A STUDY OF THE PREDICATE IN ITS RELATIONSHIP

TO THE SUBJECT, OBJECT AND ADJUNCT IN ZULU

by

JEREMIAH BONGINHLANHLA HLONGWANE

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Supervisor: Prof. J.A. Louw

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PREFACE

I should like to place on record my gratitude to the following:

Abbreviations

Adj	:	adjunct
Aux.	:	auxiliary; auxiliary predicate
cf.	:	confer, compare
i.e.	:	that is
lit.	:	literally
LSF	:	liaison semantic feature
O	:	object
OC	:	object concord
S	:	subject
SC	:	subject concord
viz.	:	namely
vs.	:	versus; against

SUMMARY

This work is a synchronic study of syntax in Zulu and has its as central theme, verb-noun relations. In these relations three phenomena were found to be important, viz.

(A) The liaison semantic features (LSFs)

(B) Word-order as shown by nouns in relation to the verb

(C) Transitivity

(A) The LSFs

The noun may be the subject, object or adjunct depending on the function it has taken up. These functional terms viz. subject, object and adjunct are more concerned with structural segments of a sentence rather than semantic relationship of segments. Consequently a semantic model of LSFs showing the semantic-relational features of nouns, is evolved. Such features are determined by the kind of verb used. The major LSFs are:

(a) Agentive / Instrumental

(b) Patient / Factive

It is realised that if the semantic content of the relationship is left out, the study of a sentence is bound to suffer from explanatory inadequacy.

(B) The Ordering of nouns in relation to the verb

The ordering of nouns is mainly achieved by front-shifting and back-shifting e.g. a noun occurring post-verbally is shifted to the front so that it occurs before the verb:
úsháya ínkomó (he hits a cow)

Ínkomó, úyayisháya (*the cow, he hits it)

The noun occurring before the verb may be shifted to the back as in

úmfána úyahámba (the boy is walking) vs.

úyahámba úmfána (*he is walking, a boy)

Such shifting goes along with focus which expresses prominence. The ordering of nouns may therefore result in:

(a)   a change in the form of a noun or verb

(b)   a change in the meaning of a sentence

These two changes are usually concomitant i.e. a change in the form of a sentence is accompanied by a change in its meaning.   For the purposes of convenience, the orderings have been divided into two i.e. primary word-order (where the agentive normally occupies the first slot and the factive occupies the second) and secondary word-order (front-shifting of the factive and back-shifting of the agentive).   Nouns may take adjunct function in these orderings as when their forms are inflected, cf.

úmfána úvéla ésikoléni (the boy comes from school)

ínkomó ísháywa ngumfána (the cow is hit by a boy)

Whereas some adjuncts have a fixed position, others have a flexible position.

(C)   Transitivity

      Another verb-noun relation is observed in transitivity which characterises predicate-object relations.   Transitivity helps identify different kinds of objects:

   (i)   Optional object (this is mainly a primary object)

   (ii) Compulsory object (this is mainly a fixed object)

   (iii) Prohibited object (the object is shifted out because
                            of intransitive use of the verb)

After the identification of these objects, a number of transitive structures are established. These transitive structures are established on the types of objects found.

The predicates cannot categorically be divided into transitive and intransitive in Zulu. One can accept that some predicates have a wider choice of objects than others. Those predicates which have limited choice of objects have the patient preferring the first slot while the second is left vacant. When the predicate has such a limited choice of objects we have semi-transitive structure. Transitivity is therefore conveniently divided into:

(a) Non-transitive: the predicate is used in such a way that the object is prohibited e.g.

úmfána úyálusa (the boy herds)

úmfána úlìméle (the boy is injured)

In the latter example, however, the object may be added, in which case it becomes semi-transitive. (See below).

(b) Semi-transitive: the predicate has a limited choice of objects e.g.

úmfána úlìméle ìdolò (the boy is injured in the knee)

úmfána úhámba ìndlela (the boy goes a journey)

(c) Complete transitive: the predicate has a wide choice of objects; there are two sub-divisions here:

(i) mono-transitive: the predicate takes only the primary object(s) e.g.

úmfána úshàyà ìnkomò (the boy hits a cow)

(ii) <u>ditransitive</u>: the predicate takes

the primary and the secondary objects

e.g.

<u>ubabá uníka úmfána íncwadí</u> (father

gives the boy a book)

Complete transitivity is mainly measured

by its capacity of being used in passive

construction i.e. it has the active and

passive diatheses.

Transitivity indicates versatility of the predicate in choosing

its objects: one and the same predicate may be used in structures

which are non-transitive, semi-transitive and complete transi-

tive. In Zulu, extensions play a big role in transitivity.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Statement of Theme:

1.0.0   This study is centred on the relations existing between
the predicate and its subject, object and adjunct in a sentence.
Though in the past attention has been given to the syntactic
function of these sentence units, the question of the syntac-
tic component has been sadly neglected.   The syntactic compo-
nent would mean the categorisation under which all notions of
a syntactic category may be grouped.   The syntactic category
would then denote the subject, object, predicate and adjunct.
It should be stated that the syntactic category explains function.
It is therefore essential to have the explanatory power of the
underlying semantic structure attached to the syntactic category.
This would reveal the semantic relational features there are
between syntactic categories.   It may be noted that an effective
study of the syntax of a language is attained by an understand-
ing of these relational features.   In this study it is the
simple sentence which is investigated, and it will be realised
that the indicative mood of the verb proper is the focal point.
The co-referents, the so-called pronouns are eliminated to a
large degree so that the study is mainly on noun-verb relations.

Method

1.2.0   Traditional syntactic analysis has done much in
paving the way of today's approach to the study of syntax.
In this study a corpus of sentences was selected from ordinary
conversation of the native speakers in mid-Natal and in the

the area of Empangeni while others have been drawn from the existing Zulu literature. It was realised that the predicate matters most in the determination of relations; so an attempt has been made to minimise the diversity of nouns (subjects, objects and some adjuncts) by maintaining some of the nouns right through the dissertation even though the predicates used are comparatively diverse. The sentences have had to include idiomatic expressions since the heart of the language is its idiom. While investigating syntactic relations, it was found that hitherto the study of syntax in Zulu has been surface-orientated and left many problems unsolved. It was therefore necessary to establish some semantic relational features. In the end it was found that the ideas expressed tie closely with those of Fillmore (1968), Chafe (1970) and Starosta (1973) so that their terminology is employed where necessary. It should be noted that the syntactic relations are to a degree determined by form in Zulu; this necessitated the explanation of certain formatives in a syntactic perspective. The study as a whole is synchronic.

1.2.1 In order to avoid certain ambiguities, the indication of tone was done: /´/ indicates HIGH tone /`/ LOW tone and /^/ HIGH-LOW tone. In the text, however, only HIGH and HIGH-LOW tone markings are found; LOW tone has no marking. In certain orderings, the English idiom has suffered in translating. /*/refers to literal translations and ungrammatical Zulu sentences. /!/indicates downstep or lower register.

Explanation of : Terms used

1.3.0 A distinction should be made between the terms used

in formal analysis and those in syntactic analysis. In syn-
tactic analysis most of the terms used are found to be notional,
hence notional definitions. In this study it has been found
well-nigh unavoidable to use notional terms like subject,
predicate, object and adjunct.

The Sentence

1.3.1 Many definitions of a sentence have been given accord-
ing to personal inclination, especially in Indo-European
languages. But there seems to be a general agreement that a
sentence must of necessity express "a complete thought" or
must be "a complete utterance." Jespersen (1924, p. 307)
for instance says:

> A sentence is a relatively complete and
>
> independent human utterance - the
>
> completeness and independence being shown
>
> by its standing alone or its capability of
>
> standing alone i.e. of being uttered by
>
> itself.

A definition such as this shows a point in the development of
the study of language when the structure of language was
assigned a neglible role. A host of other definitions sympto-
matic of the approach of the times show close resemblance to
that of Jespersen.With the upsurge of descriptive linguistics
as a science, we get definitions which show that a sentence
has form or structure. Bloomfield (1950, p. 170) defines a
sentence in the following way:

> An independent linguistic form, not included
>
> by virtue of any grammatical construction in
>
> any larger linguistic form.

This definition was also to a degree, taken up by Hockett (1958 p. 199) and Gleason (1961). It is necessary in this study to accept this definition and then distinguish two types of sentences i.e. the contextual sentence which includes responses, exclamations, copulatives and questions e.g. Yébo (yes), Ngezínduku (with sticks), Ngumúntu (it is a person) and Ubaní? (who)? and the representational sentence which minimally consists of the subject concord and the verb-stem as in úyahámba (he is going). The representational sentence is productive and could account for the predicate plus its subject, object and adjunct as in Úbabá úshaya úmfána kabuhlúngu (father thrashes the boy painfully).

It is the latter type of a sentence which is given more consideration in this investigation.

Function

1.3.2 This term will be used to indicate the position a noun can take in relation to the verb. In effect, it should be referred to as 'syntactic function' since it involves syntactic relations existing between word categories in a sentence. The hierarchical nature of a sentence manifests functional frames in which words occur, of course, taking into consideration that a kind of word may be constituted of a longer string than a single word. Such functional frames have been called 'slots'. Cf. Guthrie (1961 p.5) and Kraft (1964 p.68). The noun in Zulu may take the pre-verbal slot i.e. the first slot in relation to the verb or the post-verbal slots i.e. the second and the third slots. The first slot is

is filled by the noun having the 'subject' function, the
second slot by the 'fixed and primary objects' and the third
by 'secondary object and adjunct', cf. below for the explana-
tion of these terms. A change of function or position may
result in a change of word form in Zulu, cf.

(i) Úmfána wákhe úbóna Ínkomó (his boy sees a cow)

(ii) Ínkomó íbónwa ngumfána wákhe (the cow is seen by his boy)

(iii) Ówákhe úmfána úbóna Ínkomó (his boy sees a cow)

Sentence (ii) differs from sentence (i) both in form and
meaning, cf. úmfána, the erstwhile 'subject' has become a
copulative ngumfána in passive construction. In sentence
(iii) Ówákhe differs in form from wákhe in (i) and (ii);
it has also an added nuance since it is more prominent than
wákhe in the first two sentences.

The Subject

1.3.3 The term 'subject' as shown by inconsistent defini-
tions is not easy to define. Some linguists speak of logical,
grammatical and psychological subjects. The term 'logical
subject' is equated with 'psychological subject' and is used
to denote that the noun in the copulative after the passive
form is the real subject in the "active"
sentence construction. In a sentence like úmfána úsháywa
ˈuyísé (the boy is thrashed by the father) the grammatical
subject is úmfána and the logical or the psychological subject
is ˈuyísé. Hockett (1958 p. 201) equates the subject with the
'topic' and 'comment' with the predicate. But this nomencla-
ture has its attendant difficulties. Fillmore (1968 p.24)
and Chafe (1970 p.100) speak of 'agentive' and 'agent' respect-

ively and they only differ in depth of detail. Their approach
is significant in this study, since the use of the term
'subject' is a general statement. It is well to note that
the type of predicate determines its relationship to the so-
called subject, hence the subject may be defined within the
confines of a particular given sentence, cf. úmfána úyabhála
(the boy is writing): cause/agent

<div align="center">but</div>

úmfána úyágula (the boy is ill): patient/affective
This shows that 'subject' is defined at different levels of
sentence structure. On the surface structure, the subject
is the noun in the first slot which is brought into concord-
ial agreement with the predicate. In deep structure, the
position of the noun is not so important since the subject is
often associated with the cause/agent of an action or state.
In a passive construction, the agentive copulative noun
has been the subject of the "active" equivalent. It is
therefore essential to include the semantic notions under
the subject to show the nature of its relationship to the
predicate.

The Object

1.3.4   Like the subject, the object is often defined in
terms of logical, grammatical and psychological object.
The object has also been viewed as:

> that part of a clause which undergoes
> action of the predicate and is usually
> expressed by means of a substantive, and/
> or an object concord. cf. LIMI, No. 10
> (1970, p.22).

Concerning such definitions, Jespersen (1924 p.157) quotes
Sweet who said:

> With such verbs as beat, carry, etc., the
> accusative unmistakably denotes the
> object of the action expressed by the verb,
> but with such verbs as see, hear, it is clearly
> a metaphor to talk of an 'object'. A man
> cannot be beaten without feeling it but he
> can be seen without knowing about it, and in
> many cases there is no action or volition at
> all involved in seeing.

In Zulu, as in many other languages, the type of verb used
determines the nature of relationship between the predicate
and the noun of the second slot. The object therefore, may
be regarded as the noun which in primary word-order occupies
the second and/or third slot and upon which action may be
brought to bear. Such a noun especially the one of the second
slot may readily take the OC in many instances. Guthrie
(1970, p.94) rightly observed that there are different types
of objects:

> This term is used to refer to a nominal
> which, in the normal word-order, can be
> supported by a verbal only in a position
> following the verbal, either immediately
> or after another object. The objects
> considered ... include three types,
> 'direct', 'fixed' and 'indirect'.

In this study the terms 'fixed', 'primary' and 'secondary'
will be used. These objects manifest varying degrees of
cohesion. The fixed object (complement) coheres maximally

with the predicate; the primary object has a fair cohesion
with the predicate whereas the secondary object minimally
coheres with the predicate. The fixed object (complement)
cannot take the OC in the predicate and it does not readily
form a semantic unit on its own; it complements the meaning
of the predicate as in idiomatic expressions e.g. úmfána
úqína ídolo (the boy stiffens the knee i.e. the boy gets
courage).

The primary object is capable of having the OC in the pre-
dicate i.e. it readily takes the OC and its position is
flexible e.g.

   úmfána úsháya ínkomó (the boy hits a cow)

   úmfána úyayisháya ínkomó (the boy hits the cow)

The secondary object, in this study, refers to that object
which co-occurs with the primary object and which is not in
any way conjoined i.e. it is not associated with another
object through the connective na-. In normal word-order
it follows the primary object and does not take the OC in
the predicate e.g.

   úbabá úníka úmfáná íncwadí (father gives the boy a book)
in which case íncwadí is the secondary object. The term
'secondary object' has also been applied by other Bantu
linguists to secondary forms of nouns in examples such as
úmfána úsháya ínkomó ngénduku (the boy hits a cow with a stick)
where ngénduku is regarded as a secondary object. The term
will not be extended that far in this study since such
secondary forms take up particular relation in the sentence.
In fact such forms modify the predicate and are therefore
referred to as adjuncts in this study. Under transitivity

some other minor types of objects will be established mainly
on the semantic basis.

The Predicate

1.3.5 In Zulu, and by implication in the Bantu languages,
the predicate is constituted of the verb proper and partly
the copulative. In this study the emphasis is on the Zulu
verb. In syntax we shall refer to the verb as the predicate.
Doke (1961, p. 124) defines a verb as:

> a word which signifies an action connected
>
> with a substantive or the state in which a
>
> substantive is, and is brought into
>
> concordial agreement therewith (except when
>
> used imperatively) by subjectival concord.

This is a notional definition and it has something to commend
since it makes mention of verb-noun relationship. However,
this definition does not explain the quiddity of the verb.
Furthermore Doke mentions only the 'subjectival concord' as
if the predicate could not take the object concord. Van Wyk
who used to follow Reichling in his conception of a word,
tried to delimit a verb according to structural linguistics.
He considered it to be a word with a normal phonological
structure and having a valence to be modified by adverbs.
Vide Ziervogel, (1964, p.213).
Ziervogel (1964, p. 218) does not view the verb so much
from the syntactic perspective, but defines it formally as
follows:

> Basies bestaan die verbum uit 'n wortel met 'n
>
> uitgang, maar dit kan allerlei modale en
>
> ander voor- en agter- voegsels aanneem wat

eers tot uitbreiding van die stam aanleiding

gee waarvan dan modi en tydvorme afgelei kan

word.

Ziervogel takes morphology into consideration. His mention

of mood and tense is of fundamental importance since the

verb-stem having the SC and/or OC is conceived in a parti-

cular mood and tense. Doke observes in his definition that

the verb may be sub-categorised into actions and states.

Chafe (1970, p. 95) has three sub-categories i.e. states,

processes and actions. These sub-categories are important

in the determination of semantic relations of nouns to verbs,

and this places the predicate in a central position in any

representational sentence.

Semantic Relations

1.3.6 In the structural analysis of the representational

sentence in Zulu, it is found that the noun and predicate

co-occur as is shown by the fact that the verb is connected

with the noun through the concord of that particular noun

(except when used imperatively).

Apart from the co-occurrence of a predicate and a noun,

there are semantic relations expressed in terms of noun

features. The relational features are determined by the kind

of predicate used. Starosta (1973, p.12) sub-categorises

such relational features neatly when he says:

> We can imagine that initially the language
>
> might contain a causation class and a
>
> patient class of case relationships, and that
>
> each of these would have its own individual case form...

The so-called 'case relationships' place the predicate
in a central position. In this study such 'case relationships'
will be replaced by the term liaison semantic feature (LSF).
The LSFs are determined by the action, process and state of
the predicate. Hence the sub-categories (actions, processes
and states) of the predicate are determinants of noun liaison
features. Such LSFs express covert relations between the
predicate and subject, object and adjunct. The LSFs rigorous-
ly attempt to reconcile deep structure to surface configu-
rations though these features are not necessarily dependent
on the surface configurations in Zulu. In this study there
is a handful of terms used to indicate semantic relations of
nouns to predicate. Some of these terms have been taken from
Fillmore and Starosta and others from Louw. The most important of
these terms are defined below:

(a) Causation - assistive. The term 'causation' is used
by Starosta. In this study it will necessarily indicate the
cause or initiator of action or process. Such a cause or
initiator assists the predicate. Hence the term 'assistive'
as used by Louw (1971, p.7):

> Assistive indicates that the substantive
>
> assists the process, action etc. indicated by
>
> the predicate.

Causation-assistive may be associated with the so-called
'logical subject' cf.

umfána úshấya ínkomó (the boy hits a cow)

ínkomó íshấywa ngumfána (the cow is hit by a boy),

where both umfána and ngumfána have causation assistive
LSF. The causation - assistive is a primary LSF and is

connected with the secondary LSF:

(b) <u>Agentive-instrumental</u>. With reference to 'agentive'
Fillmore (1968, p.24) says:

> the case of the typically animate perceived
>
> instigator of the action identified by the verb.

Louw (1971, p.9) has a view concurring with that of Fillmore:

> The agentive ... is associated with the primary
>
> feature assistive and the general semantic
>
> characteristic, animate.

In the above examples <u>úmfána</u> and <u>ngumfána</u> are consequently
agentives. The instrumental is mostly the inanimate insti-
gator of action or process. Louw (1971, p.9) says:

> It is rather difficult to keep the concepts of
>
> agent and instrument apart in language.

The instrumental may also be animate e.g. <u>úmfána úcasha</u>
<u>ngomalúme</u> (the boy shields himself behind the uncle). The
agentive and instrumental are bound by the primary feature of
causation. When the agentive and instrumental occur simul-
taneously within the environment of the same predicate, the
instrumental is mapped onto a noun with adjunct function, cf.
<u>úmfána úsháya ínkomó ngénduku</u> (the boy hits a cow with a stick)
where <u>úmfána</u> is the agentive and <u>ngénduku</u>, the instrumental.
However, in the passive both the agentive and instrumental
may have adjunct function, cf. <u>ínkomó íshaywa ngumfána ngénduku</u>
(the cow is hit by a boy with a stick). Such co-occurrence
of agentive and instrumental has an additional feature of
<u>comitative</u>, which is defined by Louw (1971, p.12) as follows:

> The comitative indicates that the substantive,
>
> is co-ordinated or associated with another.

Though the instrumental is usually expressed by surface forms
it may be covert, cf.

