catching the thief.'

(b) Umfana <u>uqobo</u> wayebamba isebi.

'<u>The boy himself</u> was catching the thief.'

(c) <u>Umfana uqobo lwakhe</u> wayebamba isebi.

'<u>The boy himself</u> was catching the thief.'

(d) <u>Umfana isibili</u> wayebamba isebi.

'<u>The boy himself</u> was catching the thief.'

(e) <u>Umfana mathupha</u> wayebamba isebi.

'<u>The boy himself</u> was catching thief.'

3.5.5 Particles

Von Staden (op.cit.:81) claims that two types of particles are used to draw more attention to substantives, namely the connective particle <u>na-</u> 'and, also, even' and the particles y(i)- and ng(u)- 'it is' of the identificative copulative, e.g.

(103) (a) Umfundisi wafunda incwadi

'The minister read the letter'

but,

(b) <u>Nomfundisi</u> wafunda incwadi.

'<u>Even the minister</u> read the letter.'

(c) Umfundisi wafunda <u>nencwadi</u>.

'The minister read <u>even the letter</u>.'

(104) (a) <u>Ngumfundisi</u> owafunda incwadi.

'<u>It is the minister</u> who read the letter.'

(b) <u>Yincwadi</u> eyafundwa ngumfundisi.

'<u>It is the letter</u> which was read by the minister.'

Sentences (103)(b) and (c) above contain subject and object contrast, and not emphasis as is claimed by Von Staden.

Von Staden (op.cit.:81) says that by using more of these devices simultaneously, the force of emphasis may be increased, e.g.

(105)   Yiyo lena incwadi eyafundwa ngumfundisi.
           'It is this very letter which was read by the
           minister.'

3.5.6   Ideophones

Von Staden (op.cit.:82) argues that one of the most
striking ways of conveying affective meaning is by using
ideophones, e.g.

(106) (a) Umlilo uyabhebhetheka.
           'The fire is raging.'
      (b) Umlilo uthi bhee.
           'The fire is raging.'
      (c) Umlilo ubhebhetheka bhee.
           'The fire is raging fiercely.'

Von Staden (op.cit.:82) notes that in the case of
onomatopoeic ideophones the effect can be intensified by
the reduplication or repetition of an ideophone, as in :

(107) (a) Zaphuma izinyembezi.
           'The tears came out.'
      (b) Zathi pho pho pho izinyembezi.
           'The tears came out dropping.'
      (c) Zaphuma pho pho pho izinyembezi.
           'The tears came out dropping.'

3.5.7   Interjectives

Von Staden (op.cit.:83) has also identified interjectives
as emphasisers e.g.

(108) (a) Akenzanga lutho.
           'He hasn't done anything.'
      (b) Hhawu, akenzanga lutho!
           'Goodness me, he hasn't done anything.'

(109) (a) Niphume nonke.
           'You must all go out.'

(b) Lalela! Niphume nonke.
     'Listen! You must all go out.'

3.6   CONCLUSION

Of the phenomena discussed in the preceding paragraphs,
viz. subject postponement, fronting of objects, subject
displacement and object interposing as well as movement
of qualificatives, no evidence could be deduced in
support of Cole's claim (for Tswana) that subject
postponement is a mechanism for the generation of
emphasis on the subject. Several other scholars refer to
subject postponement though they hardly relate it to the
generation of emphasis. Cole's Tswana examples are
themselves also not convincing. Instead texts have shown
that the postponed subject which causes the VP to assume
sentence initial position, lends emphasis on the VP and
not on the postponed subject.

On the other hand, the additional markers of emphasis
identified by Von Staden are the dimunitive -ana,
reduplication of morphemes, adverbs, certain nouns,
particles, ideophones and interjectives as the examples
he cites above indicate.

CHAPTER 4

DEFINITENESS AND INDEFINITENESS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

The distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness
concerns nouns and more particularly nouns that function
as subjects and objects, including oblique NPs. The term
oblique NP is commonly used in American linguistics. In
languages such as Zulu, oblique NPs are nouns that are
structurally inflected, for example <u>inja</u> 'dog' > <u>enjeni</u>
'to/on/from a/the dog', <u>umuntu</u> 'person' > <u>kumuntu</u> 'to/on/
from a/the person', etc. So far, only the former two
categories have been singled out for investigation in
this regard.

In answering the question : what is definiteness? Chafe
(1976:39) states :
> 'It is ... of some interest in the communicative
> situation whether I think you already know and can
> identify the particular referent I have in mind.
> If I think you can, I will give this item the
> status of definite'.

He argues that there are two assumptions in this case,
viz. that the addressee already knows the referent and
that he can pick out from all other referents similarly
categorised, the one the speaker has in mind. He
contends that <u>identifiable</u> would be a better term than
definite, but that we are stuck with the traditional
label.

Lyons   (1977:178)   notes   that   referring   expressions
distinguish between those which refer to some specific
individual or class of individuals from those which do
not refer to a specific individual or class.

He refers to the former as definite expressions and to the latter as indefinite expressions. Lyons (op.cit.:179) cites the example: 'the tall man over there', which could be used as a definite description uniquely identifying some referent in a given context of utterance.

Lyons (Auwera, 1980:81), in discussing the meaning of the English definite article, states that most pragmatic accounts treat the definite article in terms of its role in reference. He claims that the definite article is used to indicate that reference is being made to an object, the identity of which is known to both the speaker and the hearer. He states that this may be so because the referent has been previously mentioned in the discourse, or because its identity is made clear by the context of utterance, or because speaker and hearer have a certain shared knowledge which serves to make the reference unambiguous. He agrees that linguists have long recognised that the article is essentially a functional element, acting to link the sentence to the situation of communication, (presumably meaning that the article ('the', 'a' or 'none') is determined by the context of the sentence). Thus :

(1) (a) 'A cow has four legs = every cow has four
          legs;'
     (b) Have you had ___ lunch yet? Yes I had a good
          lunch;
     (c) 'The sun rises in the east;'
     (d) 'I went to the hospital to visit a sick
          friend;'
     (e) 'I went to _____ bed.'

Hawkins (1975:89) on the other hand is of the opinion that the required existence and uniqueness of definite references involve abstract claims about the world which cannot be checked directly with native speaker

judgement. He (op.cit.:109) states for instance, that if speaker and hearer had previously talked about two professors, a reference to <u>the professor</u> would be ambiguous. If, however, one of these two professors was an anthropologist and no other anthropologist had been talked about previously, Hawkins argues that a reference to <u>the anthropologist</u> would be both unique and unambiguous.

Hawkins (1975:10) goes on further to state that in addition to sharing knowledge of various individuals, speaker and hearer will share knowledge of various properties possessed by these individuals. These properties must be associated with the respective individuals within the memory store. He argues that these properties must also be relativised to each speaker-hearer previously shared discourse set.

Chafe, Lyons and Hawkins quoted above, associate definiteness/indefiniteness with the articles 'the/a', respectively. Definiteness as discussed above, enables the addressee to identify the referent because of the latter's uniqueness.

In reference to Northern Sotho, Louwrens (1983:25) defines a definite noun phrase as one whose referent is presupposed by the speaker to be <u>uniquely identifiable</u> by the addressee within a particular context of discourse.

He defines an indefinite noun phrase as one which refers to persons or things which are <u>not</u> uniquely identifiable within a particular context of discourse.

Louwrens points out, however, that indefinite noun phrases are themselves also referential like definite noun phrases, differing with the latter only in as far as their referents are not presupposed by the speaker to be <u>uniquely identifiable</u> by the addressee.

4.2   TRADITIONAL VIEWS ON DEFINITENESS AND INDEFINITENESS AS
       TREATED BY DOKE

Doke's views concerning the phenomena definiteness and
indefiniteness are by and large representative of the
traditional view in Zulu.

Doke (1955:10) states that a twofold division of
definiteness is made in English by the use of the
articles 'a' and 'the', which are absent in Zulu. He
concedes, however, that the idea of definiteness and/or
indefiniteness may be conveyed in Zulu in other ways.
Doke goes further to state that the degrees of
definiteness conveyed in Zulu do not exactly correspond
to those of any European language. Doke (op.cit.:10)
then proposes a working rule: that an indefinite subject
or indefinite object is not represented in the predicate
by its class concord, but by an indefinite class concord
or by no concord at all, while a definite subject or
object is represented by its class concord in the
predicate, as for example is the case with the nouns in
the following sentences :

(2)   (a)   Umuntu uyahamba.
              'The/A person travels.'
       (b)   Kuhamba umuntu.
              'There travels a person.'
       (c)   Ikati liyaluphuza ubisi.
              'The cat drinks the milk.'

Doke (op.cit.:9) suggests that these terms may be
applied, respectively, to nouns in sentences such as
those in (2) above. According to Doke, the subject noun
in (2)(a) may be either definite or indefinite, while the
postponed subject noun in (2)(b) can only be indefinite.

Doke (1955:9) concedes, however, that the English translations of the above mentioned sentences are but approximations. The example Doke gives in (2)(a), contradicts his assertion referred to above, viz. that the subject noun can be either definite or indefinite, whereas according to his statement mentioned above, a subject or object is definite when represented by its class concord in the predicate.

Doke (op.cit.:10) claims that definiteness is accentuated in inflected nouns and pronouns as in:

(3) (a) Ngiya esibayeni. (definite and indefinite)
          'I am going to the/a cattle kraal.'
     (b) Ngiya kuso isibaya. (definite and emphatic)
          'I am going to the/the very cattle kraal.'

Doke (op.cit.:10) argues further that quantitative pronouns are intrinsically definite when compared with other pronouns, like for instance the so-called absolute pronoun. Doke (op.cit.:10) points out that the fact that quantitative pronouns may not themselves be inflected, but demand inflected forms of the absolute pronoun to precede them, shows that quantitative pronouns are intrinsically very definite as, for instance in the following examples:

(4) (a) Ngiya kubo bonke.
          'I am going to them all.'
     (b) *Ngiya kubonke.

Doke (op.cit.:11) shows that similar distinctions as between (4)(a) and (b) above, are made in the agentive use of copulatives formed from nouns and absolute pronouns, as in :

(5) (a) Ngabonwa <u>ngabantu</u>. (definite and indefinite)
          'I was seen <u>by (the) people</u>.'

     (b) Ngabonwa <u>yibo abantu</u>. (definite)
          'I was seen by <u>them the people</u>.'

Doke (1955:11) claims further that adverbial formatives such as <u>nga-</u>, <u>njenga-</u>, <u>nganga-</u>, <u>na-</u>, <u>kuna-</u>, etc. highlight definiteness on the nouns with which they co-occur, i.e. when prefixed to the relevant absolute pronoun, e.g.

(6) (a) Inkomo inkulu <u>kunayo imbuzi</u>.
          'A cow is bigger than <u>the goat</u>.
                       but
     (b) Inkomo inkulu <u>kunembuzi</u>.
          'A cow is bigger than <u>a/the goat</u>.'

Doke (op.cit.:11) concludes this discussion by stating that all absolute, demonstrative and quantitative pronouns have a definite meaning, e.g.

(7) (a) Basalima nga<u>lo igeja</u>.
          'They still cultivate with <u>the</u> hoe.'

     (b) Ubaba ubuza <u>lo mfana</u> umbuzo.
          'Dad is asking <u>this boy</u> a question.'

     (c) Sibafuna <u>bonke</u>.
          'We want <u>all of them</u>.'

Modern grammarians referred to in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter refer to something definite as being uniquely identifiable to the hearer and presupposed by the speaker, as example (7)(a) - (c) indicate.

4.2.1   Definiteness in the case of subject and object
         nouns

Doke (1955:11) asserts that representation of a
subject or object by an absolute, demonstrative
or quantitative pronoun, ensures that the
subject or object concerned is definite, e.g.

(8)   (a)   Kukhuluma <u>bona</u>.
              '<u>They</u> are the ones who are talking.'
       (b)   <u>Lo</u> uyadelela.
              '<u>This one</u> is naughty.'
       (c)   Bakhona <u>bonke</u>.
              '<u>All of them</u> are present/<u>They are all</u>
              present.'

In extending the above assertion, Doke (op.cit.:11)
states that if the representation of the subject or
object is by a noun, such a subject or object will
be definitised by its subject or object concord as
in :

(9)   (a)   <u>Umuntu</u> uyahamba (definite)
              '<u>The</u> person travels.'
       (b)   <u>Ikati</u> <u>liya</u>luphuza <u>ubisi</u> (definite)
              '<u>The</u> <u>cat</u> drinks <u>the milk</u>.'

Subject or object NPs are definite when referring
to something specific as for instance in (10)(a)
and indefinite when the referent is general as, for
instance in (10)(b), e.g.

(10)   (a)   Ikhuleke <u>iNdlunkulu</u>, ayingenise uManqina.
              'And <u>the queen</u> saluted, and uManqina ushered
              <u>her</u> in.'
       (b)   <u>Izitshudeni</u> ziyafunda.
              '<u>Students</u> are reading/studying.'

