THE CLAUSE IN THE ZULU SENTENCE

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DECLARATION

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

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CONTENTS

SUMMARY

In this investigation an attempt is made to reveal the
internal relationship of units in the Zulu clause as well as
the external relationship of clauses. Internal relationship
deals with the organization of units within a clause and the
implications thereof. Sometimes this is referred to as
intra-clausal relationship. External relationship deals
with co-ordination and subordination of clauses in a sentence
(inter-clausal relationship) and this is the major concern
of the investigation. In our selection of sentences we
have been guided by the facts of language so that both
system- and text-sentences are considered.

Co-ordination, which is a process of linking clauses, is
divided into:

A. Conjoining co-ordination:

  1. Ordinary conjoining co-ordination

  2. Zeugmatic and sylleptic conjoining co-ordination.

B. Juxtapositioning co-ordination:

  1. Paratactic co-ordination

  2. Consecutive co-ordination

  3. Serial co-ordination

C. Lexemic co-ordination:

  1. Proper co-ordination

  2. Pleonastic co-ordination

  3. Quasi- co-ordination

4. Periphrastic co-ordination.

Subordination, also a linking process, has the following clauses:

A. Modifying subordinate clauses:
   1. Relative clause ⎫ Expansion
   2. Descriptive clause ⎬ clause

B. Complementing subordinate clause:
   1. Directive clause
   2. Complementary clause
   3. Reported clause

Text-sentences, based on a folktale, are divided into:

1. Free sentences
2. Bound sentences: (a) Sequential sentences
                     (b) Elliptical sentences

Pragmatic structures are divided into:

1. Topic construction
2. Existential construction
3. Prominence construction: (a) Focus construction
                             (b) Emphatic construction

In the end it is noted that the division of co-ordination and subordination of clauses in Zulu is not always straightforward. At times an overlap is detected between co-ordination and subordination. This has necessitated the subclassification of co-ordination into:

1. Full-fledged co-ordination
2. Marginal co-ordination

Meaning as attached to clauses may be divided into:

1. Descriptive meaning
2. Pragmatic meaning
3. Presuppositional meaning
4. Propositional meaning

CHAPTER 1

1.1 THEME

Clause relations in a sentence are investigated in order to attempt to straighten some traditional problems of statement about clauses in a Zulu sentence. The exponents of clause relations as found in the Zulu sentence are:

1. Co-ordination

2. Subordination

These exponents account for whether the sentence is simple, double/multiple or complex (See Chapter 2 and 3). The syntactic factors that determine co-ordination and subordination of clauses are:

(a) Predicate sequences i.e. sequence of nuclear clauses.

(b) Co-occurrence of a predicate and a predicative nominal i.e. co-occurrence of a nuclear clause (predicate) and a peripheral clause (relative).

The syntactic factors are stated in terms of:

(i) Orderings of predicates (nuclear clauses) and/or predicative nominals (relative clauses)

(ii) Form assumed by predicates/predicative nominals

(iii) Semantic behaviour as an integral part of predicates/

predicative nominals.

Clauses of sentences occurring in the context of a folktale
are briefly investigated, which gives us a peep into how a
speaker or narrator organises his information in sentences
and texts.

1.1.1 Method of research

Most of the Zulu sentences in the thesis were constructed by
the writer. The general acceptability of these sentences was
determined by consulting some Zulu speakers in the area of
KwaDlangezwa. Zulu literary extracts from acknowledged
written sources dealing with folklore were examined in terms
of the theme of this investigation. A considerable number of
books dealing with linguistics in general and those with
Bantu grammar in particular were consulted. Articles from
various journals were also read. The language laboratory of
the Department of African languages at the University of
South Africa was of help in the determination of certain
tones. This we did with Prof Davey. The writer also made
tape recordings of some sentences in order to ascertain tone
sequences of these sentences. The tone sequences of other
sentences were of course determined by ear.

1.1.2 The technique of analysis

In this investigation an assumption is made that "surface"

or 'overt' syntactic configurations can afford a satisfactory account of linguistic facts. These configurations can account for 'covert' structure and can lead to the understanding of semantic and pragmatic dimensions of forms and constructions. An attempt is therefore made in this study to analyse linguistic data from three broad levels:

1. <u>Syntactic level</u>. Syntactic level normally entails the linearization of overt constituents of the sentence. The hierarchy of constituents underlies such a linearization. It is granted that certain constituents may be underlying in the sense that they are empirically recoverable. For example the subject and object may be left out in a sentence after they have been assigned by means of concords in the predicate. The syntactic constituents necessarily have phonological and morphological shapes which are expressed in the lexicon. The lexicon itself is responsible for the rules of word formation. Such rules may either change the class of constituent (class-changing) or maintain it (class-maintaining). The semantic properties of the lexicon are then assigned to the semantic level.