Induku ishǎya inkomǒ (a stick hits a cow)

úmfǎna úshǎya induku (a boy hits with a stick i.e.

he is a good stick-fighter),

where induku has covert instrumental LSF in both sentences.

(c) Patient-factive. The term 'patient' as used by Starosta
shows the contrast of causation. The term is used in this
study to indicate the noun upon which the state is brought
to bear or the noun which is the target of action e.g.

inkomǒ ifile (the cow is dead)

isitsha siyahlěphuka (the vessel is breaking up)

Here the nouns inkomǒ and isitsha are in factive relationship
with the predicate. The factive is a primary LSF and is
associated with the secondary LSFs conceptive, directive,
receptive (benefactive) and affective. The patient and the
factive are used together because the distinction between
them is often blurred by the fact that they display non-
causation.

(d) Locative. This has been defined by Fillmore (1968, p.25)
as:

the case which identifies the location or

spatial orientation of the state or action

identified by the verb.

In Zulu the locative is mainly expressed by surface forms
such as prefixal and suffixal formatives, though at times it
is covert, cf. ùbabá úya esontǒ (father goes to church)

ùbabá úhǎmba esontó (father goes to church)

where ésóntweni is overt whereas ésonto is covert.

The Adjunct

1.3.7 The term 'adjunct' refers to a syntactic category
where there is a variety of inflected substantives (secondary
forms) and a few primary forms. Very often the terms 'adjunct'
'adverb' and 'complement' are used alternatively. In this
study the term 'adjunct' is used instead of 'adverb', this
being in line with notional terms like predicate, subject and
object. Attention should be drawn to the covert and overt
adjuncts, cf.

> úbabá údlé ngókhezo (father ate with a spoon)

> úbabá údlé ízolo (father ate yesterday)

This difficulty is partially settled by the fact that the
object is the noun which can be referred to by the concord
in the predicate whereas the adjunct cannot have a concord
in the predicate as in úbabá úludlíle úzolo (father ate dry
porridge) but not *úbabá úlidlíle ízolo. The criterion of
'entailment' given by Whitely (1968, p.10) is also helpful in
this regard though he also included the adjunct under transi-
tivity:

> It is a property of items participating in an object-
> relationship that they may also participate in a
> subject-relationship, and one way of exposing
> differences of transitivity is to transpose the
> item(s) in the object-relationship with those in
> the subject-relationship while retaining the same
> lexical items.

In the above examples it is therefore realised that
ízolo cannot 'participate in subject-relationship' the way
úzolo does, cf. úzolo lúdlíwe nrúbabá (dry porridge has been
eaten by father)

*ízolo lídlíwe ngubábá (yesterday has been eaten

by father).

When _ízolo_ is transposed it does not constitute 'entailment'
or passive construction. This means that the action cannot
be brought to bear on _ízolo_ whereas with _ízolo_, it can. As
a modifier, the adjunct is both without concord and without
tense, and it amplifies the verbal piece in the sentence.
Many nouns whose initial vowel has been inflected have adjunct
function. The adjunct is, in the main, a secondary form with
a few exceptions.

Syntactic Distribution of the Subject, Predicate and Object

1.4.0   Having understood the connotation of the subject and
object, it can now be assumed that there is priority of
sequence for these nouns. The distribution is initially
considered before passive transformation and any change of
word order have taken place (primary word-order). It is also
considered after the semantic relations of nouns to verbs have
been appreciated. It is only then when it may be said that in
ordinary sequences, the agent is usually the subject and
occupies the first slot e.g. _ú Ína úvahámba_ (the boy is going);
the patient is usually the object in a sentence which already
has the agent and it occupies the second and the third slots,
cf. primary and secondary objects e.g. _únika íngáne ímalí_
(he gives the child money). The predicate is central and is
taken as the yardstick.

1.4.1   In order to appreciate the centrality of the predicate
recourse could be made to Lyons (1968, p.350) where he talks

of 'one-place', 'two-place' and 'three-place' verbs. In
order to state adequately the ordinary distribution of the
subject, predicate and object in the sentence, it is desirable
to consider 'two-place' verbs first. Such verbs will have the
capacity of taking two nouns, namely the first (subject) and
the second (object) e.g. úbabá úshǎya úmfána (father hits the
boy)
where úbabá is the noun of the first slot and úmfána that of
the second. Secondly,'three-place' verbs are considered.
These verbs can combine with three nouns, e.g.

úmamé úfúnza íngane ámasi (mother feeds the baby sour milk),
where úmamé is the noun of the first slot, íngane of the
second and ámasi that of the third.

1.4.2   Finally distribution is examined after passive
transformation and shifting of nouns have taken place (second-
ary word-order.   The subject and object(s) change about their
positions in a sentence. Sometimes both the subject and
object are found before the predicate as in úbabá, úmfána
úyamsháya (*father, the boy he hits him) and in other instances
after the predicate as in úyamsháya úbabá úmfána (he 'father'
hits the boy). The nouns may be left out and only their
concords used e.g. úyamsháya (he hits him). When the subject
and object are transposed passive construction results. The
change of word order may cause a change in the form of the
predicate and the subject, and this can result in a subject
taking up new function, cf. agentive identificative copulative.

Focus, Definite and Indefinite

1.5.0   When the ordinary distribution of subject-predicate-

object is altered, the question of focus, definiteness and
indefiniteness comes into the picture. Focus is used here to
indicate significant prominence given to a particular element
of a sentence. Such prominence is normally achieved by
shifting the element to the front. A number of linguists
have treated 'focus' but not always in the same way. For the
purposes of this study we will concern ourselves mainly with
change of word order in a given simple sentence rather than
focus coupled with semantic presuppositions that give rise
to a complex sentence, cf.

(i) úmfána úsháya ínkomó (the boy hits a cow)

(ii) ínkomó ísháywa úmfána (the cow is hit by the boy)

(iii) yinkomó ésháywa ngumfána (it is the cow which is hit

by the boy)

While sentence (i) shows normal or ordinary distribution (ii)
has focus on ínkomó. Both (i) and (ii) are simple sentences.
Sentence (iii) though having focus on yinkomó, it is a complex
sentence consisting of yinkómó as the main clause and ésháywa
ngumfána the dependent participial (relative construction)
clause. Such copulative-relative focus is common when pro-
minence is given to the subject, as in ngumfána, úsháya ínkomó
(it is the boy who hits the cow) in contrast to úmfána úsháya
ínkomó (the boy hits a cow) where úmfána as a subject is
not so prominent since it occupies its rightful place. It
would appear that there is some sense in stating that focus
and deep structure tie up since a sentence like ngumfána úsháya
ínkomó is a relative transformation of úmfána úsháya ínkomó.
Note also how the subject and the object may be shifted
around the predicate úmfána ínkomó, úyavisháya (the boy
hits a cow): some focus on ínkomó; ínkomó úmfána úyavisháva

(*the cow, a boy hits it): strong focus on _inkoné_;

úvayisháya inkomó, úmfána (*he hits the cow, a boy): strong

focus on _úvayisháya_.

The commas in the sentence indicate pauses or caesuras

which are important in many sentences which make use of focus

as will be seen later.

1.5.1 Definiteness does not necessarily coincide with focus.

This has been clearly distinguished by Louw (1958, p.111):

> definite: full information must be given so that
>
> the phrase or sentence will be clear and complete
>
> in giving a very definite idea of what is expressed
>
> by the particular words.

In Zulu definiteness is mainly reflected in the predicate

through its long form(s) and concord(s). A definite noun, be

it the subject or object must have its concord in the predi-

cate. Cf. _úmfána, úvayisháya ínkomó_ (the boy is hitting the

cow) where the subject and the object are definite. This

distinguishes definiteness sharply from focus.

1.5.2 Indefiniteness denotes vagueness of information

contained in the sentence. It is usually expressed by the short

form of the predicate, omission of the concord or preprefix

in nouns and the employment of _ku_-concord cf.

   (i) _úmfána úsháya ínkomó_ (the boy hits a cow)

  (ii) _úsháya nkomó, háshi_ (he hits cows and horses)

(iii) _kusháya mfaná_ (there hits a boy)

In (i) _ínkomó_ is indefinite; in (ii) _nkomó_, _háshi_ are inde-

finite more so because of the omission of the preprefix.

úmfâna in (iii) though the subject, is indefinite because its concord is not expressed in the predicate. Since the predicates in the above examples have no -ya-, they are also indefinite. In certain usages (praise poems) the subject noun may omit the initial vowel and become indefinite though it takes the SC, cf. Mpande's praises:

Nkomó zakhuphuka zíthi di' ímingizimu

Nangezimpôndo, (cattle hailing from the South)

The SC za- indicates some measure of indefiniteness. This type of a concord i.e. the SC consisting of a consonant of the prefix (except in prefixes with nasals) and an invariable vowel -a- is commonly used in the present tense when the subject is somewhat indefinite; in form this concord is like the possessive concord, cf.

íbhanóyi líyásuka (the plane is taking off)

íbhanóyi lásuka (there is taking off a plane)

kúsuka íbhanóyi (there takes off a plane)

The present tense SC differs from the past tense SC in tone and length, in that the past tense SC has long -a-, cf.

íbhanóyi lásuke (there is taking off a plane)

íbhanóyi lásuká (the plane took off)

The present tense SC with the vowel -a- is commonly used in instances where the noun having subject function is without the initial vowel. It is for this reason, we think, that this SC is partially indefinite.

Transitivity and Intransitivity

1.6.0 A number of definitions of transitivity has been given. Most of these definitions relate to European languages. In a sense, they are important also to Bantu languages. There

seems to be a general view that transitivity suggests the
verb whose action passes over from the actor to the goal.
Lyons (1968, p.350) is aware of the difficulties and
shortcomings connected with such understanding of transitivity
since he says:

> The traditional 'notional' view of tran-
> sitivity...suggests that the effects of
> action expressed by the verb 'pass over'
> from the 'agent' (or 'actor') to the
> 'patient' (or 'goal'). There is no need
> to emphasize the inappropriateness of the
> 'notional' definition of transitivity in
> respect of many English sentences.

Even though some criticism may be levelled at the notional
viewpoint, the presence of the two nouns i.e. the noun of
the first slot (subject) and that of the second slot (object)
is of considerable importance in transitivity. In Zulu,
the transitive predicate has capacity of combining with the
noun in the first slot and that in the second e.g.
úmamé úléle úbúthongo (mother is fast asleep/is having a sleep)
úmfána wópha igazí (the boy is bleeding 'blood')
The noun úbúthongo can have its concord in the predicate
e.g. úmamé úbuléle úbúthongo (mother is having a sleep),
but not igazí. The nouns úmamé and úmfána on the other hand
cannot reasonably be called agentives. They are rather
patients i.e. the state is brought to bear on them and have
affective relationship (affected by the predicate) with the
predicate. Louw (1971, p.10) has pointed out that the nuances
such as affective can be allotted to the 'diathesis' or 'voice'

of the verb. Darbyshire (1967, p.130) defines diathesis as:

        the relationship of the subject to the verb,

        according as the subject is the agent or

        target of action.

The major diatheses are the 'active' and the 'passive'.

In Zulu the extensions of the predicate may express the

sub-diatheses.

1.6.1   Under the diathesis of the verb the behaviour of

transitivity is quite complicated. It may be mentioned here

as was observed earlier, that the passive is another crite-

rion of establishing transitivity since it transposes the

subject and the object. What is more, causativity plays an

important role in transitivity.

1.6.2   In distinguishing transitivity and intransitivity,

Entwistle (no ed. p.214) says:

        An intransitive verb records an activity or

        condition affecting only one party. A tran-

        sitive verb represents an action as passing

        from one party to another.

        The intransitive verb involves certain realistic

        difficulties.There is nothing to show,apart from

        the nature of the activity itself,whether the

        subject is agent or patient.

While Entwistle's differentiation is mainly notional, Lyons

(1968, p.350) classifies verbs into 'one-place' and 'two-

place' verbs. One-place and two-place verbs would roughly

correspond with the so-called intransitive and transitive

verbs respectively. Sandmann (1954, p.188) sees a close

link between intransitivity and the passive and considers
intransitivity to be connected with the action or state
          confined to the sphere of the origo.
Sandmann appears to have been governed by surface structure
and ignored deep structure when aligning the intransitive
construction with the passive one.   In Zulu the neuter
extensions may give rise to intransitivity, especially when
these are used with the concord ku-, cf. kúvahambéka (one
could walk).   This is more so because -ya- itself has in-
transitivizing tendency when it is used without the OC e.g.
úbabá úyáshaya (father hits).

1.6.3   It may be concluded that predicates cannot catego-
rically be dichotomised into the transitive and intrans-
itive.   In sentences like úmfána wópha ígazí (the boy is
bleeding 'blood') and úmfána úma ísíbindi (the boy is becoming
courageous), the action is confined to the noun in the first
position, yet the predicate is transitive.   With causativity
the action is no longer confined to the first noun but
transits to the second one, cf. úmfána úmisa ímoto (the boy
stops a car).   Though in recent studies, the adjunct (some-
times called secondary object) has been included under tran-
sitivity, in this study it is excluded since it does not throw
much light on the problem of transitivity; the adjunct is
mainly descriptive in character.

Different Tenses of Moods _in relation_ to their Syntactic Categories

Tense

1.7.0   The question of tense is one which poses some problems.

As a syntactic category tense indicates 'time relations' as
Lyons (1968, p.304) puts it. Doke (1961, p.162) differ-
entiates five tenses in Zulu i.e. the present tense, the
immediate future, the remote future, the immediate past, and
the remote past. It should be made clear, however, that there
is a difference between tense and time. Tense is a verb form
which may, but not necessarily so, indicate time i.e. tense is
surface and time belongs to deep structure. This could be de-
monstrated by the following sentences:

(i) ngihámba ngonyáká ózayo (I am going next year)

(ii) bengicêlá úkudlá (could I please have food)

    (i) ngihámba is a present tense form but ngonyáká ózayo
indicates a time in the future; bengicêla in (ii) has a form
of the immediate past but indicates present time. This shows
that surface structure in tense concerns verb form and deep
structure concerns meaning. Ziervogel (1959, p.134) notes the
difference between tense and time in his study of Ndebele in
the following way:

> The tense is usually regarded as an
> indication of time, of which, basically,
> there are three: present, past and future.
> In Nd. this is only partially true, for
> as in the case of moods, tenses are often
> a formal expression of an action which is
> not bound with time.

In many grammars tense is treated formally and the syntactic
category of tense involving meaning is neglected. In actual
Zulu speech it is often realised that the use of tense varies
with individuals and this shows that the verb form is not always

bound with a particular time.

Mood

1.7.1 The predicate in Zulu is found in different forms
according to different tenses of moods. Bradley defines
mood as:

> A special form assumed by the verb in
> order to make some special manner in which
> that connection between a subject and a
> predicate which every verb implies is
> viewed by the speaker. Cf. LIMI (1970, p.23).

However, a more comprehensive definition is given by the
Dictionary of Linguistics:

> One of the variations employed in the
> conjugation of a verb to express the manner
> or form in which the action or state denoted
> by the verb is performed or exists.

The residuum of both these definitions concerns the
'special form or variation' of the verb and the 'manner' in
which it is used according to the demands of linguistic
situation. Doke has distinguished seven moods in Zulu but in
this study five moods are mentioned, viz. the indicative, the
participial, the subjunctive, the imperative and the infini-
tive. The conventional treatment of moods in Zulu is itself
open to some investigation, but that falls beyond the scope
of this study.

The Indicative

1.7.2 This is a primary mood because, all things being equal,

it states a fact. Some linguists call this mood, a fact mood
and others call it a declarative. Doke finds five tenses for
this mood: the present, the immediate future, the remote future,
the immediate past and the remote past. This mood has long
and short tense forms. The present tense long form often
indicates definiteness and may be accompanied by an OC if the
predicate combines with two nouns (two-place verbs) e.g.
úmfána úvahámba (the boy is going)
úmfána úyayisháva (the boy hits it)
The present tense short form indicates indefiniteness and is
therefore always accompanied by the object or adjunct.

1.7.3   The immediate past i.e. the perfect conveys two dif-
ferent meanings; first, it signifies an action or state which
has been completed or a state resulting from a completed
action e.g. úhambíle (he has gone), úléle (he is asleep).
Second, it signifies an action or state which has been going on
up to the immediate past as for the be- tenses e.g. úbéhámba
(he has been going), ubehambíle (he has been going then),
ubelêle (he has been asleep). The immediate past (perfect)
is also marked by the long and the short forms which indicate
definiteness and indefiniteness respectively e.g. úmfána
úhambíle (the boy has gone) and úmfána úhámbá védwa (the boy has
gone by himself).

1.7.4   The past tense of the indicative has three forms cf.
   (i)   záhámba (they went)
  (ii)   zázihámba (they were going)
 (iii)   zábé zihámba (they were going)

In (i) the short form of the past tense merely states what happened whereas in (ii) the presence of the SC -zi- gives definiteness to the subject. In (iii) the long form is shown by the auxiliary predicate -be- which indicates an action or state that was happening rather than the action which happened. It therefore gives definiteness to the predicate. In the future tenses this -be- indicates the action or state that will be happening rather than the one which will happen, cf. úzohámba (he will go) vs. úzobé éhámba (he will be going).

The Participial

1.7.5   The participial is linked with the indicative in the formation of tenses. It, however, differs from it in that it is predictable in its distributional patterns and there is difference in tone. Some Bantu linguists doubt the existence of this mood. Doke himself calls this verb form, a mood in his Text Book of Zulu Grammar but in his Zulu Syntax and Idiom, he calls it a sub-mood as he says:

> it is seriously questionable
>
> whether this is a mood at all.
>
> Cf. Doke (1955, p.107).

Whatever the case may be, this verb form is different from the indicative in its relationship to the noun.

1.7.6   Though the tenses of the participial may equal that of the indicative in number, they do not have the same function as those of the indicative. The participial must be preceded by the indicative or auxiliary predicate. When it is preceded by another predicate it indicates concomitant activity e.g. zíwa zivúka(they fall getting up). In this instance it is

quite obvious that the so-called present tense indicates a
state in which the substantive finds itself:

zíwa zivúka (they fall getting up)

ziwê zivúka (they have fallen getting up)

zâwa zivúka (they fell getting up)

zízowa zivúka (they will fall getting up)

ziyówa zivúka (they will fall getting up)

Here the participial does not necessarily indicate simultaneous
action. The participial mood operates as a dependent clause.
It also functions as a qualificative when used with the rela-
tive concord e.g. abántu ábáhámba njálo bayakhulúma (people
who always travel talk).

The Subjunctive

1.7.7   In defining this mood, Ziervogel (1952, p.110) says:

The subjunctive mood denotes an action
subordinate to or depending on a preceding
action mentioned, implied or understood ...
This mood is characterised by the ending
-e in the present tense of the positive
conjugation. Only two basic tenses are
found in this mood: a present tense and a
narrative tense.

In talking about the tenses of this mood Doke (1961, p.186)
says:

So far only one subjunctive mood tense, the
present-future, is generally recognised;
but there are several,some of which differ
from indicative mood tenses in tone only.
There are, however, in this mood no

distinction of implication, and only in the
past, of manner.

1.7.8   The main significance of the subjunctive is to express
a wish or an aim.   Under certain circumstances, however, it
may refer to some actual consecutive action or state e.g.
ngifúna áhambé (I would that he goes): wish or aim; úvúka aqézé
ádle (he wakes up, washes himself and goes): actual consecutive
action.   When the subjunctive follows the indicative i.e. when
there is no explicit or implicit conjunctive or auxiliary
predicate it refers to actual consecutive action or state.   In
ngifúna áhambé, the conjunctive ukúthi is implied whereas in
úvúka agéze, no conjunctive is implied.