4.2.2   Definiteness in the case of 1st and 2nd persons

Doke (1955:11) concludes that the 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural subject or object, are always definite because they are deictic, while 3rd person, singular and plural may be either definite or indefinite.

4.2.3   Definiteness concerning proper nouns

Doke (op.cit.:12) asserts that personal, proper nouns and kinship terms of class la such as uZashuke, ubaba etc. have, as a rule, a potentiality for definiteness that is different from that of other nouns of class la.

4.2.4   Simple and compound subject and object nouns

Doke distinguishes between what he refers to as simple subjects and objects as against compound subjects and objects, which, like the former, can also be definite or indefinite.

4.2.4.1   Compound subjects and objects in respect of definiteness and indefiniteness

Doke (op.cit.:16) defines a compound subject or object as 'one which consists of more than one substantive co-ordinated'. He states that each such substantive following the first in co-ordination, commences with the proclitic na-, e.g.

(11)   Ngibona   izinkomo   nezimvu   nezimbuzi nezimbongolo.
'I see cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys.'

In this context he identifies both indefinite and definite compound subjects and objects. We shall consider each group separately.

4.2.4.1 (a) Indefinite compound subjects and objects

Doke (1955:16) gives a general rule that when compound subjects are indefinite, the indefinite class 17 subject concord is used, and that when compound objects are indefinite, no concord corresponding thereto will appear with the verb, e.g.

(i)   indefinite compound subjects

(12) (a)   Be<u>ku</u>dlela izinkomo nezimbuzi namahhashi lapha.
           'Cattle, goats and horses were grazing here.'
     (b)   <u>Kwa</u>khe aBantu na<u>Ma</u>Lawu <u>na</u>Bathwa ezweni leli.
           'Africans, Hottentots and Bushmen live in this country.'

As can be noted, none of these indefinite compound subjects formally agrees with the verb in the above examples.

(ii)   indefinite compound objects

(13) (a)   Sifuna izinkomo <u>ne</u>zimbuzi <u>na</u>mahhashi.
           'We want cattle, goats and horses.'
     (b)   Singabona abantu <u>ne</u>zindlu <u>ne</u>mithi.
           'We can see people and horses and trees.'

Similarly, none of the compound objects formally agrees with the verb in the above examples.

4.2.4.1 (b) Definite compound subjects and objects

According to Doke (1955:16) there is a great deal of difference of opinion among linguists, concerning concord rules with regard to compound subjects and objects.

4.2.4.1(b)(i) First word of the group determines the concord

Doke (op.cit.:17) alleges that this type of construction is used when relative importance is given to the first word in the group, e.g.

(14) (a) Isalukazi nexhegu sifuna indlu.
           'The old woman and the old man want a house.'
           (but the old woman is the driving force)
      (b) Inceku nezinja zayo iyabaleka.
           'The attendant and his dogs are running away.'

4.2.4.1(b)(ii) Use of a classificatory concord

In identifying three classificatory concords, i.e. concords according to which a succession of nouns are classified and categorised, Doke (op.cit.:18) groups grammatical subjects and objects into those that refer either to persons, or animals, or things or nouns of mixed substantives. These concords are ba-, zi- and ku-, for instance:

*ba- for persons

According to Doke (op.cit.:18) compound subjects and objects indicating persons may be represented by the class 2 subject or object concord in the predicative, e.g.

-compound subjects

(15) (a) Umshayeli nenkosi yakhe bahambile.
           'The driver and his chief have gone away.'

      (b) AmaXhosa namaZulu bafuya izinkomo.
           'Xhosas and Zulus keep cattle.'

-compound objects

(16) (a) Sizobabiza, umntwana nesalukazi nevila,
           bobathathu.
           'We shall summon the child, the old lady and
           the lazy fellow, all three of them.'

      (b) Bayabashaya, abafana namantombazana.
           'They are hitting the boys, and the girls.'

*zi- for animals

Doke (1955:18) states that in the case of compound
subjects and compound objects indicating animals, the
class 10 subject/object concord zi-, may be used to
represent them in the predicate: e.g.

-compound subjects

(17) (a) Ikati nengwe nofudu zeqile.
           'The cat, the leopard, and the tortoise have
           escaped.'

      (b) Izinkomo namahhashi azidingi ukuphuza la
           manzi.
           'The cattle and the horses do not need to
           drink this water.'

-compound objects

(18) (a) Sizozithenga, inkomo nemvu nembuzi.
           'We shall buy them, the ox, the sheep and the
           goat.'

      (b) Zingenise, izimbongolo namahhashi.
           ''Bring them in, the donkeys and the horses.'

*ku- for other heterogeneous compound subjects and objects

According to Doke (1955:19), compound subjects and compound objects indicating inanimate objects and those indicating a mixture of animate and inanimate objects may be represented by the class 17 indefinite subject/object concord ku- in the predicate, e.g.

-compound subjects

(19) (a)   Ikhanzi neqeja nezitsha kusendlini.
           'The pot, the hoe and the plates are in the house.'

     (b)   Isikhwama sami nemali kulahleke konke.
           'My pouch and money are all lost.'

     (c)   Izinkabi nenqola kwathi khalakatha emanzini.
           'The oxen and the wagon plunged into the water.'

-compound objects

(20) (a)   Amasi nesinkwa ngiyakuthanda kokubili.
           'I like both curdled milk and the bread.'

     (b)   Mabakulethe, amapensele namaphepha nezincwadi.
           'Let them bring the pencils, the papers and the books.'

     (c)   Umlilo wakushisa, indlu nakho konke okukuyo.
           'The fire consumed the house and all it contained.'

Doke (op.cit.:20) states that the use of the ku-subject/object concord is more common with animals and things than with persons and things or with persons and animals. He states that when persons are involved in compound subjects and objects with non-persons, the implication of ku- is derogatory to the persons involved in the compound subject or object, e.g.

(21) (a)   <u>Umfana nekati</u> <u>ku</u>fikile.
           'The <u>boy</u> and <u>the cat</u> have come.'

     (b)   <u>Abantu nezinkomo ku</u>yabaleka nje.
           'The <u>people</u> and <u>the cattle</u> are just making
           off.'

4.2.4.1(b)(iii) Use of the subject concord representing
                the substantive nearest to the predicate

Doke (1955:20) claims that this is an extremely common
way of representing compound subjects and objects in the
predicate, but that it is probably more frequent with
compound objects than with compound subjects. Example:

-compound subjects

(22) (a)   Umkhumbi <u>nabantu</u> bashonile.
           'The ship and <u>the people</u> went down.'

     (b)   Amandla <u>nobudoda</u> <u>bu</u>ligugu.
           'Strength and <u>manliness</u> are valued
           possessions.'

-compound objects

(23) (a)   Masi<u>wa</u>thenge <u>amabhantshi</u> <u>neziqgoko</u>.
           'Let us buy <u>the coats</u> and <u>hats</u>.'

     (b)   Ngi<u>m</u>bonile <u>umntanakho</u> <u>nenja</u> yakhe.
           'I saw <u>your child</u> <u>and</u> his <u>dog</u>.'

It has already been stated under example (1)(a)-(c) of
this chapter that Doke seems to be the only traditional
grammarian who overtly treats definiteness and
indefiniteness as such. Other traditionalists such as
Cole, etc. do not treat this topic.

4.2.5 Evaluation of the traditional view on definiteness
      and indefiniteness

For the fact that Doke's views are construed as representative of the traditional approach on definiteness and indefiniteness, the evaluation of the traditional view is going to be basically an evaluation of his treatment thereof.

Doke's views on definiteness and indefiniteness may be summarised under the following headings:

(a)   definiteness and inflected nouns and pronouns;

(b)   definiteness in the case of subject and object nouns;

(c)   definiteness in the case of 1st and 2nd persons;

(d)   definiteness concerning proper nouns; and

(e)   simple and compound subject and object nouns.

4.2.5.1 Definiteness and inflected nouns and pronouns

Inflected nouns and pronouns are those to which some structural change has come about because of prefixal or suffixal affixation. Modern grammarians such as Wilkes (1987) refer to this kind of nouns and pronouns as oblique nouns and pronouns, and specifically to abbreviated pronouns in the case of the latter, as for instance in :

(24) (a)   umuntu 'person' > kumuntu to/on/from a/the person,'

      (b)   inja 'dog' > enjeni 'to/on/from a/the dog,'

      (c)   yena 'he/she' > kuye 'to/on/from him/her,' etc.

Doke (op.cit.:10) refers to degrees of definiteness without actually defining what he means thereby. According to Doke the use of abbreviated absolute pronouns supposedly increases the degree of definiteness in the succeeding noun as in :

(25) (a) Ngiya <u>esibayeni</u>. (definite and indefinite)
           'I am going <u>to the/a cattle kraal</u>.'
     (b) Ngiya <u>kuso isibaya</u>. (definite and emphatic)
           'I am going <u>to the/the very cattle kraal</u>.'

Modern grammarians such as Wilkes tend to disagree with
this finding by Doke that inflected absolute pronouns
generate emphasis. They argue that it is difficult, if
not impossible, to verify degrees of definiteness.

4.2.5.2 Definiteness in the case of subject and object
         nouns

         Doke's (1955:11) misconception about the
         representation of a subject or an object noun by
         an absolute, demonstrative or quantitative
         pronoun, ensuring, as he claims, that the
         subject or object concerned is definite, is
         successfully disproved by Wilkes (1987:75) who
         suggests that the abbreviated absolute pronouns
         function as definitisers in Zulu grammar, and
         not their unabridged variants as, for instance
         in :

(26)   UGeorge akalindanga ukuzitholela lelo qiniso.
         Watheleka <u>kuso isilwane</u> ememeza.
         'George did not want to find out. Shouting, he
         charged at <u>the animal</u>.'

         Further, Doke's (op.cit.:10) suggestion that an
         indefinite subject or object is not represented in
         the predicate by its class concord is in conflict
         with his (op.cit.:13) other statement that a
         definite subject or object is represented by its
         class concord in the predicate, because in his
         example (27) below, the NP concerned is either
         definite or indefinite, e.g.

(27)   <u>Umuntu</u> <u>u</u>yahamba
         '<u>The/a</u> person travels.'

Doke's (1955:13) statement that a simple subject is indefinite when it is represented by the indefinite subject concord ku- is also in conflict with his example (28)(a) and (b). Compare :

(28) (a) Umuntu uyahamba. (definite and indefinite)
           'The/a person travels.'

      (b) Kulwa abantu. (indefinite)
           'There fight people/people are fighting.'

In so far as agreement is concerned with regard to simple subjects, Doke (op.cit.:10 and 13) gives definite rules as to the choice of the relevant concord.

4.2.5.3   Definiteness and class 1a nouns

Doke (op.cit.:12) is unconvincing in his assertion that certain proper nouns and kinship terms of class 1a, such as uZashuke and ubaba 'father' have a potentiality for definiteness that is different from other nouns.

What Doke should have drawn attention to here, is that all proper nouns are specific in context. It is this definiteness in context that makes them have 'a potentiality for definiteness'. Similarly, kinship terms do mark definiteness when used as proper nouns, i.e. when used as names of specific people who are uniquely identifiable, like ubaba 'father' being the name of a specific father in a specific family, as specified by the text, e.g.

(29) Msimang (1982:18)
      "Mina ngiyokwenza noma yini oyothi kangiyenze ukuze
      ngithathe ilungelo lami nxa ubaba esebizwe
      ngoyisemkhulu," kuphawule uShaka.

"Kunjalo, ndodana yami, Shaka, kwenanela uDingiswayo."

'"As for me, I shall do whatever it is you shall command in order that I assume my right when (my)father is recalled by his grand-fathers," observed Shaka.

"It is so, my son, Shaka," responded Dingiswayo.'

4.2.5.4 Definiteness in the case of 1st and 2nd persons

Doke's (1955:11) conclusion that 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural, subject and object, are always definite, is valid. The subject or object of the sentence is in this instance always uniquely identified.

(30) (a) Siyasebenza.
'We are working.'

(b) Uyasebenza na?
'Are you working?'

Whereas Givon (1976:154) asserts that subjects are overwhelmingly definite, Wilkes (1987:138) points out that non-agreeing subjects may be either definite or indefinite in Zulu and not exclusively indefinite as Doke (op.cit.:10) claims. Wilkes gives the following examples, where the non-agreeing subject noun can have a definite or indefinite reading, depending on the context in which it occurs :

(31)   (a)   Kuzokhiya <u>umlungu</u>, hhayi mina.
            '<u>The/a white person</u> will lock, not me.'

       (b)   Kufike <u>iphoyisa</u> lapha ekuseni.
            '<u>The/a policeman</u> came here this morning.'

As in Wilkes' (1987:138) case, this study holds
that non-agreeing subjects may be either definite
or indefinite, in Zulu.