2. <u>Semantic level</u>. This level makes provision for a typology in terms of semantic features:

(i)   <u>Liaison features</u>, which have a relational function as obtaining between nouns and verbs e.g.agentive, instrumental, patient, source, goal. These are to be

looked upon as constituting sets of relations rather than types of relation.

(ii) <u>Delimiting features</u>, which have a 'delimiting' or 'modifying' function. They delimit paradigmatically the lexical items e.g. human vs non-human, animate vs inanimate, definite vs indefinite. The delimiting features are relevant to the liaison semantic features though they are not related in a one-to-one way.

(iii) <u>Collocational features</u>, associate a lexical item or a group of lexical items with another in a sentence. Semantic properties expressing the relations between predicates may be found in collocational features like concurrence, consecutive, opposition (cf. oppositional clauses) and alternation (cf. also alternate clauses). These collocational features and others are involved in co-ordination and subordination of items.

3. <u>Pragmatic level</u>. Pragmatic level deals with the way the linguistic expression is used by man in communication contexts. Pragmatic accounts would include such topics as: focus, theme, given (old) information, new information, stylistics and rhetorical devices. Cf. Kempson (1977 p. 192). Depending on the language in question, pragmatic information may not be grammatically marked, cf. tempo of uttering a constituent, pause after a constituent, pitch level on a constituent and stress on a constituent. In this investiga-

tion the pragmatic level is particularly employed with
reference to contextual or text sentences or clauses as
found in a folktale. In the end both the semantic level and
pragmatic level are reconciled as relating to theories of
meaning.

1.1.3 Tone

In order to avoid certain problems of explanation, the
indication of tone will be done. In general the procedure
of tone indication as followed by David Rycroft (1979) will
be adopted in this study. The reason for adopting such a
system of tone-marking is that it is economical and practical.
Low tones and downsteps will not be indicated; only tone
marked as high / ´/ and falling / ^/ will be indicated. Only
downstep / ! / as pertaining to the initial vowels of
copulatives from nouns will be indicated. We shall differ
though from Rycroft (1979) in marking all the 'perseverative
assimilated' high tones. Since tone-making is done mainly on
words occurring within sentences, the position of a word in
the sentence will determine its tonal pattern. The tonal
dialect used is that of the writer who speaks Natal Zulu
occurring in the Durban - Pietermaritzburg area.

In recent years there has been burgeoning interest in the
study of tone of South African languages, cf. Lanham (1960),
Westphal (1962), Cope (1966), Louw (1968), de Clercq (1968),
Davey (1973), Lombard (1976) Rycroft (1978/9). Of particular

importance is the format that there is underlying and surface tones and this has been significantly refurbished by Rycroft (1979) in Zulu. Tone rules are mainly established on the basis of underlying and surface tones. Underlying and surface tones come as a result of the interaction of tones and segments.

Rycroft (1979 p.6) has clearly explained such interaction in the following way:

> The hypothesis was that certain morphemes in the deep structure require both segmental and tonal exponents, but these two exponents, segmental and tonal, respectively, are often realised non-simultaneously. For example, a High tone associated with a given morpheme frequently takes a delayed realization, later in the word than its segmental co-exponent, its precise location being determined firstly by the particular type of stem; secondly by the distribution of depressor and non-depressor consonants within the total word (and immediately preceding it); and thirdly by the position of the word within the utterance.

Much research on tone rules has been done on the word occurring in isolation. This means that adjustment of word tones to a sentence has been neglected.

A natural process for High tone on the syllable is to enlarge
its domain to the next syllable i.e.High tone on the first
syllable spreads to the next syllable. This is known as
tone spreading, cf.

      úkúphupha (to dream)

      úyáliphúpha (he is dreaming it - "a dream")

The High tone on the object concord has spread itself onto
the first syllable of the stem i.e.the first syllable of
stem is underlyingly low toned but has acquired a surface
High tone through spreading. The surface High tone on the
first syllable of the stem may be explained differently if
the object concord contains a depressor consonant, cf.

      úyáziphúpha (he is dreaming them - as in "he is

      dreaming girls" - izintômbí)

In this instance the natural process of tone spreading is
depressed or blocked by a voiced obstruent -z - . The result
is that the underlying High tone on the object concord is
delayed in its realisation as it now occurs in the next
syllable. The interaction of High tone and the depressor
segment is such that there is no simultaneous realisation of
these two exponents. This delayed realisation of a High tone
is also known as tone displacement. The High tone that is
realised late displaces the tone of the following syllable.