1.7.9   The occurrence of the subjunctive clauses is very
predictable in the immediate constituent of complex sentences.
It is strictly preceded by ukúthi, ukúze and ukúba.   It may
also be preceded by auxiliary predicates such as -máne, -véle,
-símze, -císhe, -néle etc. in which case the clause of auxiliary
and subjunctive need not be dependent e.g. wacíshe wahámba (he
nearly went).   In consecutive actions, the subjunctive consti-
tutes co-ordinate sentences i.e. a covert connection is expressed
by the subjunctive, cf. úvúka agéze ádle.   The subjunctive
clause may function independently when it is used hortatively:
Masíhambé (Let us go) and in 'permissive interrogation': Síhambé?
(Must we go?)

The Infinitive and Imperative

1.7.10   These moods are grouped together because they do not
have the sc. They have also limited tense.   The infinitive

has both the verbal and the nominal characteristics:

Verbal characteristics

(i)   It can take the OC e.g. úkumbóna kudingekîle (to see
      him is necessary).

(ii) It can be extended e.g. úkubónwa kudingekíle (to be
      seen is necessary).

(iii) It can take the negative formative -nga- e.g. úkungabóni
      kumbí (not to see is bad).

(iv) It can be preceded by auxiliary predicate e.g. úphosé
      úkulimála (he was nearly hurt).

(v)   It can take the future auxiliary e.g. úkúzosebénza kwâkhe
      kúyajabulísa (his coming to work is appreciated).

(vi) It can take the reflexive formative -zi- e.g. úkuzibóna

Nominal characteristics

(i)   It has the noun class prefix úku-.

(ii) It can take the subject function and as such take the SC
      in the predicate e.g. úkuhámba kuzálá índúna (travelling
      begets experience).

(iii) It can be qualified e.g. úkuhámba ókuhlé nâkhu (here is
      smooth walking).

(iv) It can take the object function and as such take the OC in
      the predicate e.g. úyakuthánda úkudlála (he likes playing).

1.7.11 The imperative is a form of address usually directed
to the second person e.g. Hámba! (go)! When the predicate
takes the object, the imperative assumes the terminative -e of
the subjunctive and the OC is used without any preceding SC e.g.
mshayé úmfána (hit the boy). When the imperative is directed
to the third person, the prefixal formatives ma- and ka- are

used with the subjunctive mood e.g. mazídle (let them eat).
The future of the imperative is usually expressed by -bo-
e.g. úbóhàmba (you will have to go).

CHAPTER II

SOME SEMANTIC FEATURES EXPRESSING THE SUBJECT AND OBJECT

IN THE PREDICATE

2.0.0   The focal point of the sentence is the predicate. In
most instances the predicate includes the subject and/or the
object through the concord system of Bantu languages. Not
only is the relationship between subject, predicate and object
expressed by concords, but there is also the question of
diatheses and sub-diatheses. Word order too, plays no minor
role in determining the semantic relations of nouns to verbs.

The Subject concord showing anaphoric class agreement and
degrees of subject-predicate relationship

2.1.0 The subject concord (SC) is in many instances the indi-
cation of the subject with which it is in restricted relationship.
Such a concord is a restricted one. There are, however, instan-
ces where the SC is unrestricted i.e. apparently not conforming
to the subject or subjects it represents. Note the following
instances:

 (i)   úhámba njálo úbabá (father always goes).

(ii)   kúhámba úbabá njálo (there father goes always).

In (i) the SC u- is restricted to the subject úbabá, while in
(ii) the SC kú- class 15 is not restricted to úbabá class l(a).
Dissimilar SCs used with the same noun úbabá, cause different
nuances in (i) and (ii). In Zulu sentences rarely do we find a
predicate without concord. The predicate with the noun of the
first position is the favourite type, which noun is always

expressed in the predicate. It should be realised that if two or more nouns of the first position i.e. conjoined subjects, are used, concord agreement is much more involved.

The Concord for the conjoined subjects

2.1.1 When the predicate takes more than one subject, it usually has some preferences about the concord to be used. These preferences are determined by meaning. The ordering of nouns and predicate has a role to play in these preferences.

2.1.2 The subject concord in Zulu is of prime importance in subject-predicate relationship. It is a surface manifestation of a relation which obtains between the noun(s) of the first position and the predicate. As a formative, the SC indicates different relations. With reference to the concord for the conjoined subject, the relations may be:

(a) restricted or marked

(b) partially restricted or partially marked

(c) unrestricted or unmarked

The restricted relation, as has been observed, abundantly occurs with one subject or subjects belonging to the same class
     (1)   (2)
e.g. Ôbabá nômamé báyahámba (fathers and mothers are going). The concord may, however, deviate from its noun class and on that basis still establish a restricted relation, cf.
  (1)   (2)   (3)
úbabá nénsízwa nentômbazâne báyahámba (father, the young man and the girl are going). Here restriction is based on human vs. non-human; ba- is marked for human though they may belong to different noun classes. The word order of the conjoined subjects depends on the speaker, and does not affect the concord

in this instance. Usually the subject which is placed first
indicates the more important and the one placed last,
the less important. At times it is from the less important to
the more important. The order of importance may be determined
by social status, human vs. non-human, and animate vs. in-
animate. This order of importance does not play an important
role in impromptu speech whereas in stylistic and deliberate
talk it does, and even more so in written work.

2.1.3 The predicate may prefer to attach the concord of the
more important subject only and other subjects are merely
appended wherein another important dimension crops up in sub-
ject-predicate relation:
```
            (1)       (2)         (3)
```
úyahámba úbabá, nensízwa, nentómbazáne (along goes father with
the young man and the girl). Here the concord starts the
sentence, and the main subject immediately follows the verb
form with -ya-. The focus is on the predicate. The concord
ú- is not solely marked for humans, anyway. However, when
it occurs with one subject it indicates restricted concord e.g.
úyahámba úbabá (father is going). When additional subjects
are adjoined then it is neutralised and becomes partially
```
                                 (1)       (2)        (3)
```
restricted as in úyahámba úbabá, nensízwa, nentómbazáne
(along goes father with the young man and the girl). This type
of relation also occurs in different word order, cf.
```
  (1)           (2)         (3)
```
úbabá úhámba nensízwa nentómbazáne (father goes with the young
man and the girl) in which case the main subject precedes the
verb form without -ya- while others follow this predicate.
Partial restriction is even clearer where non-human subjects
```
                (1)       (2)              (3)
```
are included, cf. índoda nentómbazáne báhámba nêháshi (the man
and the maiden are going along with the horse) but

(1)   (2)   (3)   (4)
Índoda nentômbazâne nêháshi báhámba nénqóla (the man, the

maiden, and the horse are travelling with a cart). Here we

have a pleasant shift of priorities in word order occasioned,

firstly, by human vs. animal, secondly by animate vs. inanimate.

2.1.4 The importance of focus and word order is well illus-

trated by the following sentences:

  (i)   Ízinkâbi, nabántu, ziyálima (the oxen as well as the

         people are ploughing)

  (ii)   zilíma nabántu, Ízinkâbi (they 'the oxen' as well as the

         people are ploughing)

  (iii) abántu, nézinkâbi, bayálima (the people, as well as the

         oxen are ploughing)

  (iv)   abántu balíma ngézinkâbi (the people are using oxen in

         ploughing)

In (i) the concord zi- agrees with Ízinkâbi and this shows that

Ízinkâbi is the point of focus whereas nabántu is usually said

with pauses before and after to indicate that it is of relative-

ly less importance. In (ii) the focus is on the predicate.

Abántu in (iii) becomes the point of focus. Sentence (iv)

throws some light once more on the position of a noun and its

form on the one hand and the type of LSF established on the other:

balíma ngézinkâbi presupposes that Ízinkâbi ziyálíma. Here

Ízinkâbi occurs as a subject but when the priority of the human

occurs against non-human, Ízinkâbi occurs post-verbally as an

adjunct (secondary form) cf. abántu balíma ngézinkâbi where

ngézinkâbi is overtly an instrumental. Both abántu and ngézinkâbi

are also assistive; Vide Louw (1971, p.12). In this instance

the assistive is bound up with comitative LSF. Cf. abántu,

nézinkâbi, bayálíma where the comitative implies the co-opera-

tive effort performed by both abántu and Ízinkâbi.

2.1.5   It has been observed that conjoined subjects may occur
with pauses after them, cf. the first three sentences in the
above paragraph.   The pauses are relative and depend on the
degree of fastness or slowness of speech.   These pauses have
a bearing on prosodic syntax or what Dr Letele (1955, p.63)
calls 'syntax relation'.   When he says:

> Syntax relation of words in a sentence is
>
> indicated in various ways, such as: the
>
> order of words in the sentence, the
>
> concord agreement between words, the kind
>
> of inflectional elements occurring in words,
>
> the occurrence of Length, the Tone patterns in
>
> which words occur and the kind of tonal
>
> transition from one word to another.

the importance of juncture or pause as affecting prosodics is
clearly seen.   Full length on the penult is a boundary marker
for a pause.   The tonal feature may distinguish the concord
with regard to tense and mood e.g. compare the ba- concord of
the indicative present with that of the remote past:
abántu, nézinkâbi, balíma ínsîmu (the people as well as the
oxen are ploughing the field).
abántu, nézinkâbi, bâlíma ínsîmu (the people as well as the
oxen ploughed the field)
The bâ-/bâa-/, whose length is markedly full, indicates the past,
the one i.e. ba-/ba-/ whose length is short indicates the
present.   With regard to the conjoined subjects, the pause
usually indicates the presence of the main and minor subjects.
The main subject takes the SC, in the predicate; the minor
does not and as such is indefinite e.g. úmamé, néngane, úfíkile
(mother as well as a baby has arrived).   A pause may therefore

be the result of partially restricted congruence. In certain

orderings, however, focus may cause a pause e.g. ículo, úmamé

úyalicúla (*the song, mother sings it).

2.1.5 The kú- SC occurring with conjoined subjects expresses

the third type of relation i.e. the unrestricted congruence.

The concord itself is completely neutral concerning the

conjoined subjects:

ámádoda nézintômbí nézingáne kúyahámba (men, maidens and children

are walking)

úmlotha nézinkúni namálahlé kuffkile (ash, wood and coal have

been brought).

In the above sentences ba- can only be used with the first

sentence. However, kú- may be used with human, animate and

inanimate in any combination. It is therefore unrestricted

in usage. Kú- is significant in showing sentence types having

conjoined subjects:

(a) Kúhámba úmfána nentômbazâne (There go a boy and a girl).

Here the predicate is the head of the sentence; the predicate

must take the SC since it is not an imperative. The kú-

stabilises the predicate and brings it into line with the

linguistic canons of Nguni. The meaning of this concord is

neutral and typifies indefinite subject(s). In the above

example kú- cannot be replaced by the SC ba-.

(b) úmfána nentômbazâne kúyahámba (a boy and a girl are going).

Here ku- can be replaced by ba-. In this sentence construction,

it indicates derogation, cf. úkuntó, a derogatory form referring

to a human being. Hence some Zulus instead of saying úmfána

nentômbazâne kúyahámba, which is of course a clumsy construc-

tion, would say ókuwúmfána, nentômbazâne kúyahámba (a boy and

a girl are going), a more regular form of despising. In this
sentence kú- agrees with the derogatory prefix óku- which
every noun in Zulu is capable of taking.

2.1.7   It has been observed that -ya- indicates definiteness
of the predicate. It can occur with the ku- SC in passive
construction as in kúyahánjwa (there is going) where the
predicate has both focus and definiteness whilst the subject
is both neutral and indefinite. However, this should not be
taken to mean that focus and definiteness always co-occur.

2.1.8   Ziervogel (1971, p. 373) associates the locative with
kú- and says:

> In the South African languages the concords for
>
> class ku- dominate all locatives.

Seeing that the locative is mainly a secondary form, there
is an overwhelming evidence that it is always expressed by an
indefinite ku- SC, cf.

ésikóleni kúya íngáne (*to school, a child goes)

phézulu kúndíza ínyôni (up above, flies a bird)

This is in line with sentences such as

ésikóleni kúmákhaza (at school, it is cold)

phézulu kúyabánda (up above is cold)

The Concord for the conjoined objects

2.2.0 This type of concord is not regular in Zulu, and linguists
have not paid much attention to it. The Zulu speakers usually
prefer passive construction while the OC indicates conjoined
nouns. Consider the following sentences:

(i) ísalukázi, nómfána, nentômbazáne, úyabasháya úbabá (*an
     old woman, the boy and the girl, he hits them father i.e.

father hits them).

(ii) Ísalukázi, nómfána, nentômbazâne, basháywa ngubâbá (an

old woman, the boy and the girl are hit by father). Here

it is realised that the conjoined objects, like conjoined

subjects belong to different noun classes. In (i) the OC

-ba- refers to three nouns belonging to different classes. As

a concord it determines a rather rigid syntactic position of

the predicate. It would therefore be hypothetical to say:

*úyabasháya úbabá úmfána nentômbazâne nésalukázi. When the

predicate begins the sentence as in the above sentence, the

conjoined objects are left out i.e. úyabasháya úbabá (father

is hitting them).

2.2.1   Concerning conjoined objects it is more common to use

the OC of the object next to the predicate, e.g.

úbabá úyasisháya ísalukázi, nómfána nentômbazâne (father hits

the old woman, the boy and the girl). This shows that the

OC is more restricted as a referent than the SC is. Should

the OC of the object next to the predicate be used, then there

is usually a pause between the object whose OC is used and the

others that form a looser unit. The OC indicates definiteness

in relation to the object. This ties in with the idea that

the object used first is uppermost in the mind of the speaker.

When no definiteness is implied the OC does not occur and the

short form of the predicate is used e.g.

úbabá úsháya ísalukázi nómfána nentômbazâne (father hits an

old woman, a boy and a girl). Here there is no distinct pause

since no noun is made definite.

2.2.2   The -kú- OC is unmarked for class, cf. kú- SC. The -kú-

could refer to animate and inanimate alike e.g.

Ísalukázi nómfána nentômbazâne, úyakúsháya úbabá (*an old woman,
a boy and a girl, 'he, father, hits them' i.e. father hits them).
Cf. ku- SC indicating derogation. In Ízitúlo namatáfula
nezicâbha, úyakúthénga úbabá (*the chairs, tables and doors, he
buys them i.e. father buys them) -kú- refers to the inanimate
objects, therefore no derogation is implied.

The LSFs pertaining to types of Subjects

2.3.0   The subject in this study is established as the sub-
stantive governing the predicate though the predicate conditions
that substantive. In particular, the subject has semantic
relational features which are determined by the predicate. The
concords are overt manifestation of noun-verb relations. There
are, however, covert relational features dominating the noun
as the subject i.e. LSFs.

(a) Agentive Causation

2.4.0   It has been indicated that the agentive and the instru-
mental suggest the cause of action. The agentive causation is
an LSF usually established by two place verbs e.g. úmfána
úsháya ínkomó (the boy hits a cow), íngane íphúla ínkómishi
(the child breaks a cup). In the first sentence the boy causes
an action to happen i.e. of hitting. In the second, the child
causes the breaking of a cup. In both sentences the agentives
are animate and initiate the action. However, in úmoyá úvúla
úmnyângo (the wind opens the door), the subject is inanimate
and is not clearly an instrumental. The noun úmoyá is therefore
assistive i.e. the noun of the first slot assisting in the

action of the predicate. Zulu has also the overt formative of
causation usually attached to the simplex verb i.e. the extension
-is- or -z- which helps establish the agentive causation LSF,
as in úbabá úphumulísa/úphumúza íngáne (father makes the child
rest). The causation extension (-is-/-z-) is capable of endowing
even the so-called 'intransitive verbs' with agentive causation.

(b) Instrumental Causation

2.5.0   There are nice distinctions in the hierarchy or ordering
of the LSFs. The agentive takes priority over the instrumental.
The instrumental which is marked on the surface immediately
implies the factive or the experiencer, cf.
úbabá úsháya úmfána ngénduku (father hits a boy with a stick)
The agentive úbabá has priority over ngénduku though they are
both bound by causation, ngénduku also presupposes the factive
to whom the action transits i.e. úmfána. The noun úbabá need
not always be agentive since the agentive has no surface marker
when it has subject function i.e. it may be, for instance,
úbabá úyágula (father is ill) where úbabá is not agentive. When
the instrumental occurs in the slot of the subject indicating
causation, it is covert i.e. it has no surface marker, índuku
ísháya úmfána (a stick hits the boy). The instrumental co-
exists with surface marker when it occurs in the slot of the
adjunct. The latter is not necessarily the only LSF present
because the comitative accompanies here the agentive causation,

  (i) índuku ísháya úmfána (the stick hits the boy)
  (ii) úbabá úsháya úmfána ngénduku (father hits the boy with
                                        a stick)
In (i) índuku is the instrumental subject where it is not

accompanied by the agentive.   Though _índuku_ is inanimate
it is skewed in the direction of the initiator of the action,
cf. _úmmesé úsíka ísínkwa_ (the knife cuts bread) where _úmmesé_
is also such a covert instrumental.   In (ii) the animate
initiator of action, _úbabá_ shifts _índuku_ to an adjunct position
where in its secondary form (_ngénduku_) has instrumental
comitative LSF.   The instrumental need not always be inanimate,
cf. _úmfána úcásha ngóbabá_ (the boy uses father in protecting
                                 himself)
where _ngóbabá_ is an animate instrumental.

(c)   The Comitative and the Identificative

2.6.0   As it has already been illustrated, the instrumental
co-occurs with the comitative in certain relations.   In the
main, the comitative as a subsidiary LSF is overtly expressed
by the connective _na-_ e.g.
úbabá nómamé báyasebénza (father and mother are working)
báyasebénza, óbabá nómamé (they are working i.e. father and
mother).
In modern stylistic sentences, the connective _na-_ is not used
with all conjoined subjects but it is used with the last
substantive.   This is mainly the influence of foreign languages,
like English,cf. _úbabá, u málumé nómfówéthú báyasebénza_
(father, uncle and brother are working).
      There is also another connective in Zulu which associates
the expressed nominals with implied ones i.e. _kwa-_ or _kwasa-_
e.g. _kwasamuntu lówo, úyasebénza_ (even that person works)
Here the noun _úmúntu_ is associated with the implied noun.
Since it is the initial word in the sentence it expresses focus.

In úyasebénza kwasamuntu lówo (even that person is working)

focus is on the predicate. The comitative of identification

is expressed by njénga- and okwá- e.g.

íngáne ícúla njéngothîshá (the child sings as a teacher)

íngáne íkhulúma ókómlûngu (the child talks as a white)

Here njéngothîshá and ókómlûngu are not copulatives yet they

identify the preceding nouns. The reciprocal with the extension

-an- also establishes the comitative e.g.

úbabá nómamé báyathandána (father and mother are in love)

2.6.1 Though the connective and the instrumental do co-occur

in certain instances, the comitative par excellence indicates

the action done in concert by co-ordinated subjects whereas

the instrumental is in the main, manipulated and therefore an

inanimate nominal, cf. úbabá nómamé basháya úmfána ngóswazi

(father and mother hit a boy with a stick).

Here it is quite clear that the comitative and the instrumental

can be distinguished in certain instances. This is shown by

the fact that the comitative in the conjoined subjects cannot

be regarded as an instrumental though the instrumental ngóswazi

does have a comitative nuance in the sense that it is associated

with an agentive (animate being) when manipulated.

2.6.2 However, nga- does not always express the instrumental

especially with one place predicates, cf.