4.2.5.5 Definiteness and object nouns

Doke (op.cit.:14) notes that an indefinite
object is one not co-occurring with its object
concord and that a definite object, is one
represented in the predicate by its object
concord, e.g.

(32)   (a)   Ngibona <u>umuntu</u>. (indefinite)
            'I see <u>a person</u>.'

       (b)   Ngiyambona <u>umuntu</u>. (definite)
            'I see <u>the person</u>.'

Wilkes (op.cit.:138) notes that according to traditional
Zulu grammarians, object nouns are made unequivocally
definite when they co-occur with their object concords,
as shown in (32)(b) above, and argues that this implies
that the object concord acts as a definitiser of objects
in very much the same way as the subject concord does in
the case of subject NPs. Modern grammarians such as
Louwrens (1979) and Bosch (1985), a.o., hold a different
view, in that, according to them, the object concord is
not a definitiser, but merely an object marker. More
will be said about the views of these grammarians in the
next section.

4.3 DEFINITENESS AND INDEFINITENESS ACCORDING TO MODERN GRAMMARIANS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

As already pointed out, in languages such as Afrikaans and English, definiteness and indefiniteness are marked respectively, by 'die/'n' and 'the/a'. Modern Africanists like Wilkes (1987:139), have identified markers of these phenomena in the African languages, as subject concords, object concords, abbreviated absolute pronouns, etc.

Before actually considering exactly what Africanists have to say about definiteness and indefiniteness, it will perhaps be appropriate to refer to an outsider like Chafe (1976:39) who claims that there are a variety of considerations which can lead a speaker to assume that his addressee is able to identify what referent he is talking about. He states that for a few categories there is either a unique referent or a uniquely salient one, as with the earth, the moon, the sky, etc. Chafe argues that these referents can never be confused with any other referents because of their uniqueness, which makes them definite.

Louwrens (1983:25) supports this assertion by Chafe by stating that any inquiry into definiteness and indefiniteness will have to rely heavily on an analysis of the contexts within which specific utterances are made.

As a result of this contention, he defines a definite noun phrase as a noun in which the referent is presupposed by the speaker to be uniquely identifiable by the addressee within a particular context of discourse. He points out that as opposed to definite noun phrases, indefinite noun phrases seem quite easily defineable as the direct opposites of their definite counterparts, viz. as noun phrases which refer to persons or things which are not uniquely identifiable within a particular context of discourse.

Donnelan (1973:78) seems to have been making the same point as Louwrens above, when he points out that definite descriptions which are used to enable an audience to pick out whom or what the speaker is talking about and states something about that person or thing, do not only presuppose the existence of someone or something which fits the description, but also that it is a particular someone or something he is talking about.

With reference to singular definite references, Lyons (1977:178) suggests that we can distinguish, a.o., those which refer to some specific individual (or class of individuals) from those which do not refer to a specific individual or class, though they do have reference. Lyons refers to these references as definite and indefinite, respectively. He goes on further (op.cit.:179) to point out that in English, three main kinds of definite referring expressions may be recognised, viz. definite noun phrases, proper names and personal pronouns.

Doke (1955:11 & 12) referred to in 4.2.2. and 4.2.3 above, also discusses proper names and personal pronouns with regard to definiteness.

Lyons (op.cit.:179) points out that the term 'definite description' used by Russell (1905) in referring to definite noun phrases, derives from the view that we can identify a referent, not only by naming it, but also by providing the hearer or reader with a description of it which is sufficiently detailed, in the particular context of utterance, to distinguish it from all other individuals in the universe of discourse since they are uniquely identifiable.

With reference to the definite and indefinite articles, Leech (1986:90) points out that the contrast between them is of a pragmatic nature. He states that the element of definiteness conveys the speaker's understanding that there is some referent that is to be identified uniquely in the contextual knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer.

He suggests that uniqueness implies that the selection of the subject concerned under discussion should not be made difficult by the presence of other similar subjects.

Brown and Yule (1987:169) suggest that in English new information is introduced by indefinite expressions and subsequently referred to by definite expressions, and give among others, the following examples :

(33)   (a)(i) Yesterday I saw a little girl get bitten by
                a dog.
        (ii) I tried to catch the dog, but it ran away.
             (Chafe, 1972:52)
        (b)(i) Mary got some beer out of the car.
        (ii) The beer was warm, (Haviland & Clark,
             1974:514)

They (op.cit.:171) suggest that syntactic forms which are regularly discussed in association with 'given' information include, inter alia :
(i)   Lexical units which are mentioned for the second time as in (33)(a) above, particularly those in definite expressions;
(ii)   Lexical units which are presented as being within the semantic field of a previously mentioned lexical unit as in (33)(b) above.

In this regard, Louwrens (1980:24) points out that the status of new information is vested in the fact that referents are unidentified to the reader at the specific point in the text, as for instance in (34)(a) below.

He states that if, however, the noun phrase is repeated, it presents given information, as its referent is uniquely identifiable at this particular point in the text as in (34)(b) below.

(34)   Msimang (1982:21)

Makhathaleni linqamuke izulu. Abantu bathole isithuba sokuphefumula. Kube yikhona bephuma behlola nomonakalo owenziwe yizulu. Kulaba abayaluzayo kayikho (a) iNdlunkulu. Akekho futhi noMkabayi. Kube yima kukhunjulwa ukuthi konje (b) iNdlunkulu ibibike umzimba obuthaka.

'It soon stopped raining. The people found time for a breather. It was then that they went out to inspect the damage caused by the rain. (a) The queen was not among these who were moving about confusedly. Neither was Mkabayi. It was only then that it was remembered that, by the way, (b) the queen had reported that she was not feeling well.'

Hawkinson and Hyman (1975:165) argue that in languages which have definite/indefinite distinctions, these distinctions can be maintained through the use of definite and indefinite articles, e.g.

(35)   (a) I was sent a letter cf. A letter was sent to me.
       (b) I was sent the letter cf The letter was sent to me.

Zulu, like other African languages, has no such
means to differentiate new and old information,
since Zulu applies agreement morphemes, abbreviated
pronouns and demonstrative pronouns to express
definiteness.

Engelbrecht (1962:24), Von Staden (1968:23) and
Wilkes (1987), (for Zulu) and Louwrens (op.cit.:28)
(for Northern Sotho) have all identified specific
mechanisms that are used to mark definiteness
and/or indefiniteness in these two languages, viz.
the preprefix, interrogative constructions
soliciting specific agreement morphemes in
responses, abbreviated absolute pronouns and
oblique objects. Their arguments are discussed in
later sections of this chapter.

4.3.1 Definiteness and indefiniteness and the category
'preprefix'.

Engelbrecht (1962:24) identifies the nominal
preprefix as a definitiser. He argues that
whenever the preprefix is elided, indefiniteness
occurs, e.g.

(36) (a) Angiboni umfazi.
          'Ek sien nie die vrou, 'n vrou nie'.
          d.w.s. 'n bepaalde, individuele vrou.
          'I do not see the woman, a woman', i.e. a
          definite, individual woman,
      (b) Angiboni mfazi.
          'Ek sien geen vrou nie', d.w.s. iets van die
          vrouegeslag ...
          'I see no woman', i.e. something of the
          feminine gender ...

Von Staden (1968:23) is also of the opinion that the
preprefix is a marker of definiteness, but also of
indifiniteness, e.g.

(37) Akubonwa mfazi.
      'Daar word nie 'n/die vrou gesien nie.'
      'You cannot see a/the woman.'

Von Staden, like Engelbrecht, also points out that the translations refer to a specific, individual case, viz. an individual woman. He suggests therefore that it is better to say that the noun with a preprefix contains a semantic value to indicate specific and individual cases. He (1968:23) concludes :

> 'Indien die term "bepaaldheid" tog in hierdie verband gebruik word, moet dit wees met die veronderstelling dat dit op die besondere, individuele aard van die saak betrekking het'.

In another instance, Von Staden (op.cit.:35) observes that :

> 'Die vorme met beginvokale het 'n waarde om na sake in hulle individuele hoedanigheid te verwys. Sulke naamworde kan met die lidwoord 'n vertaal word in die enkelvoud terwyl die soms in die enkelvoud en meervoud gebruik kan word'.

He cites the following examples :

(38) (a) Kukhona abantu na?
          'Is daar (besondere) mense (d.w.s. bv. oor wie nie voorheen al gepraat is)?'
          'Are there (particular) people (i.e. for example, who have been referred to previously)?'
      (b) Kwafa umuntu, kwafa inkomo, kwafa imbuzi, kwesabeka.
          'Daar het 'n (individuele, besondere) mens, bees, en bok gesterf, dit was vreeslik.'
          'The (individual, particular) human, beast and goat died, it was awful.'

Von Staden (1968:35) argues further that:

'Wanneer die nomina se aanvangsvokale ontbreek, word na hulle as saaksoorte verwys. Sulke naamwoorde kan ook vertaal word met _enige_ of _iets_ soon ('n). Dikwels is dit egter beter om gebruik te maak van die uitdrukking _al wat ... is_, veral in die geval van naamwoorde in die enkelvoud. Vergelyk bv.'

(39) (a) Kukhona bantu na? (sic)

'Is daar (enige) mense (d.w.s. bv. iets wat as mense herken kan word)?

'Are there any people (i.e. who can be identified as such)?'

(b) Kwafa muntu, kwafa nkomo, kwafa mbuzi, kwesabeka.

'Al wat mens, bees en bok is (d.w.s. al wat as mens, bees en bok bestempel kan word) het gesterf.'

'All who can be described as human, beast and goat, died.'

4.3.2 Definiteness and indefiniteness and the category 'demonstrative pronoun'.

The demonstrative pronoun is erroneously identified as an emphasiser by Von Staden (1982:75, 77 and 79). In fact, in all the examples he cites, the demonstrative is definite and deictic, e.g.

(40) (a) Lo muntu usize kakhulu.

'This person has helped a lot.'

(b) Umuntu lo usize kakhulu.

'_This_ person has helped a lot.'

(c) Umuntu lona usize kakhulu.

'_This_ person has helped a lot.'

(41) (a) Umfana ubulele inyoka.
          'The boy has killed the snake.'
      (b) <u>Lo mfana</u> ubulele inyoka.
          '<u>This boy</u> has killed the snake.'

4.3.3 Definitising of subject and object NPs in Zulu

Definiteness and indefiniteness have only recently become an object of investigation by modern linguists such as Bosch (1985), Louwrens (1979 and 1983) and Wilkes (1976) in African languages. Louwrens has investigated definiteness in Northern Sotho and the other two in Zulu. All three investigators have each identified specific markers of definiteness in African languages. In the ensuing paragraphs, the discussion involves, for instance, subject concords, object concords, abbreviated absolute pronouns, etc.

4.3.3.1 Definitising of subject nouns

It has become conventional among Africanists to distinguish between two types of subject nouns, viz. agreeing subject nouns, i.e. subject nouns which agree with the predicate by means of their subject concords and non-agreeing subject nouns, i.e. subject nouns which do not agree with their predicates, as for instance happens in Zulu when the verb takes the indefinite subject concord <u>ku-</u>, as, for instance in :

(42) <u>Ku</u>khale ibhungane ekhaya.
      '<u>A beetle</u> was buzzing at home.'
      (i.e. there was nobody at home).'

In making a point that subject nouns that agree with the predicate are exclusively definite in Zulu, Wilkes (op.cit.:138) cites Doke (1955:10) in the following examples:

(43) (a) Izingane <u>zi</u>yakhala.
          'The children are crying.'
      (b) Abafana <u>ba</u>khuthele kakhulu.
          '<u>The</u> boys are very diligent,' etc.

Givon (1976:158) and Louwrens (1979:13) have also noted that subject nouns co-occurring with agreement morphemes are exclusively definite.

Givon (1976:158) suggests that in Bantu languages such as Rwanda, Bemba and others, it is very rare to get anything except a definite interpretation on subject nouns. He suggests further that in a number of languages, e.g. Dzamba, the preprefix has extended its function, in some environments, to become a definitiser. Givon (op.cit.:158) notes too that in most Bantu languages, unmarked object nominals may be interpreted as either definite or indefinite, as in Bemba.

With reference to definiteness and referentiality, Givon (1984:331) identifies three variants of object NPs, namely:

(a) Ref. Def. :- 'where the speaker assumes that the hearer already knows the object NP's identity, as in :
    Mary was looking for <u>the book</u>;
(b) Ref. Indef. :- where the speaker does not assume that the hearer knows the object NP's identity, as in :
    Mary was looking for <u>a book</u> she lost yesterday;

(c)   Non. ref. :- where the speaker does not refer to any particular object NP, as for instance in : Mary was looking for <u>a book</u> to read.

Wilkes (1987:138) observes that the same seems to be true of agreeing subject nouns in many African languages like, for instance Northern Sotho (according to Louwrens, 1983:38), Bemba and Rwanda (according to Givon, 1975:158).

It has already been pointed out that Wilkes (op.cit.:138) holds that non-agreeing subject nouns may either be definite or indefinite and not exclusively indefinite in Zulu, as does this study, as for instance in:

(44)   (a) <u>Ku</u>zongena umfana.
           '<u>A/The</u> boy will enter.'
       (b) <u>Ku</u>khala ingane.
           '<u>A/The</u> baby cries.'

It seems relevant at this stage to consider generic nouns, concerning definiteness and indefiniteness. Louwrens (1983:30) regards generic nouns as nouns which have a specific genus or species as a <u>unique</u> referent. He points out that the genus or species to which a generic noun refers, constitutes a unit consisting of a set of members each one of which is characterised by clearly definable features which are typical of the genus or species as a whole.

Louwrens (op.cit.:30) states that the term "generic noun" signifies that a noun of this type can never refer to a singular member of a given genus or species, but always has as its <u>unique</u> referent, the entire genus or species. Thus, for example, the noun <u>ibhubesi</u> 'lion' in sentence (45) below does not refer to a specific lion, as a member of a larger set of animals known as 'lions', but has the

genus 'lion' as its unique referent. Louwrens (1983:30) notes that in this sense, generic nouns always present given information, meaning that they express definiteness, e.g.

(45) <u>Ibhubesi</u> liyisilo.
      '<u>The lion</u> is a wild-beast.'

4.3.3.2 Definitising of object nouns

Wilkes (1987:138) is of the opinion that whilst Zulu grammarians are more or less in agreement in as far as the definitising of subject nouns is concerned, they are less so in so far as the definitising of object nouns is concerned. Wilkes (op.cit.139) points out, however, that modern grammarians such as Louwrens (1979) and Bosch (1985), for instance, hold a different view, viz. that the object concord is merely an object marker.

Bosch (op.cit.:76) states it categorically that the object concord in Zulu is not a marker of definiteness since an object must be either definite or generic, i.e. denote a whole range of members of a given subclass, before object agreement may take place. Bosch, in fact, compared different texts from various reputed Zulu literary works from which she removed all the object concords which were supposed to function as definitisers. The unreserved acceptance of both versions of extracts by mother-tongue speakers, she claims, made her conclude that the object concord in Zulu does not function as a definitiser. According to her, object nouns may be definite even though they are not accompanied by their respective object concords, as for instance in:

(46)   Ngibona isitolo.
       'I see a/the shop.'

Wilkes (1987:139) refutes Bosch's conclusion on the grounds that evidence gained from the investigation into the function of the abbreviated pronouns tends to be more in favour of the traditional view in this regard. He claims that the traditional view is supported in so far as it claims that object concords may function as definitisers of object nouns, whilst the modern claim that objects may be definite without the assistance of their object concords is recognised. Wilkes qualifies his conclusion by stating that there is an overlap between object nouns with object concords and those without object concords in as far as definiteness is concerned. According to Wilkes (op.cit.:139) where object nouns without concords may be [±definite], those with object concords may have only a definite reading, e.g.

(47)   (a) Ngiyambona umfana.
           'I see the boy.'
       (b) Ngibona umfana.
           'I see a/the boy.'

At the conclusion of point 4.5 above, reference was made to a discussion of views identifying other markers of definiteness in Zulu. These views will now be evaluated in the paragraphs hereafter.

4.3.3.2(a) Abbreviated absolute pronouns as markers of definiteness

It has already been mentioned that Wilkes proposes specific mechanisms as markers of definiteness. He (1987:138) suggests that abbreviated absolute pronouns are formatives which are apparently derived from absolute pronouns through the omission of their stabilising -na, e.g. bo- < bona, lo- < lona, etc. Wilkes asserts that the function of these derived forms had thus far largely been ignored by Zulu grammarians, presumably because it was considered to be the same as that of absolute pronouns. He suggests that such a conclusion is unfounded as these forms, according to him, are definitisers of oblique object nouns, e.g.

(48)   (a) Angizange ngigawule ngayo le mbazo.
          'I have never chopped with this very axe.'
       (b) Asizwani kahle naye uMaDlamini.
          'We do not agree well with MaDlamini.'

Wilkes (op.cit.:137) suggests further that abbreviated absolute pronouns are formatives in combination with the copulative prefixes yi- and ngu- as well as with prepositions such as the instrumental nga-, the associative na-, the locative ku-, the comparative nganga-, etc. e.g.

(49)   (a) Le mbazo angizange ngigawule ngayo.
          'This axe I have never chopped therewith.'
       (b) Laba bantu angithembeli kubo.
          'These people I do not believe in.'

Wilkes (op.cit.:137) further draws attention to the fact that the prepositional objects in the above-mentioned examples, e.g. Le mbazo and Laba bantu, have been moved from their post-verbal

position, to a preverbal position while their so-called abbreviated absolute pronouns _-yo_ in (49)(a), and _-bo_ in (49)(b) above, appear as complements of the prepositions _nga-_ and _ku-_, respectively. He observes that the use of the abbreviated pronouns is obligatory in all sentences such as those in (49) above. He suggests that this tempts one to believe that these abbreviated forms have taken the place of the NPs that have been moved in much the same way as pronouns in many languages take the place of pronominalised nouns.

Wilkes (1987:139) concludes that the abbreviated absolute pronouns function as definitisers in Zulu and not as emphasisers as Doke and others consider them to be. He argues that they are definitisers, and more precisely, definitisers of oblique objects as is illustrated in the following text that he gives :

(50) UFreddie wayesephule umthetho obaluleke kakhulu empilweni yebhubesi. Amabhubesi amancane akufanele angene izindaba zamabhubezi amadala. Akusakhulunywa-ke ngokuwahlasela. Ukwephula lo mthetho kwakusho ukufa okusheshayo _ebhubesini_ _elincane_ (a). UFreddie wayezimesele ukwephula lo mthetho ukuze avikele uTony.

UFreddie watheleka _kulo ibhubezi_ (b) elidala, ebhodla eveza amazinyo akhe ngesibindi.

'Freddie had broken an important rule of lion life. Young lions are not supposed to poke their noses into the business of older lions. They are certainly not supposed to attack them. To break that rule usually meant death for a _young lion_ (a). Freddie was willing to break this rule to save Tony.

Freddie charged at the bigger lion (b), growling bravely, showing his teeth.'

Wilkes (1987:140) notes, however, that it is noticeable that whenever oblique object nouns are emphasised, the unabridged pronouns, and not their abridged counterparts are used, e.g.

(51) (a) ku<u>lona</u> ihhashi.
          'at the very horse.'
      (b) nga<u>yona</u> insimbi.
          'with the very iron,' etc.

4.3.3.2(b) Oblique object nouns and definiteness

Wilkes (op.cit.:139) suggests that there is an overlap between object nouns with object concords and those without object concords as far as definiteness is concerned. He pursues the point and argues that the implication is that all subject nouns that agree, as already stated, are exclusively definite, while those that do not, are [± definite] and that the same applies to objects, e.g.

(52) Ngiya<u>mbona</u> <u>umfana</u>.
      'I see <u>the</u> boy.'

Wilkes (op.cit.:139) claims that the same is true in the case of oblique objects which, like ordinary objects, may also have a [± definite] reading as the following examples show for instance :

(53) (a) Ngibhale <u>ngepensele</u>.
          'I wrote with <u>a/the</u> pencil.'
      (b) Ukhuluma <u>nentombi</u>.
          'He talks to <u>a/the</u> girl.'

Wilkes (1987:139) is of the opinion that had Zulu grammarians included oblique objects in their deliberations of definiteness, they would have noticed that the same principle applies to oblique object nouns as to 'ordinary' object and subject nouns in as far as the coding of definiteness is concerned, for oblique objects, like ordinary object nouns, can also be made unequivocally definite through the use of a definite marker. He points out that the only difference is that surface structure constraints in Zulu prevent them from being coded as definite by means of object concords. Instead, Wilkes points out, they make use of other kinds of morphemes for the same purpose, namely the so-called abbreviated absolute pronouns, in which case they become exclusively [+ definite], for instance in (50) above.

In the following example, i.e. (54)(a), (b) and (c) below, Wilkes demonstrates that oblique objects not co-occurring with their abbreviated absolute pronouns are either definite or indefinite, e.g.

(54) Wilkes (op.cit.:140)
Wehla (a) <u>ebhanoyini</u> wagijima waya kuTony.
Amadoda lawa ambeka ngokucophelela uTony (b) <u>embhedeni wabagulayo</u>. Bamkhweza (c) <u>ebhanoyini</u>.

'She jumped from (a) <u>a/the plane</u> and ran to Tony. Gently the men placed Tony on (b) <u>a/the stretcher</u>. They loaded him into (c) <u>a/the plane</u>.'

4.3.4 Insights into African languages grammar

4.3.4.1 Wilkes and abbreviated absolute pronouns

Wilkes' (1987:140) study of abbreviated absolute pronouns leads him to some new insights into Bantu grammar that have emanated therefrom.

The first insight is that whenever oblique object nouns are emphasised, the unabridged pronouns, and not their abridged counterparts, are used (see 4.5.3 (b), above).

4.3.4.2 Relationship between subject, object and oblique object nouns

The second insight gained from the investigation of these abbreviated formatives is the unique relationship that exists between subject, object and oblique object nouns, viz. that all three categories are definitised in the same way, by means of definitising morphemes. Subjects are definitised by means of subject concords as in (43)(a) and (b); objects by means of object concords as in (47)(a), and oblique objects by means of abbreviated absolute pronouns as in (48)(a) and (b).

Wilkes (op.cit.:140) states that agreeing subjects are basically definite and that non-agreeing ones become definite or indefinite by means of an indefinite subject concord ku-, as illustrated in example (45) above. According to him (op.cit.:140), the other two categories, viz. object NPs and oblique object NPs, may have both been basically indefinite and consequently had to make use of morphological means to indicate their definiteness. Their use of morphological means brings them in line with subjects whose definiteness

is also morphologically marked. He suggests that
it is possible that the latter two categories (in
their unmarked state) later changed their status
from being solely [-definite] categories to that of
being [± definite] categories, their definiteness
depending on the context in which they occur.

In pursuit of his argument, Wilkes (1987:140)
observes that if it is true that the abbreviated
absolute pronouns are basically definitisers and
not pronouns, as Doke and others claim, they then
provide a valuable clue as to the conditions under
which a rule such as 'Move NP' operates in the
grammar of Zulu. He argues that it is only nouns
which are unequivocally definite, i.e. those which
are overtly definitised by means of definitising
morphemes, that can be moved from their basic
sentence positions, as for instance happens with
the subject nouns uButhelezi and uvalo, both of
which have been postponed in the following
sentence :

(55) Lapho ezwa lowo mbiko, uButhelezi, lwamuthi he
uvalo.
'When Buthelezi received that information he got
into a terrible fright.'

Wilkes (op.cit.:140) asserts that grammarians
generally agree that such movement of subjects (and
objects) is dependent on the presence of the
subject (and object) agreement morphemes of the
NPs that have been moved. Wilkes points out that
the consequence of his finding is that when
definitisers are not present, such movement by the
indefinite subject or object is not possible.

The foregoing argument leads Wilkes (1987:141) to conclude that it would seem that the same condition that governs the movement of subject NPs, viz. that they must be overtly marked definite before they can be moved, also applies to object and oblique objects as for instance in :

(56) (a) Ipensele ulitholile na?
          'Have you found the pencil?'
      (b) Iqeja basalima ngalo.
          'As for the hoe, they still cultivate there-
          with,'

He argues that the object NP and the oblique object NP are the only other NP categories that have a syntactic relationship with verbs. The above argument leads Wilkes to assert that if this conclusion is correct, then it means that sentences with fronted objects such as (56) above, can be derived only from sentences in which these objects are overtly definitised as in :

(57) (a) Ulitholile ipensele na?
          'Have you found the pencil?'
      (b) Basalima ngalo iqeja.
          'They still cultivate with the hoe,'

and not from examples such as:

(58) (a) Utholile ipensele na?
          'Have you found a/the pencil?'
      (b) Basalima ngeqeja.
          'They still cultivate with the/a hoe.'

Yet again, the former proposal by Wilkes (op.cit.:141) leads him to believe that it implies that only overtly definitised nouns may be relativised, which would mean that a relativised noun such as <u>itshitshi</u> in (59) below must consequently be an overtly definitised noun in underlying structure, e.g.

(59) Lihle liyilanga <u>itshitshi</u> okhulume <u>nalo</u>.
'She is very beautiful, the young girl you talked to.'

Wilkes concedes that in the past, linguists such as Louwrens (1980) considered the markers of NPs that have been moved in sentences such as (56)(a) and (b) above, as phonetic traces which have been left behind by such NPs. They then believed that the abbreviated absolute pronouns in such sentences had indeed taken the place of the NPs that had been moved, as for instance in (56)(b). Wilkes contends that the abbreviated absolute pronouns must be regarded as definitisers and not as pronouns or phonetic traces, because if they are definitisers, it then means that they can never take the place of the NPs that have been moved.