úbabá nómamé bákhulúma ngómfána (father and mother are talking

about the boy)

Here ngómfána is neither comitative nor instrumental but a

target of action. It is an inert post-verbal patient with a

certain locative shade of meaning i.e. ngómfána is the location

of the talking. When <u>ngóswazi</u> and <u>ngómfána</u> are compared, it

is realised that <u>ngóswazi</u> has pre-verbal association i.e. it is

associated with the subjects whereas <u>ngómfána</u> has only post-

verbal significance i.e. it is not associated with the subjects

in the execution of the action. This is fundamental in showing

that certain surface forms are not necessarily reserved for

particular LSFs, cf.

<u>úswazi lúsh009a úmfána</u> (the stick hits a boy) in <u>úbabá nómamé</u>

<u>bash009a úmfána ngóswazi</u>, but not

*<u>umfána úkhulúma úbabá nómamé</u> (*the boy talks father and mother)

in <u>úbabá nómamé bákhulúma ngómfána</u>. Úswazi having an instrumental

LSF occurs in the subject slot but <u>úmfána</u> which is non-instru-

mental cannot.

(d)   The Identificative-Agentive

2.7.0   The identificative-agentive is expressed in the passive

diathesis i.e. where the agent follows the predicate and

where it does not take the SC in the predicate. In such a

construction the factive is the surface subject and it takes

the SC in the predicate. When the agentive occurs after the

predicate which has an extension -<u>w</u>- or -<u>iw</u>-, it usually

expresses identificative-agentive but this obtains when the

factive features as the surface subject. Note the following:

  (i) <u>úmfána úsh009ywa</u> <u>ubâbá</u> (the boy is hit by the father)

(ii)   <u>kúsh009ywa úbabá</u> (there father is hit)

In (i) <u>ubâbá</u> is a copulative and has the identificative-

agentive LSF whereas in (ii) <u>úbabá</u> is a noun upon which

action is brought to bear i.e. it is a patient/factive noun.

The unrestricted concord <u>ku</u>- renders the surface subject

neutral. This neutrality is also established by the neuter

extension -ek-/ -akal- as in:

kúshayéka úbabá (there father is hit)

úbabá úyasháyeka (father is hit)

2.7.1   The agentive LSF is brought about by the presence of the predicate belonging to the causation class. It is therefore clear that there could be identification without any agentive relation as in the following examples:

Indoda ¦umfúndisi (the man is a minister of religion)

Indoda Ingumfúndisi (the man 'he' is a minister of religion)

In the first example, ¦umfúndisi is morphologically free from the preceding noun i.e. any noun can substitute Indoda in this sentence.   In the second sentence Indoda has a concord in the copulative i.e. Indoda and Ingumfúndisi are morphologically bound.   The first sentence is a response sentence whereas the second one is a representational one.   Both ¦umfúndisi and Ingumfúndisi are identificative but they do not have an agentive relation.

(e)   The Patient-Affective

2.8.0   It is customary to associate the patient with the traditional object. But if the predicate is one place it prefers the patient as its subject. The patient can also be associated with the affective when the noun in the first slot is affected by the predicate which requires only one noun. In such an example, it is possible to talk of a subject with covert affective relationship.

Note the following sentences:

Inkomó Ifíle (the cow is dead)

úbabá úléle (father is asleep)

Incwadí Iyadayísa (the book is selling)

Here the nouns with the subject function are neither agentive nor instrumental; they are patients of the predicate and have the affective relation with it.

(f)   The Instrumental-Locative

2.9.0   In many instances the locative relationship is found in the post-verbal positions in the slot of an adjunct, where it is expressed by overt markers. Ziervogel (1971, p.371) says:

> The term locative in Bantu languages refers to
> the forms assumed by certain words to express a
> place or locality. The term is used by Meinhof
> in his discussion of certain class prefixes in
> Ur-Bantu.

Ziervogel sees the locative in the 'forms' of words. However, there are few instances where locative relation occurs with the noun in the first position. Such nouns are not locative them-selves but they indicate locative-instrumental LSF. Hence they, in a sense, indicate the location of the event or thing:

Índlu íqukéthé abántu (the house contains people)

Isítsha siphéthé úkudlá (the plate contains food)

úmgqomó úgcwélé ámanzi (the cistern is full of water)

The nouns in the first slot are inanimate and have an instru-mental-locative LSF.

2.9.1   The applied form of the verb used with certain inanimate nouns occupying the subject position could also express instrumental-locative LSF:

Ígceké lidlaléla ízingáne (children play on the yard)

Índlu ídléla abántu (people eat in the house)

It is realised that the sentences as they stand cannot have
the OC in the short form of the present tense. The nouns
occupying the second slot are animate and have agentive re-
lation with the predicate. Doke (1961, p.141) notices the
locative relationship expressed by the applied form:

> The applied form, without an object expressed,
> may imply 'location' or the locative idea
> generally. In this sense, descriptive possessive
> construction is commonly used.

However, Doke does not see the applied form as a finite
verb in this instance.

The Object's Liaison Semantic Features

2.10.0 The object, as has been seen with the subject, is
related to the predicate in a special way which necessitates
the establishment of semantic relational features existing
between the object and the predicate. The distinction between
the object and the adjunct is a delicate one since the object
may in shape and form look like the adjunct or vice versa.
The following sentence illustrates this point:

úbonê ûsukú lónke (he saw for the whole day)

In this sentence, ûsûku refers to the length of time, the
day long i.e. it is an adjunct. But in the following sentence
the predicate can take the OC:

úlubonê ludlúla ûsukú lwayízolo (he saw the day of yesterday

lapsing)

ludlúla ûsukú lwayízolo is an object clause and is represented
by the OC -lu-. The importance of syntactic relations is
manifest in these examples.

(a) The Object with Instrumental LSF

2.11.0 When the object behaves as an instrument of the verb
it has instrumental LSF, e.g.

úbabá úgibélé ímóto (father is travelling by car)

úbabá úsháya índuku (father fights with a stick)

In the first sentence ímóto is the instrument of carrying
whereas in the second, índuku is the instrument of hitting.
Both sentences can have entailment:

ímóto ígitshélwe ngubábá (the car is ridden by father)

índuku ísháywa ngubábá (how to fight with a stick is known

by father)

Such transposition of the subject and the object shows passive
construction. The predicate can also take the OC:

úbabá úyigibélé ímóto (father is travelling by car)

úbabá úyayisháya índuku (father fights with the stick)

The objects with instrumental LSF are not many in the language.

(b) The Object with Factive LSF

2.12.0 The object which has factive relationship with the
predicate indicates the substantive acting as the goal of the
predicate. The factive is a major LSF concerning the object
but it may also be found with concomitant minor features i.e.
affective, receptive, directive, and conceptive, cf.

   (i)   úbabá údilíza índlu (father is demolishing the house)

  (ii)   úbabá wákhá índlu (father is building the house)

 (iii)   úbabá úbóna índlu (father sees the house)

  (iv)   úbabá úníka índlu ígáma (father gives to a house a name)

In (i) índlu is the factive with affective relation. In (ii)

it is the factive with the conceptive relation i.e. it is being conceived. This is also true of (iii) where indlu is conceived as something that is in sight. In (iv) indlu has the receptive or benefactive relation. The receptive is accompanied by the directive nuance. The factive shows that the noun may have a cluster of nuances, cf. (iv) where indlu is the factive with receptive, directive and affective nuances.

(c) The Object with Locative LSF

2.13.0 The locative relation may be expressed by the substantive in the second slot. A distinction should be drawn once more between the locative form and the locative LSF; the locative LSF is not necessarily mapped on the locative form since the noun in the second position can have a locative relation with the predicate e.g.

   (i) úmfána úhámba ísikóle (the boy goes to school)

  (ii) úbabá úngéna índlu (father enters a house)

(iii) ámanzí agcwélé úmgqômo (water fills a cistern)

The noun ísikóle in (i) and indlu in (ii) have locative-directive relations with the predicate whereas úmgqômo in (iii) has only the locative LSF. Sentences (i) and (ii) can have entailment but (iii) cannot:

ísikóle sihánjwa ¡úmfána (the school is attended by the boy)

índlu íngénwa ¡úbâbá (the house is entered by father)

Sentence (iii) illustrates the restraint of Zulu since it does not allow the passive construction here. In certain usages however, we do get the passive form of the verb-stem -gcwála as in

úmúntu úgcwélwé ngamánzi emadolwêni (the person is scared)

úmúntu wâgcwalwa ngamánzi emadolwêni (the person was scared)

2.13.1 Doke (1961, p.306) comments on nouns occupying the second position such as those found in sentences (i), (ii) and (iii) as follows:

> Certain verbs in Zulu may take idiomatically
> as objects nouns which one would expect to
> be used adverbially, either as adverbs of
> time or as locatives.

The important point to observe here is that the locative relation is distinct from the locative form. Though the noun may have locative relation it is still the object, cf. entailment. It can also take the OC in the predicate:

úmfána úyasihámba ísikóle (the boy goes to school)

úbabá úyayingéna índlu (father enters the house)

ámanzí áwugcwélé úmgqômo (water fills the cistern)

(d) The Object with Comitative ISF

2.14.0 The comitative has been dealt with above under the subject. It is mainly connected with conjoined nouns whether they be subjects or objects. It is also associated with the overt instrumental. Here follow the examples of the objects (factives) with comitative relation.

(i) úbabá úsháya ísalukázi nómfána (father hits the old
                                                                 woman and the boy)

(ii) ámantômbazâne nabafána basháywa ngubâbá (girls and boys
                                                                      are hit by father)

(iii) ízinkômó namaháshi, úyakulúsa úmfána (cattle and horses
                                                                        are looked after by the boy)

In (i) nómfána has factive-comitative relations. ámantômbazâne nabafána in (ii) have subject function with the passive predi-

cate; nabafána has factive-comitative relation. In (iii)
ízinkômó and namaháshi are also objects with factive relations;
namaháshi is also comitative. The comitative LSF may also
co-occur with the locative one in conjoined objects e.g.
úmfána úhámba ísikóle nésonto (the boy goes to school and church)
where nésonto is an object with comitative-locative LSFs.

2.15.0 Thus far it has been shown that the semantic features
are vital in the study of the sentence since the covert
connections between verbs and nouns are established. It is
in this regard that Louw (1971, p.25) says:

> When a particular theoretical model is used
>
> to study the system of a language one of the
>
> main features which must be taken into account
>
> is the marvellous flexibility of language
>
> to express meaning of all possible shades. If
>
> such a model cannot explain nuances of meaning
>
> there must be some fault in its construction.

The study of semantic features endeavours to recognise the
form, the order and the meaning of words.

CHAPTER III

TRANSITIVITY

3.0.0   By transitivity it is often understood the predicate
which takes an object. Such a predicate would therefore be a
two or three place verb. Transitivity concerns itself with
predicate-object relationship. In Bantu languages it was not
until 1968 that Whiteley seriously observed that there are
various relationships between the verb and the object. His
study related to Swahili. Whiteley(1968, p.10) rightly observed
that:

> verbs cannot usefully be classified in terms
> of a transitive/intransitive distinction since
> a very large number of verbs may be transitive
> or intransitive depending, not on the type of
> clause in which they occur but rather on the
> particular subject-and-object relationships
> which they subtend.

In Zulu certain verbal extensions are useful in making other-
wise 'intransitive' predicates take objects e.g.
úbabá úlambísa úmfána (father makes the boy hungry)
There are also predicates without any extension, which take
only particular objects as in úmfána úlála íntombí (the boy
is having sex with a girl). In this study transitivity is
taken to have a wider compass than the mere consideration of
action that transits to the noun in the second slot. It also
embraces the collocability of the predicate with the noun in
the second slot, e.g. úmúntu úma ísibíndi (the person steels
himself) where the semantic significance of úma (he stands)

is not readily deduced from that of ísibíndi (courage) when

they are isolated. Hence úma ísibíndi cannot be isolated.

What is more, in such a sentence ísibíndi cannot be shifted

to the front in anyway since it cannot have the OC in the

predicate. In such a sentence there is a high degree of

cohesion between the predicate and the noun so that the noun

is an obligatory complement.

3.0.1 The sentences above show that it is unnecessary to have

a dividing line between intransitive and transitive verbs. In

úmúntu úfa ínhlizíyo (a person gets discouraged) again ínhlizíyo

as an object cannot be isolated. Verbs can therefore usefully

be classified according to front-shifting of objects and the

possibility that they may be isolated. This in turn requires

the naming of these objects as a matter of identification.

Identification of objects in transitivity

3.1.0   The object that cannot be shifted to the front, is

incapable of being isolated and it follows the short form of

the verb where it cannot have the OC. Such a fixed object is

therefore compulsory, e.g.

úmfána úma ísibíndi (the boy steels himself)

índoda íconsa ámathé (the man is salivating)

The object (primary object) which may be shifted to the front

can be isolated and may also follow the short form of the

predicate. When it is shifted to the front it takes its OC in

the predicate, and the OC requires the long form. As long as

there is an OC, the object itself may either be left out or

inserted. Such an insertion means prominence of the object

i.e. a definite object. The object capable of being isolated
is therefore optional e.g.

úmamé úcúla ículo (mother sings a song)

úmfána úsháya ínkómó (the boy hits a cow)

It should be noted that the term 'optional' does not neces-
sarily mean the leaving out of the object without any change
in the form of the predicate. In anyway the predicate which
is not supported by the noun of the second position must be
in its long form. The shifting of an optional object is as
follows:

úmamé, ículo, úyalicúla (mother sings the song)

ículo, úmamé úyalicúla (*the song mother sings it)

ículo, úyalicúla úmamé (*the song, she sings it, mother)

úyalicúla úmamé, ículo (*she sings it, mother, the song)

úmamé úyalicúla, ículo (mother sings the song)

The object may be left out if there is an OC e.g. úyalicúla
(she sings it). The object may also be shifted out of the
sentence i.e. there can be compulsory shifting out of the
object. Such an object is prohibited. Prohibition of the
object is mainly the result of the long form of the predicate
without the OC e.g.

úmamé uyácula 'ículo' (mother sings a song)

úmfána uyálusa 'ízinkómó' (the boy looks after cattle)

In both sentences ículo and ízinkómó are prohibited as objects
and so the sentences are

úmamé uyácula (mother is singing)

úmfána uyálusa (the boy is herding)

Compulsory prohibition of the object gives rise to intransi-
tivity.

The Passive and Transitivity

3.2.0   One of the criteria of ascertaining transitivity is
the passive construction. There are different types of passive
constructions. The LSFs whittle away any ambiguity there may be
between passive sentences i.e. the semantic relations play an
important role in disambiguating certain passive constructions.
Consider the following:

(i)   Ínkomó ísháywa ngubâbá (the cow is hit by father)

(ii)   úmfána údákwa útshwâlá (the boy is intoxicated by beer)

(iii) úmamé úthándíswa ínyama (mother has a craving for meat)

In (i) the passive is followed by the copulative-identificative
agentive which is the cause of action. In (ii) the passive is
followed by the agentive-instrumental identificative which is
also a copulative, cf. útshwála búdáka úmfána (beer intoxicates
the boy). In (iii) the passive is followed by the factive
object i.e. ínyama is not a copulative identificative at all,
hence úmamé has agentive relation.

3.2.1   On these grounds the passive may be divided into
different categories; the categories show different combinations
of the passive form of the predicate with the subject and the
object. It should be noted, however, that the passive is not
always marked on the surface as will be seen below.

Category A

3.3.0   Here the 'logical' object (factive) precedes the passive
form; it agrees with the passive form because the SC gives it a
surface subject function. The 'logical' subject (agentive)
follows the passive form of the predicate where it does not

take any concord:

Ínkomó ísháywa ngubâbá (the cow is hit by father)

úmfána úbónwa ngumúntu (the boy is seen by a person)

úbabá úhlátshwa yinkômó (father is gored by a cow)

Category B

3.4.0 In this category the noun which precedes the passive
form is taken to be the factive and the noun copulative which
follows it to be assistive because it is also involved in the
causation of the action. The predicates in this category are
more or less always found in their passive form:

úbabá úkhólwa yiNkôsi (father believes in the Lord)

úmfána údákwa ᵘutshwâlá (the boy is intoxicated by beer)

íngáne íkhóhlwa yígâma (the child forgets the name)

With regard to -khólwa (believe) and -khohlwá (forget) the
'active' forms are hardly extant, cf. *iNkósí íyakhóla and

*ígamá líyákhôhla. Instead the neuter form is preferred:

íNkósí íyakholéka (the Lord is believed)

ígâmá líyakhóhleka (the name is forgotten)

With -dakwá, the form -daká is still extant, cf.

útshwalá búyádaka (beer intoxicates)

Category C

3.5.0   Here the passive form of the predicate is no longer
followed by the copulative but by the noun:

  (i)   úbabá úkhólwa íNkósí (father believes in the Lord)

 (ii)   íngáne íkhóhlwa ígâmá (the child forgets the name)

(iii) úmamé úthandíswa ínyama (mother craves for meat)

The subjects in (i), (ii) and (iii) have agentive relation.
The object in (i) has locative relation whereas those in (ii)
and (iii) have factive relation. Note the OCs of these
objects in the long form of the predicate:

úbabá úyayikhólwa íNkósí (father believes in the Lord)

íngáne íyalikhóhlwa ígámá (the child forgets the name)

úmamé úyayithandíswa ínyama (mother has a craving for meat)

The word order here is not fixed, cf.

íNkósí, úyayikhólwa úbabá (in the Lord father believes)

úyayikhólwa íNkósí, úbabá (he believes in the Lord father)

úbabá, íNkósí, úyayikhólwa (*father in the Lord believes)

Category D

3.6.0   When the unrestricted SC ku- is used with the passive
form the factive noun or the noun with the locative LSF follows
that passive form. The agentive noun is an indefinite neutral
subject. The word order is fixed:

kúsháywa ínkomó (there a cow is hit)

kúbónwa úbabá (there father is seen)

kúkhólwa íNkósí (there the Lord is believed)

In the last sentence, íNkósí has the locative LSF, cf.

kúkhólwa éNkosíni (there is believed in the Lord)

Category E

3.7.0 This category differs from all others in that the
predicate is, in form, not a passive. The predicate is
nevertheless followed by the copulative. Syntactically and
semantically it is akin to Category A:

úbabá úkhathélé ˈumsébênzi (father is exhausted by work)

úbabá úfa ˈíndlala (father is afflicted by hunger)

abántu báphelíle yimpí (people are finished off by war)

Category E makes the passive to be divided into two:

(a) The overt passive

3.8.0 This passive has an external marker -w- as in

úbabá úkháthazwé ˈumsébênzi (father is exhausted by work)

úbabá úbuláwa ˈíndlala (father is afflicted by hunger)

(b) The covert passive

3.9.0 Here there is no passive formation:

úbabá úkhathélé umsébênzi (father is exhausted by work)

úbabá úfaˈíndlala (father is afflicted by hunger)

There is no significant difference in meaning between overt

passive and the covert one. Notwithstanding similarity in

meaning, the overt passive has a salient agentive LSF whereas

the covert passive has a copulative merely as an appendage i.e.

it is more or less in parenthesis, cf. úbabá úkhathélé (father

is exhausted) where there is no immediate expectation of the

source of the action, and úbabá úkhathazíwe where the source or

agent is clearly expected.

Different types of objects established in various transitive

structures

3.10.0 Objects are important in showing a variety of transi-

tive structures. The predicate selects a certain object and in

so doing establishes a transitive structure which may be dis-

tinguished from others. The distinction lies both in syntactic

(cf. compulsory, optional and prohibited objects) and semantic
(cf. factive, instrumental, locative, complementary etc.)
criteria. The syntactic criteria also involve the capacity or
incapacity of an object to be shifted to the front whilst the
semantic criteria also distinguish between a definite object
from an indefinite one. The definite vs. indefinite is mainly
identified morphologically though the difference is semantic.