Wilkes (1987:141) observes that a further consequence of the finding is the fact that it queries the translation of object concords and abbreviated absolute pronouns in cases where their antecedent NPs have been moved as it creates the impression that these forms act as pronouns of the NPs that have been moved, a view that has been refuted in his paper. He alludes that if the finding made in his paper is accepted, it would then mean that the correct rendering in English of sentences with a fronted oblique NP, such as the

one in (56)(b) above, for instance, is not 'As for
the hoe, they still cultivate therewith, but rather
'The hoe, they still cultivate with' (with emphasis
on 'the hoe').

In spite of what has just been said, Wilkes
(1987:141) still has some uncertainties that though
it may seem justified to regard the abbreviated
absolute pronouns as definitisers and not as
pronouns or phonetic traces, why is it that these
forms may, as definitisers, appear with other forms
which also tend to definitise nouns in some way or
another, as for instance demonstrative and
inclusive quantitative pronouns, as in :

(60)   (a) Siyokhuluma nabo bonke labo bantu abakhe lapho.
           'We are going to talk with all these people who
           live there.'

or with emphatic absolute pronouns as for instance in :

       (b) Ngithe kuye yena uSipho ...
           'I said to the very Sipho himself ...'

4.3.5 Interrogative constructions with regard to
definiteness and indefiniteness

Louwrens (1983:28) has identified three types of
interrogative constructions from which definiteness
and indefiniteness are depicted in Northern Sotho.
He suggests that these constructions exhibit
particular grammatical characteristics which can be
directly related to the "definite" : "indefinite"
distinction. These three types of interrogatives
may be illustrated as follows in Zulu, following
Louwrens' Northern Sotho examples:

(61) TYPE 1

(a) <u>Ubani</u> onyathele lapha?
   '<u>Who is it</u> who has trod here?'

TYPE 2

(b) Kunyathele <u>ubani</u> lapha?
   '<u>Who</u> trod here?'

TYPE 3

(c) Ubisi luchithwe <u>ubani</u>?
   '<u>By whom</u> was the milk spilt?'

Louwrens (1983:29) draws attention to the fact that
the interrogative <u>ubani</u>? 'who', <u>mang</u>? (in Northern
Sotho), is regarded as a noun of class la and that
it is used with agreement morphemes which are
normally associated with nouns of class la, e.g.,
<u>o-</u> in type 1 above. He argues further that since
<u>ubani</u>? is regarded as a noun, it will be assumed
that it has referential properties like any other
noun, i.e. <u>ubani</u>? is used in questions to refer to
an individual who fits the description expressed by
the question. So, in questions listed under Type 1
and Type 2 above, <u>ubani</u>? refers to an individual
who fits the description of having caused
footprints, while in the question listed under Type
3, <u>ubani</u>? refers to an individual who fits the
description of having spilt the milk.

Louwrens (op.cit.:30) concludes therefore that
these questions request the addressee to completely
identify the referent whose existence is
presupposed by the question word <u>ubani</u>? in each
case.

However, Louwrens (1983) does not spell out explicitly how the interrogative <u>ubani</u>? marks or elicits definiteness or indefiniteness - a factor to be evaluated further on.

4.3.6 Evaluation of the views of modern Africanist grammarians on definiteness and indefiniteness

It has already been stated above that modern Africanists who are in the forefront on views about definiteness and indefiniteness are Louwrens (1979 and 1983) and Wilkes (1987), as well as Bosch (1985). Before a critical evaluation of their views is made, it may be of interest and relevance to reflect on modern linguists' comments on this subject.

Throughout this discussion, an attempt has been made to show that definiteness in African languages is not marked by articles such as 'the/die' and 'a/'n' but by other mechanisms already discussed above.

It can be deduced from Lyons' discussion above, that definiteness involves presuppositions of existence in the interpretation domain and no assertions, e.g.

(62) Msimang (1982:10)
Sithunywe <u>yisizwe</u>, Mageba. <u>Isizwe</u> besethembile, Mageba, ukuthi inkosi izokwenza <u>isiko lesizwe</u> elaziwayo.
'We have been sent <u>by the people</u> (to you), Your Majesty. <u>The people</u> were trusting, Your Majesty, that the king would perform <u>the custom</u> of <u>the people</u>, that is known.'

In the above example <u>isizwe</u> 'the people' and <u>isiko</u> 'the custom' are both presupposed by and are uniquely identifiable to both the messengers and the king, respectively.

Hawkinson and Hyman (1975:147) hold that definite referents are usually old information while indefinite referents are usually new information, as in :

(63) (a) I received a letter today. (new)
          'Ngithole incwadi namuhla.'
      (b) The letter came by special delivery. (old)
          'Incwadi ifike ngeposi lekhethelo.'

Sentence (64)(b) conforms with Wilkes' (op.cit.:140) conclusion, that subjects are basically definite and that they only become indefinite by means of an indefinite subject marker, viz the indefinite subject concord ku-, e.g.

(64) (a) Kulwa abantu.
          'People are fighting.'
      (b) Kukhale ibhungane ekhaya
          'A beetle was buzzing at home.'

This study also supports the views expressed above that subjects are basically definite, particularly if they are old or given information as for instance in the following extract :

(65) (a) Ubuhhomohhumu lobuya bukhombise ngokusobala
          ukuthi inkosi yakwaMthethwa ithukuthele.
          'That hubbub showed clearly that the king of
          the Mthethwa people is annoyed.'

Lyons (1977:151) suggests that a definite description of NPs is achieved when the speaker has sufficiently modified the headnoun so that the referent can be identified by the hearer. He notes that presumably no further modification is then added. By this he means that if a single modifier is judged by the speaker to have established the unique referent, no further modification is required. He points out that if the definite

description has not been achieved, the speaker must repeat the application of the description mechanism to further restrict the range of possible referents. These restrictive modifications often consist of information known to both speaker and hearer through previous discourse or through common knowledge about the real world.

Wilkins and Kimenyi (1975:151) define a definite NP as one whose referent is presupposed by the speaker and which is uniquely identifiable by the addressee, as does Louwrens (1983:25) and some of the grammarians mentioned above. According to them, a definite description is achieved when the speaker has sufficiently modified the headnoun so that the referent can be identified by the hearer. They claim that if a single modifier is judged by the speaker to have established the unique referent, no further modification is required, as in :

(66)   (a) the <u>big</u> red house
            'indlu <u>enkulu</u> ebomvu,'

which is properly used when there are a number of red houses, only one of which is big. They state that alternatively

        (b) the <u>red</u> big house
            'indlu <u>ebomvu</u> enkulu'

would be used when there are a number of big houses only one of which is red.

In both investigations by Louwrens and Wilkins and Kimenyi, the speaker and the hearer must know exactly what the referent is, for the concept of definiteness to be present as in (66)(a) and (b) above.

Heim (1982:275) on the other hand approaches the same problem from a completely different angle, involving a speaker, A, and a listener, B, trying to understand what A says as they go along. In order to understand A, B has to extract and retain the information contained in A's utterances. B's task is to construct and update a 'file' which, at any point in the conversation, contains all the information that A has conveyed up to that point. A is uttering the following text :

(67)   (a)<u>Inkosikazi</u> ilunywe (b) <u>yinja</u>. (c) <u>Iyishaye</u> (d) <u>ngesigwedlo</u>.   (e)   <u>Siye</u> sephuka.   (f)   <u>Inja</u> <u>ibalekile</u>.

(a) '<u>A woman</u> was bitten by (b) a <u>dog</u>. (c) <u>She</u> hit him d) <u>with a paddle</u>. (e) <u>It</u> broke in half. (f) <u>The dog</u> ran away.'

According to Heim (op.cit.:275), at the beginning of A's utterance, B's file is empty. After A has uttered (67)(a), (b) and (d), B's file has received new information. A's utterance of (c), (e) and (f) evokes old information in B's file, because B already knows the subjects under discussion.

The discussion of the investigation by traditional Zulu grammarians and the views of linguists generally, show that despite the fact that Zulu is a modern language, it has different markers of definiteness/indefiniteness and that these do not include definite and indefinite articles but subject and object concords, abbreviated absolute pronouns, oblique objects and some other agreement morphemes used in answering to interrogative constructions based on <u>(ng)ubani</u>?

Finally, Wilkins and Kimenyi (1975:152) like Doke (op.cit.:14) show that qualificatives do indicate definiteness as, for instance in:

(68) (a) the <u>big</u> red house.
          'indlu <u>enkulu</u> ebomvu'
      (b) the <u>red</u> big house
          'indlu <u>ebomvu</u> enkulu.

Views concerning definiteness and indefiniteness by international modern grammarians have now been considered. It is now intended, in the paragraphs that follow, to evaluate what modern Africanists have to say about this vexed subject.

An introduction has been made in the foregoing paragraphs as to what is generally understood by the concepts definiteness and indefiniteness. In the paragraphs that follow, these concepts shall be discussed with particular reference to their occurrence in Zulu.

4.3.6.1 Definiteness and indefiniteness and the category 'preprefix'

Writers such as Engelbrecht (1962), and Von Staden (1968) are in conflict in their claim that Zulu preprefixes are definitesers. Engelbrecht (op.cit.:24) is categorical that whenever the preprefix is elided, indefiniteness occurs, whereas Von Staden (op.cit.:23) claims that its presence is both definite and indefinite.

Engelbrecht's example :

(69) Angiboni mfazi.
      'Ek sien geen vrou nie', d.w.s. iets van die vrouegeslag ...
      'I see no woman', i.e. something of the female gender ...

is unsuitable since he uses a personal noun which is inherently definite because of its generic nature. His example can also translate:

'I do not see any woman', i.e. including the woman (i.e. known information).

This is in spite of the fact that the construction is in the axiomatic or absolute negative.

Von Staden's (1968:25) claim is ambiguous. He also uses a personal noun, e.g.

(70) Akubonwa umfazi.
      'You cannot see a/the woman.'

In fact, the translation can read :
'You cannot see the woman', but including a woman, any woman, for that matter.'

In the following text, both personal and impersonal nouns are used. Impersonal nouns referring to implied and/or known information are definite. It is impossible in the context in which they are used to elide the preprefix :

(71) Msimang (1982:65)
      '"Siyezwa, baba,"sekuphikelela uMmama." Kodwa noma kunjalo siyakunxusa akuba usitshele (a) iqiniso ngalokhu esifuna ukukwazi. Sinaphutha lini thina phezu kokushona kukamama?"

      "Kwamphazamisa   uJama   ukuba   (b) izingane zimphazamisa (c) ngalolu hlobo. Wayazi ukuthi zizophikelela kanjena aze azithunuke (d) amanxeba ayeselele (e) uqweqwe ngaphezulu, ngokumbuyisela emuva (f) kulowo muhla ashiywa ngawo yigugu lakhe, iNdlunkulu yakwaNobamba."'

'"We understand, dad," so continued Mmama. "But even if it be so we urge you to tell us (a) <u>the truth</u> about that which we want to know. What fault of ours has contributed to our mother's death?"

"It disturbed Jama that (b) <u>the children</u> should bother him (c) <u>this way</u>. He knew that they would continue like this until he would skretch (d) <u>(the) wounds</u> which already had (e) <u>(some) crust</u> on top, by reminding him of (f) <u>the/that very day</u> he was left by his treasure, the Queen of KwaNobamba."'

In the above text (a) <u>iqiniso</u> 'the truth' is old information, hence it is definite. (b) <u>izingane</u> 'the children' is also old information in addition to being a personal noun, hence it too is definite. In (c) <u>ngalolu hlobo</u> 'this way', too, there is old information whose definiteness is emphasised by the demonstrative pronoun of the first position : <u>lolu</u> 'this'. Old information is contained in (d) <u>amanxeba</u> '(the) wounds', too, since this refers to the actual passing away of their mother. So is (e) <u>uqweqwe</u> 'the/some crust' which refers to the wounds. Wilkes (op.cit.:139) proves beyond doubt that oblique objects are definite. Hence (f) <u>kulowo muhla</u> 'the/that very day' is also definite. Not only that, (f) refers to old information.

The above discussion shows without doubt that the preprefix is not a definitiser as is claimed by Von Staden. Old/known information implies definiteness, confused in this case with the presence of the preprefix.

Although Mzolo (1968:195) does not discuss definiteness/indefiniteness as such, he highlights some of the important environments in which the preprefix is elided. In each of these cases definiteness is expressed :

(a)   after the locative prefixes <u>ku</u> and <u>kwa-</u> e.g.

(72)   (a) Ngiyakusuka ngiye <u>kubaba</u>.
       'I will arise and go to <u>my father</u>.'
       (b) Abantwana bavakashela <u>kwagogo wabo</u>.
       'The children are paying a visit to <u>their granny's place</u>.'

(b)   after the possessive prefix <u>ka-</u> e.g.

(73)   (a) UThoko uzothunga <u>izingubo zikagogo</u>.
       'Thoko will sew <u>granny's dresses</u>.'
       (b) Sizolima <u>ngamahhashi kamama</u>.
       'We shall plough <u>with mother's horses</u>.'

(c)   after the demonstrative (discussed in 4.5.3 above)
       e.g
(74)   Angimthandi <u>lo muntu</u>.
       'I do not like <u>this person</u>.'

(d)   in vocatives e.g.

(75)   (a) Sikhulekile, <u>zinduna</u>.
       'We salute you, <u>captains</u>.'
       (b) Wozani <u>bafana</u>.
       'Come along <u>boys</u>.'

The above discussion proves beyond doubt that the
preprefix, unlike the other morphological devices
referred to above, is not a definitiser.

4.3.6.2 Definiteness and indefiniteness and the category
        'demonstrative pronoun'.

        The fact that the demonstrative pronouns are
        deictic does not mean that they cannot be
        emphasisers, as Von Staden (1968:75, 77 and 79)
        shows. The demonstrative pronoun is however
        primarily a definitiser, e.g.

(76)   Msimang (op.cit.:132)

Amane ashaqeke nje uMkabayi. Ngabe umuzwe kahle
impela uShaka noma uyaphupha? Ngabe nguye (a) lo
Shaka owabulala uMudli okhulumayo noma ngenye
indoda nje angayaziyo? Aqhubeke uShaka anxuse
ukuba uMkabayi ahlale eyiso lakhe njalo (b) lapha
kwaNobamba, ngisho eSiklebheni imbala ngoba yena
uyahamba (c) kuleli lasenhla ...

'Mkabayi was simply astonished. Could she have
heard Shaka properly or is she dreaming? Could he
be (a) this very Shaka who killed Mudli who is
talking or is it just some other man whom she does
not know? Shaka continued and induced Mkabayi
always to be his eye (b) here at KwaNobamba, even
at eSiklebheni itself because as for himself, he is
going away from (c) this country in the north ...'

4.3.6.3 Definiteness and indefiniteness and the category 'subject'

Concerning old information and the concept
definiteness, Louwrens (1979:11) is of the opinion
that grammarians are unanimous that these features
refer to the same concept. Louwrens points out
that the word 'dog', for instance, shall be
definite in a discourse situation if, (a) it is
identifiable to the listener, and (b) that the
specific dog referred to can be isolated from all
other possible referents of the word 'dog'. He
points out that it is on the grounds of this
interpretation of definiteness that Chafe, a.o.,
accepts that certain nouns are by definition
definite in spite of the discourse context in which
they may occur.

He identifies these nouns as : (a) proper nouns, in Zulu, such as <u>uJabulani</u> and <u>uMafika</u>, (b) nouns such as <u>ilanga</u>, <u>inyanga</u>, <u>umhlaba</u>, and (c) generic nouns which refer to something common to a group or class, e.g.

(77)   (a) <u>Ilanga</u> lishona entshonalanga.
       'The sun sets in the west.'
     (b) UJabulani yisitshudeni sasoNgoye.
       'Jabulani is a student at oNgoye.'
     (c) <u>Ihhashi</u> alinazo izinselo.
       'A/The horse does not have hooves.'

With reference to the above mentioned findings, Louwrens (1979:13) points out that, in terms of definiteness, the concept old information is closely related to pronominalisation and the term 'topic' in Northern Sotho. By topic here is meant what Friedman (Louwrens: op.cit.:13) defines as that or those nominals which are established first - thus creating a scene - and as such become definite. The same is discernible in Zulu in the following example :

(78) Nempela (a) <u>wa</u>phenduka ibuya umfo kaBhengu, wabuya (b) <u>e</u>phindelela kodwa (c) <u>e</u>buya njalo (d) <u>e</u>lambatha. Lilandula itshitshi lakwaZulu. (e) <u>Wa</u>yebona nokho ukuthi (f)<u>liya</u>(g)<u>m</u>thanda. (Msimang, 1982:60)

'Indeed, the Bhengu fellow resembled a backwash, (a) <u>he</u> kept on coming back but (b) <u>he</u> always (c) (<u>he</u>) went back (d) empty-handed. The Zulu young princess kept on refusing to accept his advances. (e) <u>He</u> could realise though, that (f) <u>she</u> loved (g) <u>him</u>.'

In the above text the subject concords w- (<u-) in
(a), e- in (b), (c) and (d) and li- in (f) refer to
old information, viz. the nouns umfo kaBhengu 'the
Bhengu fellow' and itshitshi lakwaZulu 'the Zulu
young princess', respectively, with the former also
being the subject on two and four occasions
respectively, and the latter once.

Louwrens (op.cit.:28) depicts indefiniteness in one
group of sentences he has classified under what he
terms a Type 2 construction, where the class 17
indefinite subject concord is used and in which the
interrogative is not inflected nor is it followed
by a relative contruction as in :

(79)   Kunyathele ubani lapha?
       'Who trod here?'

Although Louwrens (1979:29) notes that the
interrogative noun ubani? is used with agreement
morphemes of class 1a and that it has referential
properties like any noun, he fails to state
categorically that it is these agreement morphemes,
in particular, which make the subject to which
ubani? refers, definite or indefinite. Throughout
his discussion of definiteness and indefiniteness,
Louwrens gives the impression that the
interrogative noun is a marker of definiteness.

It is conceded in this study, in 4.8 above and
elsewhere, as supported by Lyons (Auwera, 1980:81),
Hawkinson and Hyman (op.cit.:147) and Wilkes
(1987:140) that subjects are basically definite.
It follows, therefore, that the answers to the
three questions mentioned above in Louwrens' three
types of questions, will contain definite or
indefinite subjects, definitised or indefinitised
because of the agreement morphemes concerned, and
also because such subjects are presupposed by the

speaker, i.e. the one who answers, and is uniquely identifiable by the listener,, i.e. the questioner, respectively.

Although not relating directly to Louwrens' (1979:25) definition of the concept definiteness, as referring to a referent which is presupposed by the speaker and uniquely identifiable by the addressee within a particular context of discourse, Givon (1984:331) states that the speaker assumes the hearer knows the subject's/object's identity because it is old information, as for instance in :

(80) Msimang (1982:14)
"... Ngikhuluma nje, kade (a)elapha uNkwelo noMhlaba nabanye abantwana bethi (b)bathunywe yisizwe ukuba bazongeluleka ...

"Awu! Baba! (c)Basithathaphi isibindi esingaka, kodwa bantu? ...

"Nami ngizibuza lowo mbuzo, nkosikazi ... Nokho ngisheshe (d)ngabanika indawo yabo (e)ngabakhumbuza ukuthi yimina osesihlalweni ..."

'"As I am talking, (a)he was here, Nkwalo and Mhlaba and the other princes, saying (b)they had been sent by the people to advise me ...

"Gosh, Sire! where do (c) they get such courage from, really? ...

"I am also puzzled by that question, woman ... However, I quickly showed (d)them their place and reminded (e)them that I am the one who is on the throne ..."'

In (80)(a) above, the pronominalised subject concord e- shows that the subject, Nkwelo, is presuppossed by the speaker, and so are the co-subjects, i.e. the princes conjoined by the associative na- in noMhlaba and nabanye.

In (80)(b) and (e) they are uniquely identifiable as old information to the same addressee while in (c) they are similarly uniquely identifiable to the first speaker too.

This study shows, however, that although it is conceded, as indicated above, that subjects are basically definite, that is the case only if the referent has been previously mentioned in the discourse.

4.3.6.4 Definiteness and indefiniteness and the category 'object'

Louwrens (1979:122) asserts that in Northern Sotho,
'bestaan 'n sterk verband tussen die gebruik van die objekskakel, enersyds, en die bepaaldheid van die objeksnaamwoord, andersyds'.

The above assertion by Louwrens seems to apply to Zulu as well, as for instance in :

(81) Uthisha uyabathuma abafana
'The teacher sends the boys.'

Whilst Doke (1955:14) notes that an indefinite object is one not co-occurring with its object concord and that a definite object is one represented in the predicate by its object concord, Wilkes (op.cit.:139) suggests that there is an overlap between object nouns with object concords and those without object concords, as far as definiteness is concerned.

Wilkes notes that where object nouns without concords may be interpreted as [±definite], those with object concords may only have a definite reading, e.g.

(82) (a) Ngibona umuntu [±definite]
          'I see a/the person.'
      (b) Ngiyambona umuntu (definite)
          'I see the person.'

Bosch (1985:76) is satisfied that the object concord is not necessarily a definitiser. According to Bosch the object may be either indefinite or definite, depending on the context in which it is used.

Wilkes' (1987:139) rebuttal seems more valid than the foregoing argument, in that he contends that objects co-occurring with their object concords have only a definite reading,
for instance :

(83) Ngiyasibona isitolo
      'I see the store,'

whilst objects occurring without their object concords may be either definite or indefinite.

Wilkes (1987:139) is of the opinion that neither the traditional view, viz. that object concords can function as definitisers of objects, nor the modern view, viz. that object concords are not necessarily definitisers, can be unconditionally accepted.

He supports the traditional view in so far as it claims that object concords may function as definitisers of object nouns, whilst the modern claim that objects may be definite without the assistance of their object concords is also recognised. He argues that although this may seem contradictory at first, it is not, because he is of the opinion that there is an overlap between object nouns with object concords and those without object concords as far as definiteness is concerned. Wilkes (op.cit.:139) argues that where objects without concords may be interpreted as [± definite], those with object concords may only have a definite reading, as for instance in example (83) above.

4.3.6.5 Definiteness and indefiniteness and the category 'oblique object'

Wilkes (op.cit.:139) observes that oblique objects may have a [± definite] reading, as in:

(84) (a) Ngibhale ngepensele.
       'I wrote with a/the pencil.'
      (b) Ukhuluma nentombi.
       'He talks to a/the girl,' etc

However, when the above-mentioned sentences include the abbreviated absolute pronouns only [+ definite] readings result, e.g.

(85) (a) Ngibhale <u>ngayo</u> ipensele.
          'I wrote with <u>the</u> pencil.'
      (b) Ukhuluma <u>nayo</u> intombi.
          'He talks to <u>the</u> girl.'

Wilkes (1987:139) draws attention to the fact that very few Zulu grammarians, with the possible exception of Doke (1955), have so far included oblique objects in their deliberations on definiteness. He is of the opinion that had they done so, they would have noticed that the same principle applies to oblique objects as the one which applies to object nouns, as far as the coding of definiteness is concerned, for oblique objects, like ordinary nouns, can also be made unequivocally definite through the use of a definite marker. Wilkes (op.cit.:139) suggests that the only difference is that surface constraints in Zulu prevent them from being coded as definite by means of object concords. Instead, according to him, they make use of another kind of morpheme for the same purpose, viz. the so-called abbreviated absolute pronoun.

On the basis of the researchers referred to and quoted above, this study concurs that whereas, in languages such as English and Afrikaans, definiteness and indefiniteness are expressed by means of the articles 'the/die' and 'a/an/'n', respectively, in Zulu, definiteness is expressed by means of definitising morphemes, viz. subject concords, object concords and abbreviated absolute pronouns. Indefiniteness, on the other hand, is expressed by the explicit omission of the relevant class concord and abbreviated absolute pronoun.

This study further concurs that object NPs as well as oblique object NPs occurring without their object concords and abbreviated absolute pronouns, respectively, may have a [± definite] reading, depending on context.

However, in the case of subject NPs, definiteness in Zulu, is without doubt, expressed by means of the definitising morphemes referred to above.

4.4   CONCLUSION

In the foregoing paragraphs, the views of both the traditional and modern Zulu grammarians have been discussed. Attention has been drawn to the fact that among traditionalists, only Doke (1955) discusses definiteness. All Van Eeden (1956) does, is to refer to indefiniteness as marked by the indefinite subject concord ku- without any further discussion. The traditional view, therefore, as discussed in points 4.2 above, is essentially the Dokean approach.

Finally, Bosch and Wilkes offer different reasons, as pointed out above, why sentences which do not have the object concord employed, may have a [± definite] reading. Wilkes discusses the abbreviated absolute pronouns as well as oblique objects extensively. Louwrens discusses the function of pronouns and the interrogative ubani? in relation to definiteness/indefiniteness extensively. From different angles Africanists succeed in proving definiteness/indefiniteness as phenomena that are morphologically marked in African languages.

Having set out to enquire into the relevance of:

(a) the preprefix,
(b) the demonstrative pronoun,
(c) subject and object concords,

(d) the abbreviated absolute pronouns, and oblique objects, and

(e) the interrogative noun <u>ubani</u>?

in distinguishing between 'definiteness and 'indefiniteness', this study shows that Zulu applies morphological techniques in distinguishing between definiteness and indefiniteness. The other morphemes are the adverbial formatives such as <u>nganga-</u>, etc. It has, however, also been shown, that personal and proper nouns as well as generic nouns are all definite in their own right. But over and above that, this study has shown that:

> (i) the copulative concord, e.g.
>> (a) <u>ngu/wu-</u>/umfana
>> (b) <u>yi-/i</u>sitshudeni, as well as,
> (ii) relative concords, are other definitisers not yet specifically identified by Africanists.