Type I (a)

3.11.0 This is a favourite transitive structure where the
object can be isolated i.e. it can be shifted about in the
sentence. In the main, the object has factive LSF:

úmfána úbóna ínkomó (the boy sees a cow)

úbabá úsháya íngáne (father hits a child)

úmúntu úthátha ínkómishi (the person takes a cup)   When the
object concord is used together with the object, the object
itself adds fuller information and for that matter it is
definite e.g. úmfána úyayisháya ínkomó (the boy is hitting the
cow) where ínkomó is definite because it is used together with
its OC. Since ínkomó may be left out of the sentence it is an
optional object. At this level of analysis, the object's
capacity of being isolated is easily discerned. The object's
freedom of shifting endows the sentence with flexibility of
word order e.g.

ínkomó, úmfána úyayibóna (*the cow, the boy sees)

úyayibóna úmfána, ínkomó (he sees the cow - the boy)

úmfána, ínkomo, úyayibóna (*the boy, the cow he sees it)

ínkomó úyayibóna, úmfána (*the cow, he sees it, the boy)

The noun or the predicate at the head of the sentence is given
prominence or focus.

Type I (b)

3.12.0 This transitivity has an object which is cognate with
the predicate. The object may be isolated as that of I (a).
It can therefore be shifted to the front and can take the OC
in the predicate:

úmfána úphúpha íphupho (the boy dreams a dream)

ízingáne zidlála úmdlâlo (children play a play)

ábafána bacúla ículo (boys sing a song)

The objects are here par exellence optional. Note also how
the presence of the OC releases the sentence from its rigidity:

úmfána úyaliphúpha íphupho (the boy dreams a dream)

úmfána, íphupho, úyaliphúpha (*the boy, the dream, he dreams it)

íphupho, úmfána úyaliphúpha (*the dream, the boy dreams it)

The objects above do not add new information in the sentence;
they are simply complementary. The predicates above may, how-
ever, be used with specific objects which have factive LSF and
in such a case they belong to I (a) e.g.

ízingáne zidlála íbhóla (children play football)

3.12.1 Under Type I (b) there is also an occurrence of an
object which is predictable from the type of verb used e.g.

úbabá úhámba índlela (father makes a journey)

úmfána úlála úbúthongo (*the boy sleeps a sleep)

úmamé úxóxa índaba (mother narrates a story)

Type I (c)

3.13.0 This type is slightly distinguished from I(b) where
there are cognate objects. Cognate objects are mainly imper-
sonal nouns preceded by the predicates from which they are

derived. I (c) has complementary infinitive preceded by the
indicative of the same predicate i.e. the same predicate is
used in the indicative as well as in the infinitive e.g.

úbabá úhámba úkuhámba (father is indeed going)

úmamé úthúle úkuthúla kwafúthi (mother is silent forever i.e.

dead)

íngàne ígúla ukúqula (the child is indeed ill)

This type of complementary infinitive serves to emphasise the
positive predicate and results in what may be called absolute
positive. It is used mainly if there has been some doubt
about the veracity of the action or state and has an emphatic
force. This emphatic force has a meaning more or less like
that of the adjunct ímpéla or ngémpéla (indeed, really). The
infinitive kind of object does not take the OC. It has therefore
the significance of an adjunct. Care should be taken to dis-
tinguish between the complementary infinitive and nouns per se
as in

úbabá údla úkudlá (father eats food)

úmfána wéhla úkwéhla (the boy goes down a slope)

Here úkudlá and úkwéhla are cognate objects appreciably co-
inciding with those of I(b) since they can take the OCs and
could be shifted to the front.

At times ambiguity arises as to whether such forms as
úkufúnda, úkuthánda and úkuhléba are complementary infinitives
or pure objects in the following sentences:

úmfána úfúnda úkufúnda (the boy really reads/the boy learns

how to read)

úmfána úthánda úkuthánda (the boy really loves/the boy likes

loving)

úmfána úhléba úkuhléba (the boy really back-bites /the boy

scandalises back-biting)

Cf. also úbabá údla úkudlá (father really eats/father eats food)

úbabá wéhla úkwéhla (father really goes down a slope/

father goes down a slope)

Such an ambiguity could be solved by context. What is more,

when the word is understood as a pure noun it can be expressed

by the OC and can change word order e.g.

úbabá údla úkudlá (father eats food)

úkudlá úyakúdla úbabá (father is eating food)

úyakúdla úkudlá úbabá (*he is eating it food, father)

This cannot happen with the complementary infinitive.

3.13.2 The complementary infinitive may have the negative

predicate and this results in absolute negation. The negative

form consists of the formative na- preplaced to the infinitive;

the -a- of na- and the u- of uku- coalesce if a stronger ne-

gation is intended but if a milder absolute negation is

intended, the u- of uku- is elided, cf.

úbabá akahámbi nokuhámba (indeed father does not even go) but

úbabá akahámbi nakuhámba (father does not even go)

Another possible way of absolute negation in Zulu is:

úbabá akahámbi ngisho úkuhámba (father does not even go)

úmfána akahléki ngisho ukúhleka (the boy does not even laugh)

With the absolute negative the word order is not as fixed as

that of the positive, cf.

nakuhámba akahámbi úbabá (in connection with going father does

not even go)

nakuhleka akahléki úmfána (in connection with laughing the boy

does not even laugh)

Ziervogel (1952, p.188) regards the infinitive of the absolute
negation as a noun and he attaches the meaning of 'have' to
na- in the negative:

> to express a future negation, the noun
>
> following na- being the verb infinitive:
>
> (k)anginakuvala (I shall not close)
>
> (k)angisénakuvala (I shall no longer close)

However, he does not comment on the absolute negation consisting
of the predicate and complementary infinitive as in kanginâkuvala
nakuvala (I shall not even close). It is to be pointed out here
that both the absolute positive and absolute negation use a
kind of complementary object whose relation to the predicate
is allied to that of an adjunct.

Type II

3.14.0 Certain verbs may, in secondary word order, have a
noun which usually occupies the first slot shifted to the
second slot and the one in the second slot shifted to the first
slot. The noun which has been shifted to the first slot takes
the SC:

úmgqÔmo úgcwála ámânzi (the cistern gets filled with water)

ínsímú ímíla amazámbane (the field grows potatoes)

isítsha síhlézi ímpúkané (the dish has a fly sitting on it)

The first two sentences can have OCs in the predicate:

úmgqÔmo úyawagcwála ámânzi (the cistern gets filled with water)

ínsímu íyawamíla amazámbane (the field grows potatoes)

It must be noticed that the OCs do not indicate the nouns upon
which verbs are brought to bear but they indicate the nouns
filling the second slot. Transposition of the pre-verbal noun
and the post-verbal one occurs as follows:

ámanzí aqcwála úmgqômo (water fills the cistern)

amazámbane amíla ínsîmu (potatoes grow in the field)

The nouns in the first position i.e. ámanzi and amazámbane are
subjects with assistive relationship and those in the second
position are objects with locative relationship. Normally
these objects can have their OCs in the predicate:

ámanzí áyawugcwála úmgqômo (water fills up the cistern)

amazámbane áyayímíla ínsîmu (potatoes grow in the field)

The objects having locative relationship (covert) may be mapped
on the overt locative as follows:

ámanzí agcwálá émgqonyéni (water fills up the cistern)

amazámbane amíla énsîmíni (potatoes grow in the field)

Such overt locatives acquire the status of the adjunct.

3.14.1 With reference to ísítsha síhlézi ímpúkané, the ante-
cedent noun has the subject function though it has the locative
LSF. The noun in the second slot cannot take the OC in this
word order. Animate against inanimate is a point of conside-
ration here because it is the fly which does the sitting i.e.
the initiator of causation, and not the dish. When ísítsha
and ímpûkané are transposed, focus falls on ímpúkané which is
agentive and there is syntactic and morphological change in
ísítsha i.e. it becomes a locative adjunct:

ímpúkané íhlézi ésítsheni (the fly is sitting on the dish)

Since the agentive has priority over the locative in word
order, the last sentence shows primary word order.

Type III

3.15.0 Under this type there are two varieties of the noun in
the second slot viz. (a) the noun with the pre-prefix and (b)

the noun without the pre-prefix. These varieties are mainly

distinguished by the LSFs.

(a) The noun with the pre-prefix

3.15.1 The sentence with a noun in the second slot, which

can neither change word order nor take the OC in the predicate

has a fixed complementary noun. There is great cohesion

between this fixed noun and the predicate and this eliminates

flexibility. The fixed noun is a complementary object of the

predicate:

úmfána úqína ídolo (the boy stiffens the knee i.e. the boy

gets courage)

úbabá úhlála ízithóntó (father acts there and then)

úmúntu úfa ínhlizíyo (the person gets discouraged)

The nouns in the first position are assistive and those in the

second have a complementary relation with the predicate. Since

these sentences are stylised idioms word order is rigorously

fixed. It should be observed, notwithstanding, that the

sentence with the OC, as úbabá úmhlála ízithóntó (father acts on

him there and then) is possible. The OC -m- may represent

úmúntu (a person) i.e. úmúntu could be the factive. It should

also be realised that -hlala (sit) does not regularly combine

with the factive object. However, cf. úmfána úngihlála éŊkósíni

(the boy reports me to the chief).

(b) The noun without the pre-prefix

3.15.2 The nouns without a pre-prefix are indefinite. This

shows that the initial vowels of nouns have some measure of

definiteness. The initial vowel endows the noun with a parti-

cularised meaning, cf. von Staden (1973, p.177). The nouns
shorn of the initial vowel cohere with the predicate in such a
way that there is no need for the OC. They differ from those
of (a) in that they can have factive relation:

úbabá úsháya ngáne, ntombí mfána (father hits a child, a girl

and a boy)

ízintômbí ázibóni nsízwa (ladies do not see any man)

úthishá údabúla ncwajána áyifícayó (the teacher tears any little

letter he comes across)

The first sentence has factive objects which are preceded by
the predicate. These objects may also be preceded by the
absolute pronoun of the second person singular:

úbabá úsháya wéna ngáne, wéna ntombí, wéna mfána (father hits a

baby, a girl and boy)

The second sentence shows absolute negation. In such negation
the object cannot take the OC. Such a noun cannot be shifted
to the front. The nouns nsízwa and ncwajána have factive re-
lation.

3.15.3   Since Type III is marked by incapacity of the nouns in
the second slot being shifted to the front, there is no occurrence
of passive construction. These nouns cannot be isolated.

Type IV

3.16.0   This type refers to the primary objects and secondary
objects of the single predicate, i.e. three place verbs. The
noun occurring in the second slot readily takes the OC and is
therefore referred to as the primary object. The noun occurring
in the third slot is the secondary object and does not readily

take the OC. The sequence of the primary and secondary objects is not fixed; the moment there is an OC the primary object may precede the secondary object or vice versa:

úbabá úníka úmfána ímalí (father gives the boy money)

úthishá úthúma úmfána íncwadí (the teacher sends the boy for a
letter)

The noun úmfána in both sentences is the primary object and can take the OC in the predicate, cf.

úbabá úyamníka úmfána ímalí (father is giving the boy money)

úthishá úyamthúma úmfána íncwadí (the teacher is sending the
boy for a letter

The nouns ímalí and íncwadí are secondary objects and they cannot take the OCs in the predicate.

3.16.1   In the sentences above, the primary object úmfána in (i) has a receptive relation and in (ii) it has a directive relation. In these sentences ímalí and íncwadí are in factive relation with the predicate.

3.16.2   The division of the primary and secondary objects in non-extended predicates is based mainly on the animate versus inanimate, cf. sentences above. The animate has priority over the inanimate i.e. priority of sequence and verb control. It may happen that both the primary and the secondary objects are animate as in:

úbabá úníka úmfána úmngane (father gives the boy a friend)

In such instances, the object next to the predicate without the OC is the primary one. The presence of the OC releases the rigidity of the sequence of primary and secondary objects, cf.

úbabá úyamníka úmfána, ímalí (father is giving the boy money)

úbabá úyamníka ímalí, úmfána (father is giving money to the boy)

ímalí, úyamníka úbabá úmfána (*money, father gives to the boy)

úmfána úyamníka úbabá, ímalí (*the boy, father gives him money)
The object which comes first is given prominence or focus. The
last sentence in the above examples is ambiguous because it can
also be understood as (the boy is giving father money). This
ambiguity is mainly brought about by the fact that úbabá and
úmfána have similar OCs. Here it is the context of utterance
which is important. It must be noted that the primary and
secondary objects may be separated by the predicate. It should
also be observed that the secondary object is extranuclear i.e.
it fills the slot of an adjunct; this is partly shown by the
fact that it has no concord. According to function then the
secondary object is on a par with the adjunct.

3.16.3 The last remark is even made clearer when the primary
and secondary objects refer to one and the same noun e.g.
úmfána usháya ínyóká íkhânda (the boy hits the snake on the head)
The noun ínyóká is the primary object whereas íkhânda is the
secondary one. The noun íkhânda can easily be made an adjunct:
úmfána usháya ínyóká ékhanda (the boy hits the snake on the head)
The noun íkhânda has therefore the locative LSF as shown by its
overt locative counterpart, ékhanda. This indicates that the
primary and secondary objects do not necessarily have the same
LSFs, cf. úbabá úníka úmfána ímalí where úmfána has the factive-
receptive LSF whereas ímalí has the factive-conceptive LSF. It
is obvious then that with the three place predicates the noun
of the second position differs in its relation to the predicate
from that of the third position while the noun of the first
position differs from both.

Transitivity occurring within verbal extensions

3.17.0 Thus far we have been dealing with transitivity of a
simple predicate i.e. the predicate without extensions. Exten-
sions can play an important role in establishing objects. Only
those extensions which are of importance with regard to objects
will be considered here. These extensions are those with the
main significance of:

(i) Causative

(ii) Applicative/Applied

(iii) Neuter

(i) The Causative

3.18.0 Causative extensions play an important role in transiti-
vity. This is more so because they can make the non-verbal word
take an object or at least the non-verbal becomes verbal. The
causative is mainly realised by the extension -is- though we
also find -ez-, -z- and -s-. It should be noted that there are
predicates with causative implication but which do not have the
causative extension at all. Even though these predicates have
no overt markers for the causative, they are covertly causative,
and have a measure of ergativity, vide Anderson (1971, p.66)
for ergative subjects. In Zulu such causatives have not yet been
thoroughly studied, cf.

ínkósí ívíva amábuthó (the chief is mobilising the regiments) vs.

amábuthó ayáviya (regiments are mobilising)

úlwandlé luqúbha ámagágasi (the sea is making waves) vs.

ámagágasi ayágubha (the waves are raging)

In this study we are not concerned with such predicates but with
those which have extensions. The causative extensions may be

attached to some of the words which are not verbs as shown below:

(i) The noun ámanzí (water): úmamé úmanzísa íngubo (mother dampens the frock)

(ii) The interjective khwibí (of scaring): úmamé úkhwibíza ízinkûkhu (mother is scaring the fowls away)

(iii) The ideophone mbo (of covering): úbabá úmbóza íkhânda (father is covering the head)

The above examples show how significant the causative extensions are in transitivity. When attached to the verb, the causative extension may bring about the following phenomena:

(a) The non-transitive predicate becoming transitive

(b) The semi-transitive predicate becoming full-fledged transitive

(c) The two place predicate becoming three place predicate i.e. the mono-transitive becoming ditransitive.

(a) The non-transitive becoming transitive

3.19.0 Some predicates do not take objects in their usage; however, such one place predicates may take a wide range of objects if they are used with the causative extension, cf.

úbabá úyágula (father is ill)

índoda íyagíya (the man is doing a war dance)

íngáne íyakhúla (the child is growing)

These may become transitive in the following way:

ísifó sígulísa úbabá (disease causes father to be ill)

ámábuthó agiyísa índoda (regiments make the man dance)

úkudlá kúkhulísa íngane (food causes the child to grow)

Then there is the possibility of the object taking the OC:
whenever there is an OC, the object can be shifted to the front:

ísifó síyamqulísa úbabá (disease causes father to be ill)

úbabá, síyamqulísa ísifó (father suffers from illness)

It cannot be doubted that these objects tie in with those of

Type I.   It should be observed that the non-transitive predicates

may be used semi-transitively, cf.

úbabá úqúla úmzîmba wônke(*father is ill in the whole body)

íngáne íkhúla ízinwéle (the child is growing hair)

(b)   The semi-transitive becoming complete transitive

3.20.0 When the predicate has a very limited choice of objects

and when the object/complement cannot have its OC in the pre-

dicate we usually have quasi-transitivity or semi-transitivity.

The semi-transitive predicates are mainly those with Type III

objects.   In this type there are predicates such as -qína,

(strengthen) -má (stand) and -hlála (sit).   As it was observed

these verb stems may take special objects, cf.

úmfána úqína ídolo (the boy is getting courage)

úbabá úma ísibîndi (father becomes courageous)

úbabá úhlála ízithontó (father acts there and then)

Though they are transitive in so far as they are collocated with

certain nouns in the second position, they are semi-transitive

when considered against those predicates which have a wide choice

of objects like those in Type I(a) and (b).   When the causative

extension -is- is attached to the verbs in Type III, they become

fully transitive and have a wide choice of objects e.g.

úmfána úqinísa íngáne (the boy is strengthening the child)

úbabá úqinísa índlu (father is strengthening the house)

úbabá úqinísa izígxobó (father is strengthening the poles)

In Type I(b) there are such examples as

úbabá úhámba índlela (father makes a journey)

úmfána úlála úbúthongo (the boy has a sleep)

íntombí íhléka ínsini (the girl gives a laugh)

When these predicates are used with causative extensions they

can take a wide range of objects e.g.

úbabá úhambísa íngáne (father causes a child to go)

úbabá úhambísa ínkomó (father causes the cow to go)

úbabá úhambísa ímóto (father causes the car to move)

The causative extension confers a status of full-fleged

transitivity to predicates which have a restricted choice of

objects.

(c) The mono-transitive becoming ditransitive

3.21.0 When the predicate which already has a wide choice of

objects takes the causative extension, it becomes three place

i.e. it can take two objects. This is apart from those predi-

cates which take two objects though they have no extensions.

Taking verb stems like -fúnda (read), -dla (eat) and -shaya

(hit), the following transitivity is possible:

úmfána úfundísa úbabá íncwadí (the boy makes father read the

book)

úmamé údlísa íngáne úkudlá (mother makes the child eat food)

úmfána úshayísa úbabá ínkomó (the boy helps father hit the cow)

Such transitivity coincides with Type IV objects where there

are primary and secondary objects. Though it is not customary,

it is acceptable that the three nouns i.e. the subject, the

primary object and the secondary object stand together before

the predicate where the primary object must of necessity take

the OC e.g.

úbabá, úmfána íncwadí, úyamfundísa (father teaches the boy a book)
Commonly, however, two nouns are placed before the predicate
and one succeeds it e.g.

úbabá, úmfána úyamfundísa íncwadí (father teaches the boy a book)
Conversely, the predicate is placed first, the subject and ob-
jects following it:

úyamfundísa íncwadí úbabá úmfána (*he, father, is teaching him
                                  the book, the boy)

úmfundísa íncwadí úbabá úmfána (*he, father, is teaching him the
                                book, the boy)

It will be realised that here we have been concerned with
syntactic importance of the causative rather than its semantic
importance. Semantically the causative shape may have more than
one meaning. In their doctoral theses, Cantrell (Xhosa) and
Wilkes (Zulu) have shown the semantic significance of these
extensions.