The status of the demonstrative pronoun as a definitiser is without doubt. Pointing, whether in the first, second or third demonstrative position, always refers to something definite, which is old or known information.

It has been proved in 4.3.6.1 above, that the preprefix is not a definitiser.

CHAPTER 5

A SUMMARY OF VIEWS CONCERNING THE EXPRESSION OF CONTRAST, EMPHASIS AND DEFINITENESS IN ZULU

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this study has been to research on the expression of contrast, emphasis and definiteness in Zulu and to describe and evaluate it as it is seen by both traditional and modern Zulu grammarians. For this purpose, literary texts and other discourse contexts have been analysed.

This study does not and cannot claim to have uncovered all the relevant aspects concerning the expression of contrast, emphasis and definiteness in Zulu. Therefore, some of the broader principles and trends of thought applied by both traditionalists and modernists in arriving at their conclusions, shall be summarised.

5.2   CONTRAST IN ZULU

Neither Zulu traditionalists nor modernists have given a wide spectrum of the occurrence of contrast in Zulu. Even then, their reference to contrast has been cursory and in passing.

5.2.1 Traditional views on contrast in Zulu

Van Eeden (1956:159) suggests that contrast may be expressed in Zulu by means of the comparative adverbial concord kuna-. (See 1.3 (6) in this dissertation.)

Doke (1961:89), on the other hand, observes that in addition to its ordinary use, the absolute pronoun may be used emphatically, for the purpose of contrast, e.g.

(1)   Zikhulume izinsizwa, kodwa izintombi <u>zona</u> zithule.
       'And the young men chatted, but the young women, on the other hand, remained silent.'

In another context, Doke (1955:207) points out that occurrences of contrast are found in Zulu in certain aphorisms, such as :

(2)   Ikhaba eyikhabayo;
       Ikhotha eyikhothayo.
       'It kicks what kicks it;
       it kicks what licks it : "tit for tat'."

       Doke (op.cit.:207) points out, however, that in ordinary speech, contrast is brought about by the use of contrast conjunctives such as <u>kodwa</u>, <u>kepha</u>, <u>nokho</u>, etc. e.g.

(3)   (a) Bona abanamanga, <u>kodwa</u> nina anazi qiniso.
           'They are not deceitful, <u>but</u> you know not truth.'
       (b) Le nja iyakhonkotha, <u>nokho</u> ayisukeli muntu.
           'This dog barks, <u>nevertheless</u> it does not attack anyone.'
       (c) Uwile <u>kepha</u> akalimalanga.
           'He fell <u>but</u> did not get hurt.'

5.2.2 Modern views on contrast in Zulu

       Wilkes (1976:76) like Doke (1961:89) states that contrast may be brought about by the use of absolute pronouns, as for instance in:

(4)   (a) USipho uthanda uJabulile kepha <u>yena</u> akamthandi.

          'Sipho is fond of Jabulile, but <u>she</u>, on the other hand, is not fond of him.'

    (b) UThoko ukhuluma iqiniso uSipho <u>yena</u> ukhuluma amanga.

          'Thoko tells the truth but <u>Sipho</u>, on the other hand, tells lies.'

Wilkes (1976:77) concludes that although he conducted a close comparison between absolute pronouns as front and as back determiners, he was unable to find any difference between the pre- and post-nominal occurrences of these words, except, perhaps, for a gradual tonal difference.

Louwrens (1985:59), on the other hand, claims emphatically, that the absolute pronoun is used for the purpose of contrast, when and only when it appears in the post-nominal position of the subject noun.

Kunene (1975:172) argues that in sentences in which the absolute pronoun co-occurs with its antecedent noun, contrast is registered, whereas there is none when absolute pronouns are left out, e.g.

(5)   (a) <u>USipho</u> <u>yena</u> <u>u</u>funa ukudla.

          'but Sipho (himself) wants food.'

    (b) <u>USipho</u> <u>u</u>funa ukudla.

          'Sipho wants food.'

5.2.3 Conclusion

Van Eeden's (1956:159) view that contrast may be expressed in Zulu by means of the comparative adverbial concord <u>kuna</u>-, is highly plausible, and so is his assertion (op.cit.:159) that contrast may be strengthened by means of the adverb of manner

kakhulu and the inclusive quantitative -nke; so too is his other assertion (op.cit.:159) that contrast may also be expressed by 'certain' locatives containing the prefixes e-/o- and the suffixes -ini/-eni, as in :

(6)   Msimang (1982:15-16)

(a) Konje ngabe ubeqinisile yini uNkwelo uma ethi impilo kaJama inkulu kuneyomntwana?
'Could it be that Nkwelo was telling the truth when he said that Jama's life is more important than that of a child?'

(b) Omunye angabamdala kanjani komunye uma bengamawele?
'How can one be older? than the other if they are twins?'

(c) ... okusobala ukuthi nguyena okhathazeke ukwedlula bonke abantu ...
'... is is obvious that it is he who is more worried than all the other people ...'

It should be noted however, that example (6)(a) above does not contain the adverb of manner, kakhulu, yet contrast is strengthened. Example (6)(c) on the other hand, though not disputing van Eeden's claim concerning the strengthening of contrast, uses a synonym of kuna-, viz. ukwedlula.

However, it is not entirely correct for Van Eeden to claim that contrast may be realised by means of locatives containing the prefixes e-/o- and the suffixes -ini/-eni only. This depends entirely on context. For instance, the said morphemes do not feature in the following example, yet there is contrast :

(7)   Ngubani <u>omdala</u> kuMandla noBafana?
      UMandla <u>omdala ku</u>Bafana.
      'Who is <u>older between</u> Mandla and Bafana?
      'Mandla is <u>older than</u> Bafana.'

Doke's   (1961:89)   observation   about   absolute
pronouns being markers of contrast is supported by
Wilkes   (1976:76)   and   Kunene   (op.cit.:72)   and
Louwrens (1985:59).   This   study   corroborates   this
finding.

Wilkes   (op.cit.:77) is, however, of the opinion
that the position of the absolute pronoun in
relation to its antecedent noun, has no bearing on
its contrastive function.   Louwrens (op.cit.:59) is
unequivocal   in   his   insistance   that   absolute
pronouns are contrastive only in relation to the
subject NP, and only when they occupy a post-
nominal   position.   Object   nouns   can   also   be
contrasted if they are fronted.

Doke (1961) and Kunene (1975) do not make an issue
of   that,   except   that   in   their   examples,   the
absolute pronouns occupy a post-nominal position.

Although Doke (1955:207) and Kunene (1975:173)
acknowledge the relevance of contrast conjunctives
such as <u>kepha</u>, <u>kodwa</u>, etc., in certain cases where
the absolute pronoun is used, Wilkes (1976:76) does
not.   Consequently,   Wilkes   regards   absolute
pronouns as markers of contrast, even in such
cases, e.g.

(8)   USipho uthanda uJabulile kepha <u>yena</u> akamthandi.
      'Sipho is fond of Jabulile, but <u>she</u> (on the other
      hand) is not fond of him.'

This study illustrates, therefore that in Zulu, contrast may be expressed in the following ways :

(i) by the use of the comparative adverbial concord, e.g. kuna-;

(ii) by the use of locative forms;

(iii) by the use of absolute pronouns used post-nominally with the subject NP and the fronted object NP;

(iv) by the use of antitheses in certain aphorisms; and

(v) by the use of contrast conjunctives such as kepha, kodwa, etc. (See 1.3 (13) in this dissertation.)

Both Wilkes (1976) and Louwrens (1983) (the latter in particular) acknowledge the overlap and relationship between contrast and emphasis.

5.3   EMPHASIS IN ZULU

Whereas emphasis is mainly phonological in languages such as English and Afrikaans, e.g.

(9)   (a) I am going to town.
       (b) I am going to town.
       (c) I am going to town.
       (d) I am going to town.,

in Zulu it is mainly syntactical for instance, by word order change. This study corroborates the latter statement as discussed in 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.3 above.

5.3.1 Traditional and modern views on emphasis in Zulu

5.3.1.1 The present tense -ya- as a marker of emphasis

Linguists such as Doke (1961), and Van Eeden
(1956) indicate that the so-called present tense
-ya- may occur in both sentence final and in
sentence non-final positions. They claim that
the general tendency is that the verb that
contains the -ya- in sentence non-final position
is emphatic, and that emphasis is brought about
by the occurrence of the -ya- morpheme. This
study rejects that conclusion in no uncertain
terms in 3.2.3.6 above.

Du Plessis (1986:73) notes that the notion
'emphatic' is regularly found with the long
present tense where the object and the verb used
are in agreement, Venter (op.cit.:110) regards
this as the secondary function, and so does this
study, e.g.

(10)   (a) Ngiyambona umfundi.
           'I do see her, the student.'
       (b) Ngiyamazi umfazi.
           'I do know her, the woman.'

In chapter 4, object concords have been found to be
definitising and not emphasising morphemes.

Du Plessis (op.cit.:73) is also of the opinion that
there may be a sub-class of verbs which may be used
in the long form with the notions 'emphasis',
'occasional' and 'perfect tense'. This study
rejects du Plessis' claim that these notions come
to the fore as a result of the occurrence of -ya-
in 3.2.3.6 above.

Van Rooyen (1978:117) and Von Staden (1982:76) also
identify -ya- as a marker of emphasis, with Kosch
(1988:2) being categorically opposed to the notion.

5.3.1.2 Word order change and emphasis

   (a) Emphasis by sentence initial positioning and
       inflection

      Doke (1955:208) points out that any word in a
      sentence may be emphasised by moving it to
      sentence initial position. In most cases such a
      word is inflected. The latter two findings are
      supported in this investigation,

   Van Rooyen (1978:125) supports Doke's contention of
   inflecting the word in sentence initial position
   into a copulative for emphasis, e.g.

(11) (a) Abafana bashaya izinkomo.
          'The boys beat the cattle.'
      (b) Abafana abashaya izinkomo.
          'It is the boys who beat the cattle.'

(b)   Fronting of objects

   Doke (op.cit.:7) indicates that the object NP is
   shifted to a sentence initial position to make it
   emphatic, e.g.

(12) Abafana, ngiyababiza.
      'As for the boys, I am calling them.'

   Other traditionalists like Van Eeden (1956:252) and
   Cole (op.cit.:427) also support the view that
   emphasis is generated on the object by placing it
   in sentence initial position and so does this study
   as exemplified above.

Modern grammarians like Ponelis (1980:122) and Bosch (1985:50) do refer to object preposing without associating that phenomenon with emphasis being placed on the preposed object NP. However, Kumalo and Wilkes (1987:15) among others, argue that it is often that we find object nouns in preverbal positions. They state that in such cases the object noun is usually emphasised, as for instance in :

(13) Ugwayi, siyowuthola kuphi?
'As for tobacco, where shall we find it?'

It is concluded in 5.3.1.2, that words in sentence initial position are emphatic.

Von Staden (1982:75-83) identifies the reduplication of morphemes, adverbs, particles y(i) and ng(u)- 'it is', ideophones and interjectives as other markers of emphasis.

(c)   Backshifting of objects

Cope (1982:39) states that when an adverb is to be emphasised, in a sentence in which an object co-occurs with it, the object NP needs to be backshifted so that the adverb intervenes between the verb and the backshifted object, e.g.

(14)   (a) Ihhashi liyidonsa ngamandla inqola
          'The horse pulls it forcefully, the wagon, that is.

However, the adverb becomes more emphatic at sentence initial position as indicated in 5.3.1.2(c) above, with the object NP definitised by its object concord, as for instance in:

      (b) Ngamandla, ihhashi liyayidonsa inqola
          Forcefully, the horse pulls it, the wagon, that is.

(d)   Object interposing

Cole (1982:428) claims that when the object
features between the subject and the verb in
sentence initial position, then both the subject
and the object are emphasised, as clearly concluded
in the last paragraph of 3.4.1.2(b), as for
instance in :

(15) Ubaba, izinkomo uzithenge izolo.
      'As for my father, concerning the cattle, he bought
      them yesterday.'

(e)   Syntactic order of qualificatives

Doke (1955:47) states that in order for
qualificatives to be markers of emphasis, they
occur prenominally. This study supports Doke's
contention in 3.4.1.3 above, e.g.

(16) (a) Omkhulu umuntu ufikile.
          'The important one person has come.'
      (b) Ezami izinkomo bayazithanda.
          'Mine cattle, that is are liked.'

However, Doke (op.cit.:47) points out that when
qualificatives are used together in a series in the
same sentence, possessives and enumeratives precede
adjectives and relatives, although he also concedes
that the above-mentioned order of precedence is not
a hard and fast rule. The sequence of a series of
qualificatives implies that those appearing more to
the left are more emphatic than subsequent ones.

(f)   Subject postponement

Cole (1982:428 and 444) claims that emphasis may be placed on the subject by placing it in sentence final position, e.g.

(17)   (a) Uyabuza uSipho.
           'He is asking, Sipho is.'
        (b) Uthenge izinkomo izolo, ubaba
           'He bought the cattle yesterday, my father did.'

Van Rooyen (1978:148) also discusses subject postponement, but with the ku- insertion. According to him, this ku- is indefinite and simply implies the existence of something which causes focus to fall on the postponed subject NP, as for instance in:

(18)   (a) Kwavela umhlola.
           'There occurred something awe-inspiring.'
        (b) Kwabanda amathumbu.
           'One's intestines got cold: Fig. One got a fright.'

Although Louwrens (1980:72) does refer to the subject NP being frequently shifted to the right of the VP, he does not regard that postponement as marking emphasis on the postponed subject NP, neither does this study, in 5.3.1.2(f) above.

Throughout this study, mention has been made to the fact that words occurring at sentence initial position are emphasised. Therefore, subject postponement implies de-emphasis of such a subject NP, contrary to Cole's and van Rooyen's claim stated above.

5.3.3 Conclusion

It has been indicated in the foregoing paragraphs
how linguists have identified the expression of
emphasis in Zulu. Emphasis may be expressed
variously in the following ways :

5.3.3.1 Copulative inflection

This mechanism has been identified by Doke
(1955:208) and Van Rooyen (1978:125) who claim
that the word in sentence initial position may
be inflected into a copulative, and thus
generating emphasis thereon,

The other mechanisms for the expression of emphasis
are the following :

5.3.3.2 Word order change, which includes :

(i)   Fronting of objects
(ii)   Backshifting of objects
(iii) Object interposing, and
(iv)   Syntactic order of a series of qualificatives.

5.3.3.3 Additional markers of emphasis

The devices identified by Von Staden (1982),
viz. the diminutive -ana, reduplication of
morphemes, adverbs, etc., have been found to be
acceptable as emphasisers.

This study has revealed that contrary to strongly
held views :

(i)   subject postponement and
(ii)   the present tense -ya-
       are not markers of emphasis.

5.4   DEFINITENESS IN ZULU

Definiteness and indefiniteness concern subjects, objects as well as oblique object NPs. Any NP that is definite is one that refers to someone/place/thing that is presupposed by the speaker and uniquely identifiable by the one spoken to. Zulu and the other African languages use subject and object concords, as well as abbreviated absolute pronouns, among others, to express definiteness.

5.4.1 Traditional views on definiteness in Zulu

Doke (1955:10) proposes a working rule, i.e. that an indefinite subject or object is not represented by its class concord in the predicate, e.g.

(9)   (a) <u>Abantu</u> <u>ba</u>yasebenza.
       '<u>The</u> <u>people</u> are working.'
       (b) <u>Ku</u>sebenza <u>abantu</u>.
       'People work/There work people.'
       (c) <u>Ikati</u> <u>li</u>ya<u>lu</u>phuza <u>ubisi</u>.'
       '<u>The</u> <u>cat</u> drinks <u>the milk</u>.'

According to Doke (op.cit.:9), a subject noun that is represented by its class subject concord in the predicate, may be either definite or indefinite, while the postponed subject not represented by its class subject concord can only be indefinite.

According to Van Rooyen (1978:148) definiteness may be expressed in Zulu with subject postponement and the <u>ku-</u> subject concord both featuring in the same sentence. According to Van Rooyen this <u>ku-</u> is indefinite and simply implies the existence of something, which causes focus to fall on the postponed subject NP,

Subject postponement causes de-emphasis on the postponed subject and has nothing to do with definiteness.

Doke (1955:10) claims further that quantitative pronouns are intrinsically definite, a fact which is supported by this study, e.g.

(20)   (a) Ngiya kubo bonke.
          'I am going to them all.'

According to Doke (op.cit.:11) definiteness can also be expressed in Zulu, by means of what he refers to as the agentive use of copulatives formed from nouns and absolute pronouns, e.g.

(21)   (a) Ngabonwa ngabantu.
          'I was seen by (the) people.'
       (b) Ngabonwa yibo abantu.
          'I was seen by the people.'

Other markers of definiteness, according to Doke (op.cit.:11), are adverbial formatives such as nga-, njenga-, nganga-, na-, ku-, kuna-, etc., when prefixed to absolute pronouns, as well as demonstrative and quantitative pronouns, e.g.

(22)   (a) Inkomo inkulu kunayo imbuzi.
          'The ox is bigger than the goat.'
       (b) Wahamba nayo inja.'
          'He left with the dog.'
       (c) ... kuye umuntu.
          '... to him, the person, i.e. to the person.'

5.4.2 Modern views on definiteness in Zulu

Modern African grammarians such as Louwrens (1983:25) accept the view as expressed by modernists such as Chafe (1976:39), Donnelan (1973:78) and others, that definitess refers to a unique referent or a uniquely salient one, as with the earth, the moon, the sky etc. The following discussion is a summary of the views of Africanists.

(a) Definitising of subject nouns

It is generally accepted by Africanists such as Bosch (1985), Wilkes (1976) and Louwrens (1979 and 1983) that subject NPs represented by their subject concords in the predicate, i.e. agreeing subject nouns, are definite, while non-agreeing subject nouns, i.e. those not represented by their class subject concord in the predicate, are indefinite. In fact, Wilkes (1987:138) claims that subject nouns that agree with the predicate are exclusively definite in Zulu and so does Louwrens (1983:38) for Northern Sotho, and Givon (1976:158) in reference to Bemba and Rwanda. This study subscribes to the latter view.

(b) Definitising of object nouns

According to Louwrens (1979) and Bosch (1985), the object concord is not a definitiser, but merely an object marker devoid of any semantic content. According to Bosch (op.cit.:76) object nouns may be definite even without the accompaniment of their class concords, e.g.

(23) Ngibona isitolo.
      'I see a/the shop.'

Wilkes (1987:139) on the other hand, contends that where
object nouns without their concords may be
[± definite], those with object concords may have only a
definite reading. In 4.3.6.2 above, Wilkes' views are
found to be more valid than those expressed by Louwrens
and Bosch above,

(c)   Abbreviated absolute pronouns as markers of emphasis

        Wilkes (op.cit.:139) is the only linguist so far
        who has identified the abbreviated absolute
        pronouns as definitisers in Zulu and not as
        emphasisers as Doke and others claim. Wilkes
        argues that these pronouns are definitisers more
        precisely of oblique NPs, e.g.

(24) Ngakho-ke kuwe wena ophethe ngasenhla ngiphakamisa
      ukuthi masisuke ngawo wona lo mzuzu.

      'Therefore to you who is in charge above, I propose
      that we should leave at this very moment.'

      Wilkes' findings on abbreviated absolute pronouns
      are convincing.

      Wilkes (op.cit.:139) shows further that oblique
      object NPs without abbreviated absolute pronouns,
      like unmarked object nouns, also have a [±
      definite] reading the same as unmarked object NPs
      as pointed out by Bosch in (22) above e.g.

(25) (a) Ngibona isitolo.
          'I see a/the store.'
      (b) Ngibhale ngepensele.
          'I wrote with a/the pencil.'

(d)   Interrogative constructions and definiteness

Louwrens' (1983:28) claim that indefiniteness is expressed when the interrogative <u>ubani</u>? 'who?' succeeds a verb whose subject concord is indefinite, does not hold for Zulu. (Cf (26)(b) and (27)(b), below), e.g.

(26)   (a) <u>Kunyathele</u> ubani lapha?
            '<u>Who</u> trod here?'
        (b) <u>Kunyathele</u> umfana.
            '<u>It is the boy</u> who has trod.'

However, when <u>ubani</u>? 'who?' is inflected to <u>ubani</u>? 'who is it?', 'by whom?' the answer to this question is definite as it presents a uniquely identifiable referent presented by the copulative, e.g.

(27)   (a) <u>Ubani</u> onyathele lapha.
            '<u>Who is it</u> who trod here?'
        (b) <u>Umfana</u> onyathele lapha.
            '<u>It is the boy</u> who trod here?'
        (c) Ubisi luchithwe <u>ubani</u>?
            '<u>Who is it</u> who spilt the milk?'
        (d) (Ubisi) luchithwe <u>umfana</u>.
            'It (the milk) was spilt <u>by the boy</u>.'

(e)   Preprefix as marker of definiteness

Although writers like Engelbrecht (1962) and Von Staden (1968) claim that the preprefix in Zulu is a marker of definiteness, this study does not corroborate that as discussed in 4.3.6.1 above.

(f)   The demonstrative pronoun as a marker of definiteness

In this study, examples given by Von Staden
(op.cit.:75, 77 and 79) showing the demonstrative
pronoun as a marker of emphasis, have been found,
instead, to show that the demonstrative pronoun is
a marker of definiteness, as discussed in 4.3.6.2
above.

5.4.3 Conclusion

Doke (1955) and Van Rooyen (1978) are the only
traditionalists who have thus far overtly treated
definiteness in their works and Louwrens
(1979 & 1983) and Wilkes (1987), on the other hand,
the only modernists in African languages, to do so.

Whereas indefiniteness and definiteness are
syntactically expressed by articles in languages
such as English and Afrikaans, they are
morphologically expressed by means of subject and
object concords as well as by means of abbreviated
absolute pronouns, in Zulu.

It is generally accepted that agreeing subject and
object NPs are exclusively definite.

Definiteness in Zulu is morphologically expressed
by means of :

(a) subject concords according to Doke (1955:9 & 10),
     Wilkes (1987:138), as is the case also in Bemba and
     Rwanda, according to Givon (1975:158). This study
     has found this to be indeed so.

(b) object concords : this study has shown that
     non-agreeing objects have a [± definite] reading
     while agreeing objects implicitly have a [+
     definite] reading,

(c)   abbreviated absolute pronouns

Wilkes' (1987:139) argument concerning abbreviated absolute pronouns being definitisers of oblique objects is irreproachable.

(28)   (a) Ngendlela ezaqoqana ngayo izixuku ...
           'The manner in which the groups gathered together ...'
       (b) Yizo lezi izitha zeNkosi. Mazife!
           'These are the enemies of the king. Let them die.'

(d)   other markers of definiteness

(i)   Demonstrative pronouns, quantitative pronouns and comparative adverbial formatives such as nga-, njenga-, etc. have been identified as definitisers by Doke (1955:10 & 11) and Von Staden (1982:75, 77 and 79) e.g.

(29)   Msimang (1982:29)

       Zonke izikhulu zesizwe nezinduna zamabutho zinikine amakhanda, zibheke phansi ...
       'All the elders of the nation as well as the officers of the army shook their heads, facing down ...'

Louwrens (1983:28) is not categorical about his interrogatives ubani? 'who is it' and ubani? 'who' soliciting definiteness by means of copulative prefixes and relative concords in the answers given by respondents, as shown in (26) and (27) above.

5.5   SUMMARY

This study has attempted to show how traditional and modern grammarians of Zulu depict the expression of contrast, emphasis and definitenes in Zulu.

Individual grammarians, have independently identified unrelated mechanisms, as listed below, some corroborated by others.

Contrast in Zulu, as has already been pointed out, is marked in the following ways :

(i) by the use of the comparative adverbial concords, kuna- etc;
(ii) by the use of locative forms;
(iii) by the use of absolute pronouns post-nominally with the subject NPs as well as with object NPs in preverbal positions;
(iv) by the use of antitheses in certain aphorisms; and
(v) by the use of contrast conjunctives such as kepha, kodwa, etc.

It has been identified that emphasis, on the other hand, may be expressed through :

(i) copulative inflection of words in sentence initial position; and
(ii) word order change, entailing :
(a) fronting of objects
(b) back-shifting of objects
(c) interposing of objects and
(d) preposing of qualificatives.

The postponement of subjects and the present tense -ya- have been found not to be emphasisers as Cole, Doke, Van Eeden, Du Plessis and Van Rooyen among others, claim. Kosch is the only grammarian who categorically refuses to associate -ya- with emphasis. This study corroborates Kosch in so far as the notion 'emphatic' is concerned. But like Venter, this study concludes that -ya- is primarily a sense completion morpheme and secondarily a verb focalising morpheme.

Finally, this study shows that definiteness in Zulu is generated by :

(i)   the use of subject concords
(ii) the use of object concords
(iii) abbreviated absolute pronouns
(iv) adverbial formatives such as nganga-, njenga-, etc.
(v)   demonstrative and quantitatives pronouns
(vi) copulative concords
(vii) relative concords and
(viii) the deletion of the preprefix.

It has been acknowledged that there is a strong overlapping between contrast and emphasis. Also, only subject and object NPs may be definitised, and that the subject/object NP so definitised is uniquely identifiable by addressee and presupposed by the addressor.

This study does not claim to have unearthed everything that has to be said, and can be said about contrast, emphasis and definiteness in Zulu.

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