(ii) The Applied

3.22.0 The applied extension -el- is syntactically and semanti-
cally important in transitivity. In sentences like
úmfána úkhuluméla úbabá (the boy talks for father)
úmamé úsebenzélá ízingáne (mother works for children)
abántu basebenzéla ímalí (people work for money)
it is realised that the last one, is semantically different
from the first two. While the objects of the first two may be
understood as 'on behalf of', the last one is understood as
'in order to'. The three objects are in factive-directive
relation. The objects can be shifted to the front and there
is flexibility of word order e.g.
úmfána úkhuluméla úbabá (the boy speaks for father)

úmfána úyamkhulúmelá úbabá (the boy is speaking for father)

úyamkhulúmelá úbabá úmfána (*he, father, is speaking for the

boy)

úmfána, úbabá úyamkhulúmêla (the boy is speaking for father)

úbabá, úmfána úyamkhulúmêla (the boy is speaking for father)

3.22.1 With certain verbs, the extension -el- causes the

predicate to be three place e.g.

úmfána úfundélá úbabá íncwadí (the boy reads a book for father)

The noun úbabá is the primary object and can take the OC whereas

íncwadí is the secondary object. The nouns have different

LSFs; íncwadí has the factive relation whereas úbabá has the

factive-directive relation. The primary object in most cases

has this directive nuance when it occurs with the applied. The

directive nuance indicates that the action is directed to some

goal or noun. Such a relation often illustrates an object

which has no "change of state", cf. Anderson (1971, p.64). Note

that the extension -el- may have the meaning of continuity

when the predicate is followed by the adjunct fúthi e.g.

úmúntu úkhuluméla fúthi (the person talks continuously)

(iii) The Neuter

3.23.0 Traditionally the neuter is taken to be intransitive.

It is, however, possible that the neuter takes an object; it may

be collocated with the noun occurring in the second position.

Collocation is usually shown by limited flexibility of the object

and the object does not take the OC. The following sentences

show how the extensions -ek- and -akal- take objects:

úmfána úshayéka íkhânda (the boy gets hit on the head)

úbabá úbonakálá úbusó (father's face is visible)

kúthandéká ínyama (meat is likeable)

Such transitivity occurs in two circumstances:

(a) when the part of the whole is taken as an object

(b) when the unrestricted concord ku- is used with the neuter
     extension

In the first two sentences îkhânda is the 'head' of the boy

whereas úbusó is the 'face' of the father. In the last example

ínyama is the 'logical' object of the neuter predicate with ku- SC.

The nouns îkhânda and úbusó have factive-locative LSF whereas

the nouns in the first position i.e. úmfána and úbabá are

simply factives. The noun ínyama has also factive LSF.

3.23.1 The nouns occurring after the neuter extensions cannot

take the OCs though in rare cases they can be shifted to the

front e.g.

úmfána úshayéka îkhânda (the boy gets hit on the head)

îkhânda, úmfána úyasháyeka (*on the head the boy gets hit)

This, however, does not apply when the unrestricted concord ku-

is used. When the long form of the neuter is used, it usually

indicates potentiality or possibility, cf.

îkhânda, úmfána úyasháyeka (the boy can be hit on the head)

In kúthandéka ínyama, we have a classic example of neutrality

of the subject. Here neutrality is brought about by both the

unrestricted concord ku- and extension -ek-.

3.23.2 From the above analysis of transitivity, it is seen that

the relation between the predicate and the object is based on

morphological, syntactic and semantic phenomena. Morphology has

shown that nouns whose prefixes have been inflected cannot take the OC; such nouns sometimes take the adjunct function. Certain verbal extensions may bring about transitivity where otherwise it could not have taken place. The long form of the present tense which has no OC forbids the occurrence of an object whereas the short form demands the occurrence of an adjunct or object. Syntactically transitivity refers to two or three place verbs. The passive is important in word order. The OC releases the object so that it can be shifted to the front. Semantic relation of the verb and the object is expressed by LSFs. Different shades of meaning are expressed when the object is shifted to the front, cf. focus. The occurrence of both the object and its OC makes that object definite. Lastly, it should be pointed out that there are no exclusively transitive and intransitive verbs. Some verbs have a wider choice of objects while others have a limited choice.

C H A P T E R   IV

THE ADJUNCT

The Nature of the Adjunct in Zulu

4.0.0 It has been observed above that the term 'adjunct' is used
in this study instead of the adverbial or adverb. The adjunct
may be viewed from three angles viz. functionally, semantically
and formally. Functionally the adjunct complements a predicate;
semantically it describes a predicate. It may also happen that
the adjunct complements or describes a qualificative or another
adjunct. Formally the adjunct is in the main, a nominal without
concord or agreement. The formal definition of an adjunct suggests
that it is mainly a secondary form since a secondary form or in-
flected substantive cannot take the concord. However, the formal
view leaves some adjuncts out of the picture e.g. mânjé (now)
and ízolo (yesterday).

4.0.1 Some adjuncts are favoured with two forms. The change of
form does not change its function or relationship to the predicate:

úmfána úvéla kude / ékúdeni   (the boy is from afar)

úmamé wâshayá énqúlu / énqúlwini (mother hit the hip)

úmfána úya kúbo / kwâbo (the boy goes home)

ímpéla / empéleni úyajabúla úmfána   (Indeed, happy is the boy)

Other rarer forms such as ékhandéni, ékhayéni and émnyánqweni
do exist with a shift in meaning from that of their counter-
parts without locative suffixes:

úmúntu úshaya úmfána ékhanda (the person hits a boy on the head)

but úmúntu úhléli ékhandéni (the person is deceiving); this is

usually found in the forms: úsékhandéni or úsókhandéni.

úmfána úya ékhaya lakhé(the boy is going home) but

íbhubési líya ékhayéni lâlo (the lion goes to its den), where

ékhayéni refers to a home of an animal.

úmfána úlungúza émnyângo (the boy peeps in the door) but

úmfána úvéla émnyángweni wézólimo (the boy hails from the

Ministry/Department of Agriculture)

Two variations of tone can be used in the locative of îkhânda

(a head) and îkhâya (home), e.g. êkhânda / ékhanda and êkhâya /

ékhaya

4.0.2 Primary forms of adjuncts are relatively few. These ad-

juncts cannot further be analysed into formatives. The following

are some of these adjuncts: ná, phô, niní, bó:

úmfána úfúnani ná? (what is the boy looking for?)

údlalélaní phô? (why are you playing then?)

úhámba niní? (when are you going?)

úmamé wâfíka, bó: (mother came, for sure!)

The relationship of these adjuncts to the predicate is not to be

sought in their form but in their function and their substituta-

bility with other adjuncts post-verbally. They are adjuncts par

excellence because they are primary forms syntactically governed by

the predicate. Question adjuncts form a very close unit with

the predicate.

4.0.3 The ideophone may, to a certain extent, be regarded as an

adjunct. There are some conflicting views regarding the syntac-

tic stature of the ideophone. Prof. G. Fortune, Prof. C. Doke,

D. Fivaz and D. Kunene have written on the ideophone. Doke (1961,

p.225) who is thought to be the first to use the term 'ideophone'

in Bantu languages puts the ideophone and adverb under the de-

scriptive. He defines it as follows:

> The ideophone is a word, often onomatopoeic, which
>
> describes a predicate in respect to manner, colour
>
> sound or action.

It is not clear why Doke says it 'describes the predicate in re-

spect to colour' because in a sentence like úmfána úqqoké íhémbe

élímhlophé qwâ(a boy is wearing a snow white shirt) qwâ does

not describe the predicate but the relative. The ideophone is

not limited to the predicate. Ziervogel (1952 p.160) places the

ideophone in the status of adjuncts:

> Ideophones which are in fact adverbs may be classified
>
> according to the number of syllables.

It should be pointed out that the ideophone may have adjunct

function but not always.

Fortune (1971 p.237) says:

> the ideophone was found, nevertheless, to be analogous
>
> to the verb, and this analogy was found to be useful
>
> in distinguishing speech styles characterised respec-
>
> tively by presence of verbs and ideophones.

In this respect Fortune is in agreement with Kunene (1965 p.20)

who says:

> The main thesis put forward here is that the ideophone
>
> is a dramatisation of action and states, and the con-
>
> clusion is that the two predicative types must be re-
>
> cognised for the Bantu languages viz. the 'narrative'
>
> and the dramatic.

This is an important observation though it cannot be accepted in

its entirety since dramatisation and narration are placed on a

par. Function has a big role to play in such marginal words.

It is difficult to conceive of the ideophone as a verb because

it has no tenses, no conjugation and cannot form the simple sen-

tence by the mere addition of SC . What appears to be important

in this study are different degrees of description. The ideo-

phone is mostly a dramatic descriptive i.e. intensifier adjunct

whereas other adjuncts are ordinary descriptives.

4.0.4 The adjunct is an open class i.e. some other parts of

speech may function as adjuncts. The adjective and the relative

may be aligned with the nouns in that they can be found in ad-

junct position. In Zulu there are also deverbative ideophones
i.e. ideophones derived from the roots of the verbs, e.g.

    wâmsháya shayíyané(he actually hit him)

    úmfána uhléka hlekíyané (the boy is actually laughing)

    ínja íyalúma lumíyané (the dog actually bites)

The verb root suffixes -íyané to form such ideophones. These
ideophones only intensify the action or state of the verb.

4.0.5 There is a number of formatives used in the construction
of secondary adjuncts. These are nga-, njénga-, na-, ku-, kuna-,
and bu-. The formative bu- also places some few verbs in the
position of adjuncts e.g.

    úmfána údla bumé (the boy eats standing up)

    úbabá úkhulúma búlála (father talks lying down)

    úmamé úmtshelé búthúle (mother told him being quiet)

There are also prefixal vowel formatives used in the formation
of locatives i.e. é- and ó- e.g. ésikóleni (at school) ókhalwéni
(in the veld). The prefixal vowel formatives are usually accom-
panied by relevant suffixes. There are also formative adjuncts
referred to as enclitics which have a fixed position after the
verb: hámba-ke (go then), hámba bo (So go)! hámba nje (just go),
úhámbaze (He travels naked). It is evident that the adjunct has
a variety of forms due to its being an open syntactic category.

Syntactic relations of adjuncts

4.1.0 In most grammars adjuncts which are adverbials are classi-
fied according to their meaning and formation. Cole (1955
p.340) says:

    It is most convenient, for practical purposes to

    classify Tswana adverbs into three main categories:

    (a) Locative Adverbs, mainly indicating place;

    (b) Temporal Adverbs, indicating time;

    (c) Manner Adverbs, with a number of sub-divisions

        according to method of formation.

Doke (1961 p.231) classifies them according to their method of formation:

(1) Locatives formed from substantives

(2) Adverbs of manner derived from other parts of speech by the use of the adverbial formatives ka-, na-, kuna-, nga-, njenga-, nganga-, kwa-

(3) Nouns, either full or shorn of initial vowel.

(4) Miscellaneous adverbs.

In this study adjuncts will be examined according to their relation to the predicate. This would involve the examination of the positions the adjuncts can take in the sentence. There are three syntactic relations of adjuncts:

(a) Adjuncts with a fixed position i.e. occurring only after the predicate.

(b) Adjuncts with a partially fixed position i.e. occurring after the predicate but also before it on a limited scale.

(c) Adjuncts with a flexible position i.e. adjuncts occurring after and before the predicate, with considerable freedom.

(a) <u>Adjuncts with a fixed position after the predicate</u>.

4.2.0 These adjuncts always occur after the predicate. They are mainly primary adjuncts though there are also secondary ones. Some ideophones have a fixed position after the predicate e.g.

<u>Imvúla Ína dlî</u> (the rain rains pouringly)

<u>Intombí Íhlézi dekle</u> (the girl is sitting down 'flatly')

<u>úbabá wâmbámba ngqí</u> (father caught him tightly)

A few other ideophones have a fixed position before the predicate e.g. <u>kwâthi dukuduku wafíka</u> (within no time, he arrived)

<u>phathaphatha ngihambíle, wângilándela</u> (no sooner had I left than he followed me)

Though in this study we are concerned with the ideophone co-occurring with the predicate, it must be borne in mind that the ideophone may have other functions as well. Two other important functions are mentioned here:

(i) Predicative function of the ideophone

Here the ideophone co-occurs with the noun which is usually shorn of its initial vowel. In this instance, the ideophone is the 'dramatisation' of the perceived action or event. cf. Kunene (1965, p.20). It may also replace its cognate verb, Cf. Horton (1945 p.152).

Note the following examples:

majázana ntá (of overcoats being flown in the air i.e. when a person wearing an overcoat is running, the bottom of an overcoat is blown)

zinqutshana klebhu (clothes ripped)

The ideophone ntá may be preceded by the auxiliary verb -thi as in amájazana áthi ntá whereas klebhu may succeed its cognate predicate as in izinqutshána zadabuka klebhu.

(ii) Interjective function of the ideophone

Correspondence between the ideophone and the interjective is often observed in tone, stress and length. Moreover the ideophone may have interjective function. This usually occurs when it is onomatopoeic e.g.

pé, sasuka isitímela (there whistles the train as it pulls off)

bham, yawa phánsi ínyóní (off goes the bullet and the bird falls)

Here it should be noted that there is a pause after the ideophones; what follows the ideophone is actually an independent sentence.

4.2.1 The enclitic adjuncts cannot be shifted to the front e.g.

úbabá úyahámba nijé (father is just going)

úmfána úyahámba-ké (the boy is going then)

úmamé úyahámba bo (mother is indeed going)

íngáne íhámbazé(the child is going naked)

-ke and -ze cannot be separated from the predicate whereas nje
and bo can:

úyahámba úmúntu njé (the person is just going)

úyahámba úmúntu bo! (the person is indeed going)!

The question adjuncts cannot be shifted to the front:

úhámba niní úmúntu? (when is a person going?)

úhámbaphí úmúntu? (where is a person going?)

úfúnaní? (what does he want?)

bayáphíla ná? (how are they?)

4.2.2 The noticeable feature of these fixed adjuncts is that
they do not have the so-called adverbial formatives. Van Eeden
(1956 p.480) remarks on such adjuncts as follows:

> Daar is egter ook 'n geringe getal adverbia wat nie 'n
>
> adverbiale of 'n ander formatief bevat nie, altans nie
>
> een waarvan die gebruik noemenswaardig of die funksie
>
> duidelik is nie.

Van Eeden is here referring to primary adverbs. He does not
include the ideophone under adverbs, as he says:

> Die klassifikasie van die ideofoon saam met die adver-
>
> bium as behorende tot dieselfde hoofwoordsoort, die
>
> deskriptief, berus dus nie op besonder sterk grond nie;
>
> trouens dit is enigins geforseerd. Cf. (p.483)

This remark appears to be etiose when consideration is given to
the adjunct as an open syntactic category. It has been observed
that the nominals (including adjectives and relatives) and verbals
could be adjuncts depending on their function in relation to the
predicate. The slot of an adjunct may be filled in by many and
varied forms, the ideophone being one of them. This hierarchy
shows fluidity which is not uncommon in syntax.

4.2.3 Some secondary adjuncts have a fixed position after the
predicate just like primary ones. This is, however, common with

certain expressions e.g.

    úmúntu úthátha ngózwani (the person steals lit. a person

                         takes by toes).

    úmfána úthátha ngamáwala (the boy rushes lit. the boy takes

                         by rush)

    ímbiza ízwíwa ngóthí (there are many people lit. the pot is

                         tasted by a stick)

The adjuncts which show positional relationships do not change
position:

    úmfána údla bumé (the boy eats standing up)

    úbabá úqwáza búkhomé (father stabs at close quarters)

    íngáne ídla bulálá (the baby eats lying down)

Deverbative ideophones are also fixed:

    úmfána úhléka hlekíyané (the boy actually laughs)

    ínja íyalúma lumíyané (the dog actually bites)

    úbabá wámbamba bambíyané (father actually caught him)

(b) <u>Adjuncts with a partially fixed position</u>

4.3.0 Adjuncts which are not always found in a fixed position
but which, in certain instances, can be shifted to the front are
referred to as partially fixed. Such adjuncts are, in the main,
secondary. The type of an adjunct which follows the passive
predicate also falls under partially fixed adjuncts. The
following show how partially fixed adjuncts operate:

  (i) <u>úmfána úkhulúma ngáye</u> (the boy is talking about him)

  (ii) <u>ínkomó ísháywa ngumfána</u> (the cow is hit by the boy)

(iii) <u>úbabá úsháya úmfána ngénduku</u> (father hits the boy with a

                         stick)

  (iv) <u>inkalánkala íhámba lukeké</u> (the crab moves sideways)

In the first sentence <u>ngáye</u> can shift to the front position:

    <u>ngáye úmfána úyakhulúma</u> (about him the boy talks)

Such shifting to the front is not so common in the language.

Commoner forms are:

ngóJésu siyosindíswa (through Christ we shall be saved)

ngáméhlo siyabóna (with eyes, we see)

Evidently the predicate used determines the nature of front-shifting in partially fixed position.

4.3.1. In (ii) the identificative copulative ngumfána could be shifted but this occurs in rare circumstances as in

ngumfána, íyáshaywa ínkomó (by the boy, the cow is hit) where the question íshaywa ngubaní ínkomó? (by whom is the cow hit ?)is answered. However, this is a rather stilted sentence where the speaker or writer deliberately wants to bring focus on the copulative. Usually when this occurs, preference is given to the relative construction:

ngumfána ósháya ínkomó (it is a boy who hits a cow)

In sentence (iii) the shifting of ngéndúku is not as inflexible as it is with the first two sentences:

ngéndúku úbabá úsháya úmfána (with the stick father hits a boy)

ngéndúku úsháya úmfána, úbabá (with the stick he 'father'

hits a boy)

Here focus is brought to bear on the instrumental adjunct ngéndúku. With lukeké (sideways) shifting is not so free though in stilted sentence form it is acceptable to say:

lukeké, íyahámba ínkalánkala (sideways the crab moves)

4.3.2 From the foregoing adjuncts it is observed that they stand between fixed and flexible ones. The predicate used is also important since with one predicate shifting is easily effected while with the other this is not the case. Compare the following:

úmfána úthénga ngemâlí (the boy buys with money) and

úmfána údlála ngémâlí (the boy plays with money i.e. he wastes

money)

Shifting occurs smoothly with ngemâlí where the predicate is

úthénga:

nqemâlí, úmfána úyathénga(*with money, the boy buys)

úmfána, nqemâlí, úyathénga (the boy buys with money)

With the predicate údlála shifting is not as smooth, cf.

nqemâlí, úmfána úyadlála (*money, the boy wastes)

Partially fixed adjuncts are mainly connected with adverbial
formatives such as nqa-, ka-, kuna-, ma-, n'jenga-, na-. But
form does not always guarantee the nature of shifting. Fused
stems with pha- such as phânsi (down), phézulu (up) have also
partially fixed position. cf. phânsi sihlezi/sihlezi phânsi
(we are sitting down). This does not apply when the concord
ku- is used.

(c) Adjuncts with a flexible position.

4.4.0 Adjuncts which may occupy any position in the sentence
are regarded as having a flexible position. There is quite a
number of such adjuncts in the language. They are an admixture
of primary and secondary forms. Flexible primary forms are
njálo (always), bélu (by the way), fúthi (again), bála (of course)
Cf. bélu and njálo:

úbabá úyambóna bélu (father sees him, by the way)

bélu úyambóna úbabá (by the way, father sees him)

úyambóna bélu úbabá (father sees him, by the way)

úbabá úsháya úmfána njálo (father hits the boy always)

úbabá úsháya njálo úmfána (father hits always, the boy)

úbabá njálo úsháya úmfána (father always hits the boy)

njálo úbabá úsháya úmfána (Always father hits the boy)

Secondary forms such as némbâla (of course, indeed), nqempéla
(really), mahlayéni (unawares, surreptitiously), kadéni (of
course) are flexible in the sentence, cf. mahlayéni and kadéni:

úbabá úlimáza úmfána mahlayéni (father injures the boy

unawares)

úbabá úmlimáza mahlayéni úmfána (father injures, unawares,

the boy)

úbabá mahlayéni úlimáza úmfána (father, unawares, injures the

boy)

mahlayéni úbabá úlimáza úmfána (unawares father injures the

boy)

Note, also kadéni:

úmfána úlúsa ízinkomó kadéni (the boy looks after cattle, of

course)

úmfána uyázilúsa kadéni ízinkômó (the boy looks after cattle,

of course)

úmfána kadéni úlúsa ízinkômó (the boy, of course, looks after

cattle)

kadéni úmfána úlúsa ízinkômó (of course, the boy looks after

cattle)

4.4.1 In most instances the locative is flexible. Compare the
locative forms commencing in ku- :

úmfána úvéla kude (the boy comes from afar)

úmfána úcéla íntombí kude (the boy negotiates marriage with

a girl far away)

In the first sentence kude is fixed whereas in the second it is
flexible:

úmfána úyicéla kude íntombí (the boy negotiates marriage with

a girl far away)

kude úmfána úcéla/úyayicéla íntombí (far away, a boy negotiates

marriage with the girl)

This is also the case with kúzoná (to them):

úmfána úqondé kúzoná (the boy is going towards them)

úmfána úbónga kúzoná (the boy gives thanks to them)

Kúzoná used with verb-stem -qondé, has a stable position whereas
the one used with -bonga is flexible:

úmfána kúzoná uyábonga (the boy, to them, gives thanks)

kúzoná úmfána uyábonga (to them, the boy gives thanks)

4.4.2 Most locatives with noun-stems have prefixal vowel forma-
tives, the root and the suffix e.g. ésikóleni (at school),
esihláhleni (on the tree), ôkhalwéni (at the veld), émbotshéni
(in the hole). At times, the root which is mostly a constant
may be affected by sound mutation as in ímbobó (a hole) -
êmbotshéni (in the hole). These locatives are also flexible
in word order in many instances, e.g.

umfána úfúnda ésikólení (the boy learns at school).

úmfána ésikóleni úyafúnda (the boy lears at school).

ésikóleni úmfána úyafúnda (at school, the boy learns).

Then there are those locatives which do not have the suffix
though having the initial locative vowel e.g. ékhaya (at home),
émsámo (around the corner of the inside of a house). Such
locatives are also flexible.

4.4.3 It is possible to have more than one word forming an
adjunct i.e. a word group of adjuncts in the sentence. In such
a group, sequential priority of individual words may be con-
sidered. Note the following:

édúze kwêkhâya (near home)

émuvá kwabántu (behind people) where the adjunct is followed
by a form having the locative concord ku- which gives rise to
a possessive. Such a word group consists of an adjunct and a
possessive in which case the adjunct precedes the possessive
form. But when two or more adjuncts form a word group, word
order is not fixed, cf. mânjé émsebenzíni (now 'at' work);

úmfána úfíka mánjé émsebenzíni (the boy has just come to work)

úmfána émsebenzíni úfíka mânjé (the boy has just come to work)

émsebenzíni úfíka mânjé úmfána (to work, the boy has just come)

mânjé úfíka émsebenzíni úmfána (now, the boy has come to work)

Here there is an individual interchange of adjuncts and the
question of focus comes clearly to the fore.

4.4.4 The division of adjuncts into fixed, partially fixed and
flexible positions is not watertight. An adjunct may be fixed
with one predicate and the same adjunct may be flexible with
another predicate. The shifting of an adjunct is important with
regard to focus. At times front-shifting of adjuncts is important
with regard to the meaning of the sentence as a whole rather
than mere focus on a particular adjunct, cf.

úmfána úvéla ékhaya (the boy comes from home) vs.

ékhaya uyávela úmfána (the boy does go home) where the long
form of the present tense has an added significance of meaning.
Note also the difference in meaning between

úmfána úsebénza éGóli (the boy works in Johannesburg) and

éGóli úyasebénza úmfána (in Johannesburg, the boy is working),
where the latter sentence has an added shade of meaning: the boy
has not been working at some other place but is now working in
Johannesburg or the boy is actually doing a good piece of job in
Johannesburg. Notice should also be taken of the affinity
between the adjunct and conjunctive e.g. fúthi (again)and lápha
(here). The front-shifting of these can alter the meaning of
the sentence, cf.

úmfána úhambíle fúthi (the boy has gone again) and

fúthi úmfána úhambíle (what is more, the boy has gone).
In the first sentence fúthi is adverbial whereas in the second
one fúthi is conjunctive in nature, hence the difference in
meaning between the two sentences.

Predicate-Adjunct Semantic Relations
4.5.0 It has been observed in Chapter II above how important the
LSFs are in predicate-noun relations. The adjunct, as a secondary
word category, manifests some of the relations that exist in
primary noun forms. However, it must be clear that there is
surface relation as shown by surface form and semantic relation

not shown in surface form. Such a contrast may be put this way:
the form assumed by a word vs. the meaning inherent in the form,
Cf. úhámba ímíni/émíni (he goes during day time) where though
émíni has a locative form denotes temporal relation. On the
level of semantic relation adjuncts are divided into:

(a) Overt adjuncts - Adjuncts marked on the surface i.e. those
having external markers such as ésikóleni (at school), ékuséni
(in the morning), kúbántu (to the people), njénqobâbá (as the
father). These adjuncts have secondary forms, the adjunct itself
being mainly a derived word category.

(b) Covert adjuncts - Adjuncts which are not marked on the
surface e.g. ízolo (yesterday), ímpéla (really), mihlá (daily),
fúthi (again), niní (when), njálo(always), mânjé (now), lápha
(here), khoná(there, at that place).

(a) Overt Adjuncts

4.6.0 Under overt adjuncts there are instrumentals, locatives
and derived forms having prefixal formatives such as njénqa-,
na-, kúna-.

(i) The Instrumental

4.7.0 The instrumental has formal distinctive features as well
as semantic features. As an adjunct, the instrumental is shown
by the external marker nqa- as in

úbabá úsháya úmfána ngéndúku (father hits the boy with a stick)

úmfána úbhála ngêpéni (the boy writes with a pencil)

ínja ílúma ngamázînyo (the dog bites with teeth)

In these sentences the instrumental form co-exists with
instrumental LSF. There are instances where the adjunct
formative nga- does not indicate instrumental LSF. This forma-
tion has also the locative and factive LSFs, Cf.

úbabá úgúla ngêkhânda (father is suffering from headache/
father is mad)
Here ngêkhânda has locative LSF since it denotes the location
of the event i.e. úbabá úgúla ékhanda. But in sentences like

úbabá úkhulúma ngómfána (father is talking about the boy)

ízingane sifúnda ngezímbali (children learn about flowers)

ngómfána and ngezímbali are factive directive. The noun

úmfána featuring as ngómfána is the fact talked about, likewise

with ngezímbali. This shows that the factive does not always

coincide with traditional object since such an object is capable

of taking the OC. Another LSFs which could be contained in nga-

is the comitative and temporal, cf. úbabá úsháya úmfána ngéndúku

where the instrumental ngéndúku has comitative LSFs. But in

wâhámba ngokúshóna kwélanga (he went at sun set) ngokúshóna

indicates time.

(ii) The Locative

4.8.0 The locative has also formal distinctive features i.e.

there are external or surface markers for the locative. Notwith-

standing, the locative form does not always coincide with loca-

tive LSF. The following are locative forms having locative LSF:

úmfána úya ékhaya (the boy is going home)

ízingáne zigóndê ésikóleni (children are moving to school).

úbabá úhlézi ésitulwéni (father is seated on a chair)

úmamé úqúla émzimbéni (mother is ill in the body)

Added to the locative LSF there is directional nuance in the

first two sentences whereas the last two have no such nuance.

The locative ku- can play an important role in these relations.

When a kind of focus is intended the locative forms given above

can prefix ku- through their absolute pronouns in which case the

locative forms revert to their former corresponding nouns:

úmfána úya kúlo íkhâya (the boy is going to the home)

ízingáne zigóndê kúso ísikóle (children are moving to the

school)

úbabá úhlézi kúso ísitúlo (father is seated on the chair)

úmamé úqúla kúwo úmzímba(*mother is ill in the body)

In such instances the locative constitutes a part of adjunct word

group. When the locative takes subject function i.e. subjec-
tivization of the locative, ku- is usually preferred as a
concord. Cf.

    ékhaya, úyáya úmfána (home, the boy goes); vs.

    ékhaya kúya úmfána (to the home, there goes the boy)

In the first sentence the locative is general, in the second it
is specified by its concord, hence definite or specific.

4.8.1 There are surface locatives which do not have locative LSF

Note the following sentences:

    ízingáne zâdumálá ékuhambéni kúkáthishá (children were sad

                         owing to the leaving of the teacher)

    ísikóle sígála ékuséni (the school starts in the morning)

    wákhála ékúbeni nqímtshélíle (he cried after I had told him)

In these sentences ékuhambéni and ékuséni have temporal relation
whereas ékúbeni is conjunctive, émpéleni in a sentence

    émpéleni úmfána úyafúnda (in fact the boy is learning) is

simply a modifier and has no locative LSF.

(iii) <u>Some other adjunct forms marked in the surface</u>

4.9.0 These are secondary forms which have adjunct markers.
The formative na- is the surface marker for comitative-associa-
tive:

    úbabá úhámba nómamé (father is going along with mother).

In fact nómamé is a conjoined subject transferred to the ad-
junct position. But in úmfána úfundána néncwadí (the boy is
busy reading a book), néncwadí is the factive. The formative
kuna- expresses comparison:

    úbabá úhámba kakhûlu kúnómamé (father travels a lot more than

                          mother)

Manner is expressed by the marker ka- e.g.

    íngane íkhála kabuhlúngu (the baby cries painfully)

    íkhehla lísebénza kancáne (the old man works slowly)

(b) <u>Covert Adjuncts</u>

4.10.0 These adjuncts have no formal distinctive features. It is their use which shows that they are adjuncts. Their LSF do not necessarily correspond with a particular surface form. There is quite a number of such adjuncts but only a few will be given here.

(i) Agentive adjuncts: When the passive predicate is followed by a copulative, the copulative usually has the agentive LSF e.g.

úmfána úsháywa ngubâbá (the boy is hit by father)

(ii) Temporal adjuncts: those indicating time e.g.

úmfána úhámba njálo (the boy goes always)

ízingáne zifíkê ízolo (children came yesterday)

íntombí íyagéza mânjé (the girl is washing herself now)

(iii) Question adjuncts: those used in asking questions e.g.

úmúntu úyahámba ná? (is a person going?)

bafíke niní abántu? (When did the people come?)

úvelaphí phô? (Where does he come from then?)

(iv) Emphatic adjuncts: when an adjunct modifies the predicate by emphasising its meaning then it is an emphatic one. e.g.

úmúntu úyahámba njê (the person is indeed going). Care should be taken to distinguish between emphatic njê and the de-emphatic one which has a low tone as in úmúntu úyahámba nje (the person is merely going).

ínkomó íyadlâ-ké (the cow is eating then). Here -ké has emphatic significance.

(v) Stative adjuncts: i.e. indicating a state or position in which the substantive finds itself e.g.

úkhulúma buthúle (he speaks being silent)

úfúnda bulálá (he reads lying down)

4.10.1 From the foregoing analysis of an adjunct it is clear that it is derived from different stems. Such stems may be nominals, verbals or conjunctive. The ideophone is to a degree, also used as an adjunct. Proper adjuncts which do not show any

derivation are few. It stands to reason then that an adjunct is an open syntactic category. It is noted that the relationship between the predicate and primary forms of nouns is mainly based on congruence, cf. restricted, partially restricted and unrestricted concords. With adjuncts, the relationship is based on government. The syntactic relationship of adjuncts to predicates is therefore determined by word order, cf. fixed, partially fixed and flexible adjuncts.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Surface structure as expressed by the ordering of subject, predicate, object and adjunct

5.0.0   Thus far it has been observed that the terms subject , object , and adjunct are well understood when semantic relationship is considered. When these terms are shorn of their semantic content, they refer to surface structure of the sentence, i.e. they are concerned with the positions the words take up. A formal expression of ordering is obtained when the predicate is taken as the centre or pivot of a sentence with one place verb, two place verb and three place verb. The noun occurring in the first slot has the subject function, the one occurring in the second slot has object function and the one occurring in the third slot has mainly the adjunct function.

5.0.1   The predicate with the SC is the minimum requirement of sentence formation e.g.

úyahámba   (he is going)

ziléle   (they are asleep)

báyabóna   (they see)

In the present tense there is an inclusion of an auxiliary predicate -ya- when the verb is used because -ya- brings definiteness to the predicate. The SC though expressing agreement is pronominal. In describing the concord Ziervogel (1959, p. 132) says:

> The concord, whatever form it assumes, always
> refers to a noun actually named or only under-
> stood. The usual English term used in this
> connection viz. agree, refers to the form
> rather than its function. The concord is
> pronominal in function.

This shows that the verb in its sentence formation requires
a noun i.e. a noun or its concord. So a sentence with only
a SC and a verb can be enlarged by the inclusion of a noun
as the subject of the sentence e.g.

úbabá úyahámba (father is going)

ízingáne ziléle (children are asleep)

abántu báyabóna (people see)

5.0.2 Since -ya- has an intransitivizing influence, it is
not usually used when the object is added, cf.

úmfána úsháya ínkomó (the boy hits a cow)

úbabá úbóna úmamé (father sees mother)

ínkomó ídla útshâni (the cow eats grass)

However, when the OC is included, the -ya- may also be included:

úmfána úyayisháya ínkomó (the boy is hitting the cow)

úbabá úyambóna úmamé (father sees mother)

ínkomó íyabúdla útsháni (the cow is eating grass)

The OC gives definiteness to the object. When the OC is in-
cluded, the object itself is not compulsory e.g.

úyayisháya (he is hitting it)

úyambóna (he sees her)

íyabúdla (he is eating it)

If focus is brought to bear on the noun of the second position,

that noun is shifted to the front e.g.

ínkomó, úyayisháya úmfána   (*the cow he hits it the boy)

úmamé, úyambóna úbabá   (*mother he sees her father)

útsháni, íyabúdla inkomó   (*grass it eats it, the cow)

Such focus is also achieved in passive transformation e.g.

ínkomó ísh.áywa ngumfána   (the cow is hit by a boy)

útsháni búdlíwa yinkômó   (grass is eaten by a cow)

Here the object has become the surface subject; the original

subject has become an adjunct in function.

5.0.3   There can be two or more subjects in a sentence.   When

the predicate is one place, the other subject may follow the

predicate, cf.

úbabá nómamé báyahámba   (father and mother are going)

úbabá úhámba nómamé   (father goes along with mother)

The noun nómamé is a transferred conjoined subject in the last

sentence.   Such transferred subject is called by Ziervogel

(1959, p. 161) the `conjunctive adverb: This shows that the

noun of an original first position can have two other functions,

viz. the agentive adjunct (in passive construction) and conjunc-

tive adjunct (in conjoined subjects).   When ku- is used as the

SC, one or two nouns (subjects) can follow the predicate e.g.

kúhámba úbabá nómamé   (there go father and mother)

kúfúnda úmfána nentômbazâne   (there learn a boy and a girl)

kúdla ízinkômo   (there eat cattle)

In such sentences, the predicate does not take the long form

of the present tense.   When the noun of the first slot occurs

after the predicate, it means that it has been shifted to the

back.   So in sentences like

úbabá úhámba nómamé   (father goes along with mother)

kúhámba úbabá nómamé   (there go father and mother)

báyahámba ôbabá nómamé   (*they are going, father and mother)

there is back-shifting of subjects.   Back-shifting of subjects

and front-shifting of objects are important operational pro-

cedures in the ordering of predicates and nouns.   This is well

illustrated in a sentence where there is both a subject and

an object e.g.

úmfána úsháya ínkomó   (the boy hits a cow)

Here the subject can be shifted to the back and the object

to the front, this way:

ínkomó, úyayisháya úmfána   (*the cow, he hits it the boy)

Sometimes shifting only occurs with the subject or with the

object e.g.

úyayisháya ínkomó úmfána   (*he, the boy, is hitting the cow)

úmfána, ínkomó úyayisháya   (*the boy, the cow he is hitting it)

5.0.4   In a sentence where there is an object, the adjunct

occurs after an object in normal word order e.g.

úmfána úsháya ínkomó ngénduku   (the boy hits a cow with a stick)

The object and adjunct can change their positions easily i.e.

the adjunct is shifted to the front while the object is shifted

to the back, cf.

úmfána úyisháya ngénduku ínkomó   (*the boy hits it with a stick,

                                          the cow)

Adjuncts can take the subject position easily when they are used

with the concord ku- e.g.

ésibhakabhakéni kúyabánda   (in the sky, it is cold)

éndlini kúyashísa   (in the house, it is warm)

The LSFs and Ordering

5.1.0   Sentence surface structure is concerned with positions the words can take in a given sentence.   In surface structure the subject occupies the first position, the object occupies the second and the adjunct the third. In order that syntax obtains explanatory adequacy, it becomes urgent that the deep relations of words are taken into cognizance.   It is at this level that the theory of LSFs is born.   Such a theory is not necessarily new-fangled as it more or less coincides with what has been called `case relations' by other linguists not necessarily concerned with Bantu languages.   The model has a predicate as its starting point.   The predicate mainly gives information about a noun or its co-referent.   The noun about which information is given corresponds roughly with the subject and the object in surface structure. The noun has semantic relations with the predicate irrespective of the position it fills.   Starosta (1973, p. 9) also considers the predicate as a starting point:

> the deep structure contains a predicate and a
> list of arguments, none of which is the deep
> subject, and then setting up a subject choice
> hierarchy to account for the fact that certain
> of these deep arguments are preferred over
> others as subjects of corresponding surface
> sentences.

Starosta puts it quite clearly when he talks of `choice hierarchy'since the predicate used makes choices.   Some predicates choose the agentive as the preferred subject while others

choose the patient as their preferred subject. In Zulu there
is nonetheless no water-tight sub-categorisation of choices
i.e. the same predicate in one instance chooses the agentive
as its preferred subject and in another chooses the patient as
its preferred subject, cf.

úmfána úléle (the boy is asleep) : subject as a patient

úmfána úléle íntombí (the boy is having sex with a girl) :

subject as an agentive

5.1.1   The choices as observed above determine semantic rela-
tions.   There is a similar choice hierarchy in object position, cf.

íntombí ídlála ísilîma (the maiden is wasted by a fool)

where the agentive ísilîma (a fool) is the object of the sur-
face sentence and íntombí (a maiden) is the subject of the
surface sentence. The sentence as given above can have another
meaning but only one meaning is given here. More often the pre-
dicate chooses the factive as its preferred object e.g.

úmfána údlála íbhôla (the boy is playing football)

The factive íbhôla is the object of the sentence. It is clear
that the agentive and the factive LSFs occur with the predicate
marked for causation. In a sentence where there is both an
agentive and a factive the usual ordering is as follows:
A-V-F where A corresponds with the subject of the surface
sentence and F corresponds with the object of the surface sen-
tence. By usual ordering here is meant basic word order. The
conclusion reached is that there are two types of orderings, viz.

 (i)   primary word order

(ii)   secondary word order

Primary word order concerns itself with major LSFs viz. the

agentive and the factive. The agentive in this order has
priority of sequence over the factive in two or three place
verbs. This would mean that a sentence contains the predicate
and two hierarchies of relation, cf. úmfána údlála íbhôla
(the boy is playing football) where the predicate has chosen
the agentive úmfána as the subject of the sentence and the
factive íbhôla as the object of the sentence.

5.1.2   Secondary word order concerns itself with surface
sentence structure. It also accounts for front-shifting of
factives and back-shifting of agentives (alteration of primary
word order) as in íbhôla, úyalídlála úmfána (*the football he
plays it, the boy). Though íbhôla has taken up the subject po-
sition and úmfána the object position, úmfána has grammatical
priority since its concord appears as the SC. The SC u- is
therefore an indicator that úmfána is the subject of the sur-
face structure even before word shifting takes place. The
sentence kúhámba úbabá (there goes father) has secondary word
order because it signals the shifting to the back of surface
structure subject úbabá. Such shifting is accompanied by sur-
face variations i.e. substitution of u- for ku- and the dele-
tion of -ya-, cf. úyahámba úbabá (*he is going, father). The
meaning in this instance changes from the definite subject to
the indefinite subject and this coincides with the SC changing
from restricted to unrestricted relation. The passive trans-
formation is even clearer as a secondary word order, cf.
íbhôla lídlálwa ngúmfána (football is played by a boy) where
íbhôla is the subject of the surface sentence structure and
grammatically agrees with the predicate through the SC. The

noun <u>úmfána</u> becomes a secondary word category, viz. the

copulative adjunct <u>ngumfána</u>. It is well to note that both

the copulative and adjunct are secondary forms and therefore

they should belong to secondary word order. To a degree, the

intransitive use of certain predicates may show secondary

word order, cf.

<u>úthísha údayísa íncwadí</u> (the teacher is selling a book) vs.

<u>íncwadí íyadayísa</u> (the book is selling)

In the latter example the predicate is used intransitively, and

the factive occurs in the first slot as the subject of the pre-

dicate; the agentive is neutral, hence secondary word order.

5.1.3   Both primary and secondary word orders are important in

the study of a sentence. At the level of secondary word order

the LSFs help establish the primary word order e.g. in <u>íbhóla</u>

<u>lídlálwa ngumfána</u>, <u>ngumfána</u> is agentive and <u>íbhóla</u> is factive. In

the ordering of hierarchies, the agentive precedes the factive

i.e. the predicate has an agentive as its preferred subject and

the factive as the preferred object, hence <u>úmfána údlála íbhóla</u>

is the primary ordering.

Transitivity

5.2.0   It has been observed that transitivity concerns itself

with predicate-object relations. These relations involve form,

function and meaning. It is rather difficult to put these three

in water-tight compartments. The predicate has been found to

have three forms:

(i)   SC - verb stem

(ii)   SC - Aux - verb stem

(iii)   SC - Aux - OC - verb stem

It is rare that we find the OC which is not preceded by the
SC and the auxiliary predicate; this is only found with the
imperative subjunctive, present-future tense e.g.

mshayé   (hit him)

In (i) the occurrence of an object is obligatory e.g.

úbabá úbóna ínkomó   (father sees a cow)

If the auxiliary -ya- of the present tense in (ii) is used
without the OC the object is essentially precluded e.g.

úbabá úyabóna   (father sees)

However, in the future tense this does not hold, cf.

úbabá úyobóna ínkomó   (father will see a cow)

The form of the predicate is therefore important, especially
in the present tense, in the determination of the occurrence or
non-occurrence of an object.   The form of an object may be im-
portant in transitivity, cf. primary object.   In the main, the
primary object is found with its initial vowel and as such its
OC may be inserted in the predicate.   If it is without the ini-
tial vowel, it cannot have the OC, cf. conjoined objects showing
indefiniteness e.g. úbabá úsháya ngáne, ntombí, mfána   (father
hits baby, girl and boy)

5.2.1   The function of the noun in the second slot may be
stated in two ways:

(i)   shifting

(ii)   entailment

In (i) the noun (object) may be shifted to the front with the
proviso that it takes the OC; here the predicate need not have
any extension e.g.

Inkomó, úbabá úyayibóna (*the cow, father, he sees it)

In (ii) the original object of the active predicate is now
the subject in the first slot and the subject of the active
predicate is now the copulative in the adjunct slot, cf.

Inkomó, íbónwa ngubâbá (*the cow, father, he sees it)

This shows that the original object of the `active voice´
may occur before or after the predicate when primary word order
is altered either by shifting or entailment.

5.2.2   Meaning in transitivity may be stated in three ways:

  (i)   focus

 (ii)   definiteness/indefiniteness

(iii)   LSFs.

Focus is expressed on the object when it occurs before the
predicate e.g. Inkomó úyayibóna úbabá (*the cow, he sees it
father) The object is definite when it is accompanied by its
OC in the predicate e.g. úbabá úyayibóna, Inkomó (father sees
the cow) whereas an indefinite object is well-illustrated when
the noun is without the initial vowel and therefore incapable
of having the OC e.g. úbabá úbona nkomó, háshi, mbûzi (*father
sees cow, horse and goat).

The LSFs help in showing semantic relationship of the object
e.g. Induku (a stick) is an object with instrumental relation-
ship in úbabá úshéya Induku   (father fights with a stick).

In úbabá údilíza índlu (father destroys a house) índlu

(a house) is an object with factive relationship. Finally
it should be stated that transitivity need not be a notional
term indicating an action that passes over to an object.
Such a view would limit transitivity to factives only.

The Adjunct

5.3.0   Finally the adjunct may be placed in its proper
perspective in the following way:

(i)   The adjunct is mainly a secondary form; it is therefore
an open syntactic category manifesting a variety of forms. It
is a general statement to say that an adjunct is a nominal with-
out concord since a point of departure is observed in such
examples as boníyané (of seeing), niní (when), bhalakaxa
(of falling).

(ii)   Notionally the adjunct modifies the predicate; the
character of modification is often stated semantically.

(iii)   Adjuncts may be classified according to their degree
of flexibility. The classification is not rigid and this marks
the fluidity of adjuncts.

(iv)   In most cases the adjunct does not take a concord. In-
stead of congruence, there is government. However, the concord
ku- occurs abundantly with the locative. The concord indicates
that an adjunct can either be used as a subject or an object
of a sentence, cf.

ékhaya kúhlála úbabá (at home, stays father) : as the subject

úbabá úyakuthánda ékhaya (father likes it at home) : as the object

(v)   Adjuncts may occur as a word group.

(vi) The tentative syntactic criterion of an adjunct is its

substitutability with another adjunct.

(vii)   In this study the adjunct is distinguished from an

object morphologically, syntactically and semantically.

5.3.1   In conclusion it may be stated that in the study of

the predicate in its relation to the noun; the subject, the

object and the adjunct are basically nouns irrespective of

the forms they may assume. In formal analysis then it is

well to divide the nouns into primary forms and secondary

forms. So our syntactic categories are contained in the for-

mal categories as shown below:

(A)   Nouns

(i)   primary nouns : as shown in the primary ordering of sub-

jects and objects featuring as agentives and factives e.g.

úbabá úbóna ínkomó (father sees a cow). Both úbabá and

ínkomó are primary nouns.

(ii)   secondary nouns : mainly as shown in the secondary

ordering of agentives and factives, cf.

úbabá úsháya úmfána íkhânda (father hits the boy on the head)

            but

úmfána úsháywa nqubâbá ékhanda (the boy is hit by father on

                                        the head)

Both the copulative nqubâbá and the locative ékhanda are

secondary nouns. In traditional classification of the parts

of speech the copulative is placed under the predicative. This

type of classification is in line with notional/syntactic approach

because the copulative is placed under the predicative because

of its idea and function i.e. the copulative has verbal purport

and can fill the position of the verb, cf.

úbabá úyíndoda (father is a man)

The fact that the copulative has the SC prefixed to it is
enough to prove that it fills the position of the verb. But
when it complements the verb, there is no reason to con-
sider it as verbal in purport since it can neither take the
SC nor can it have tense, cf.

úbabá úbónwa yíndoda (father is seen by a man)

Here yíndoda cannot take the SC and it is tenseless. But
with úbabá úyíndoda, the copulative has tense, cf.

úbabá úzoba yíndoda (father will be a man) : future tense

úbabá wábá yíndoda (father became a man) : past tense

So the wholesale sub-categorisation of the copulative
within the predicative is itself inappropriate; there is
predicative copulative and adjunct/complementary copulative.

(B)   Verbs

If it is formally acceptable that the locatives and copulatives
(those derived from nouns) are basically nouns, it can be
equally acceptable to maintain that verbal roots may attach
certain affixes and as such take new function and categorisa-
tion, cf. deverbative nouns, deverbative ideophones, and the
infinitive. Verbs are therefore divided into:

(i)   verbs proper : the important criterion of these is that
they affix the SC and the OC e.g. úyayibóna (he sees it).
They can also be divided into actions, processes and states.
Verbs are marked /causation/ and /non-causation/, cf.

úghaya ínkomó (he hits a cow) : causation

kúhlwíle (it is dusk) : non-causation

(ii)   deverbatives : here the infinitive and the deverbative
ideophone and adjunct are considered. The infinitive is the
deverbative noun as far as the nominal characteristics are
concerned; the class prefix uku- is a strong reason for it
being considered a deverbative. The infinitive may also be
a fixed complementary object, cf.

úmfána úhámba úkuhámba (the boy is actually going)

The deverbative ideophone is mainly found in the adjunct slot
e.g. úmfána wáhámba hambíyané (the boy actually went)

The deverbative adjuncts are usually called 'stative adverbs',
cf. úmfána údla bumé (the boy eats standing up)

     íngáne ícháma bulálá (the baby urinates lying down)
It is clear then that nouns and verbs are basic in the cate-
gorisation of many words.

Slots with their possible filler LSFs

(a)   The predicate slot is obligatory in the representa-
      tional sentence. The predicate slot consists of:
  (i)   the verb (simple or extended)
  (ii)   the subject concord
 (iii)   the object concord
  (iv)   the verb auxiliaries
   (v)   this slot could also be filled by the copulative and
         the ideophone.
The predicate has also mood and tense. The fact that the
predicate slot is obligatory shows that it is central in the
representational sentence, and even more important, it determines
the LSFs.

(b)　　The Subject Slot (Slot I)

  (i)　　　S (agentive) e.g. úmfána úyáshaya　(the boy hits)

 (ii)　　　S (instrumental) e.g. índuku iyáshaya (the stick hits)

(iii)　　　S (factive) e.g. ínkomó iyáshaywa　(the cow is hit)

 (iv)　　　S (patient) e.g. ínkomó iyágula　(the cow is ill)

  (v)　　　S (locative) e.g. ékhaya kúyabánda　(at home, it is cold)

(c)　　The Object Slot (Slot II)

  (i)　　　O (factive) e.g. úsháya ínkomó　(he hits a cow)

 (ii)　　　O (locative) e.g. úhámba ísontó　(he goes to church)

(iii)　　　O (instrumental) e.g. wótha umlílo (he warms himself

                                by the fire)

 (iv)　　　O (complement) e.g. úhámba úkuhámba (he is actually going)

(d)　　The Adjunct Slot (Slot III)

  (i)　　　Adj (agentive) e.g. ísháywa ngumfána (it is hit by the boy)

 (ii)　　　Adj (instrumental) e.g. úsháya ngéndúku (he hits with a

                                  stick)

(iii)　　　Adj (patient) e.g. úkhulúma ngómfána (he speaks about

                                a boy)

 (iv)　　　Adj (factive) e.g. úfundána néncwadi (he is busy reading

                                a book)

               úmníka íncwadi (he gives him a book)

  (v)　　　Adj (locative) e.g. úfúnda ésikóleni (he studies at school)

Diagram illustrating LSFs and slots
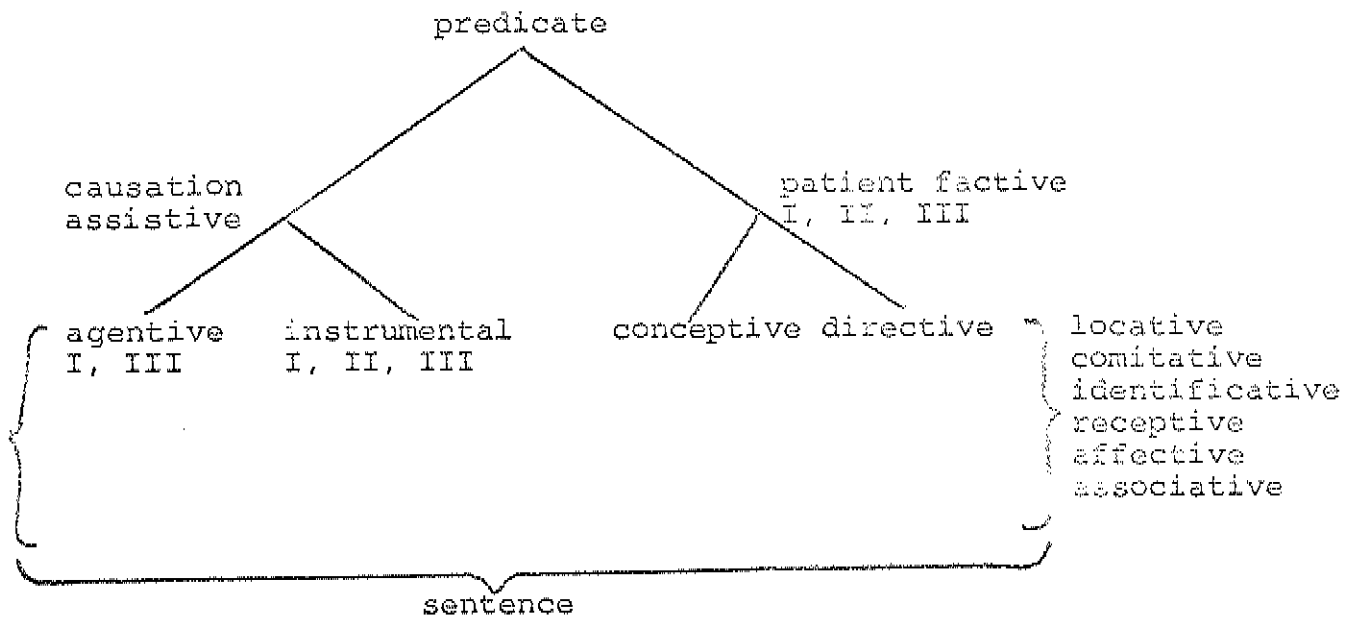
Note:

1. The predicate is central; the two lines, one branching to
    the left and the other to the right indicate its relation
    to the nouns. The predicate has a duality of relation
    with the nouns in a sentence which has both an agentive
    and a factive; the relation between the agentive and the
    factive is bi-polar.

2. The left line then branches off from causation assistive
    into agentive and instrumental. The right line branches
    off from patient factive into the conceptive and the
    directive.

3. Slots are indicated by I, II and III. Slot one is I,
    slot two is II and slot three is III.

4. The minor LSFs are grouped together, i.e. locative, comitative etc.

5. The sentence includes the predicate, the nouns and their slots and all the semantic relational features.

<u>Diagram illustrating transitivity and primary word order</u>
<u>of the main LSFs</u>

predicate

subject

object

I

II

III

non-transitive   mono-transitive   ditransitive
                        { semi-transitive   { complete transitive
                        { complete transitive

patient or   factive or complement   factive
causation
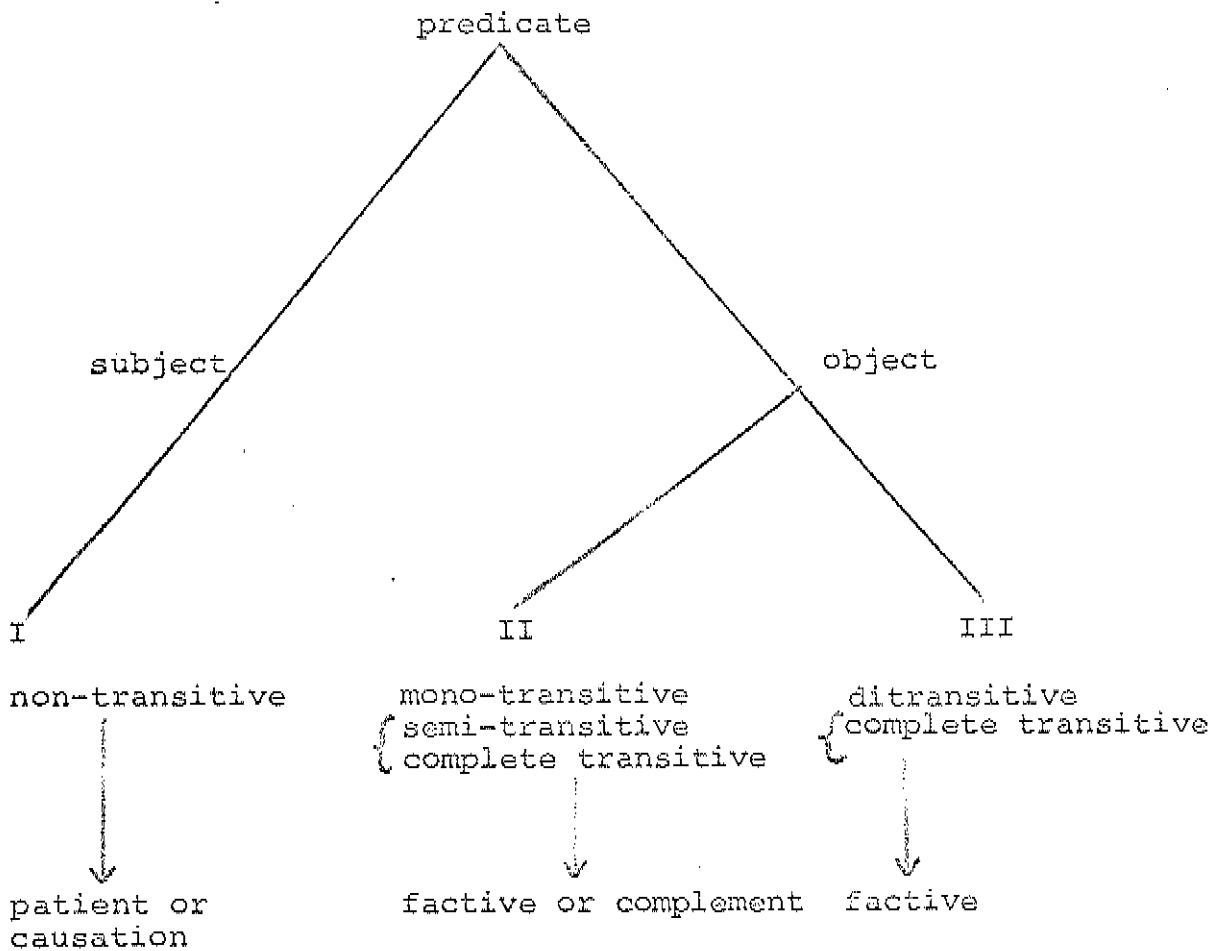
<u>Note</u>:

1. The predicate is central; in transitivity it combines with both the subject and object. Such combination is shown by the left and the right lines.

2. The left line indicates subject combination; the right line indicates object combination. The right line branches into two according to primary object II, and secondary object III.

3. The noun occurring in Slot I does not necessarily indicate transitivity, hence non-transitive. The noun occurring in Slot II indicates mono-transitivity which may be semi-transitive or complete transitive. The noun in Slot III indicates ditransitivity which goes hand in hand with complete transitivity.

4. The noun in Slot I may either have patient/factive relation or causation/agentive relation. The one in Slot II is either a factive or complement whereas the one in Slot III is a factive. The whole ordering refers to primary word order.

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