While voiced obstruents may have a blocking effect on High tone, sonorants may permit High tone to spread. This is clearly seen in the auxiliary -ya- following the subject concord, cf.

úyáphupha (he is dreaming)

The High tone of the subject concord spreads onto the next sonorant syllable. In certain cases spreading may be accompanied by 'anterior deletion' cf. Rycroft (1979) e.g.

uyóphupha (he will dream)

The derivation of 'anterior deletion' may be explained in three stages viz

(i)   *úyophupha (he will dream)
(ii) *úyóphupha (he will dream)
(iii) uyóphupha (he will dream)

In the first derivational stage the High tone on the subject concord has not yet spread to the next syllable. In the second stage, spreading has taken place so that the second syllable is high toned. In the third stage, the High tone on the subject concord is deleted and only the surface High tone of the second syllable remains. It must be pointed out, however, that 'anterior deletion' in the above example may also be interpreted as a semantic constraint as

regards a tense form, cf.

uyóphupha (he will dream) vs

úyóphupha (he has gone to dream)

In all probability the last example is a contraction of

úyê, úkúyóphupha (he has gone to dream)

In such a case a High tone on -yo- is the result of spreading
of a High tone on the infinitive prefix.

In monosyllabic verb stems which are / +H / i.e.under-
lyingly high toned, spreading does not occur, cf.

úyáphá (he gives)

This suggests that the type of stem may decide whether there
is going to be spreading or not. If, on the other hand, the
object concord is infixed, the High on the stem may be
dissimilated i.e.is made opposite to that of the object
concord, cf.

úyásípha (he gives us)

The underlyingly High tone of the stem has undergone
dissimilation so that now it is a surface low tone in
contrast to the High of the object concord. Another tonal

rule close to dissimilation is _polarisation_. Polarisation often takes place in verbal extensions, which have no underlying tone of their own, cf

úzofundísa (he will teach)

The High tone on the penultimate syllable is the opposite of the Low tone on the initial syllable of the stem i.e.the initial syllable of the verb stem and the penultimate syllable have become tonally bi-polar. If, on the other hand, the initial syllable of the stem retains its original High tone, then there is tone copying, e.g.

úyáfúndísa (he is teaching)

In _tone copying_ the syllable with no underlying tone takes it from the preceding syllable. Tone copying is/ an alternative term for spreading. Zulu is a syllable counting language and as such copying is morphologically based.

As was pointed out earlier on, the tonal pattern of indivi-dual words may be adjusted to the position of their occurrence in the sentence. Such adjustment or adaptation is referred to as _intonation_. . Other than phonological factors and morphological marking that may influence tone realisation, tones may also be influenced by intonation.

Note for instance the change of tone in the participial:

(i)   ngimbóné éhâmba (I saw him walking)

(ii)   uyavalélisa úma ehâmba (he bids a farewell when he
        goes)

(iii)   ngimbóné éhámba yedwa (I saw him walking alone)

In (i) the subject concord of the participial is high toned
whilst the initial syllable of the verb stem has a falling
tone. If there is a pause after ngimboné the perfect -e has
a falling tone. In (ii) the subject concord is low toned
because the preceding word has a low tone on the final
syllable. When the participial occurs in pre-pausal (final)
position in a sentence, it has a falling tone on the
penultimate syllable. In (iii) where the participial is not
in final position, the falling tone, which is a contour
tone, is levelled to a High tone. It must be observed that
the falling tone on the penultimate syllable of the
participial in pre-pausal position is a morphological
marker of a particular grammatical meaning. It is therefore
a grammatical tone distinguishing the participial from the
indicative.

1.1.4   Brief survey of the study of syntax in Bantu languages

A good deal has been done in the morphology of Bantu
languages but little has been done in the syntax of these
languages. In Great Britain, two names are worthy of note

in this field. Guthrie (1961) had some important thoughts to give about the structure of a Bantu sentence. He pointed out that the sentence has to be approached from the angle of the relationship of its component parts which he called 'control', 'support', 'arrangement' and "cohesion'. He maintained that words cohere in varying degrees in a Bantu sentence and occupy particular slots according to definite relations. One of the relations which Guthrie talks about in a sentence, was clearly delineated by Whiteley (1968) when he brought the question of transitivity to the fore. He observed that verbs in Swahili cannot be compartmentalised into transitive and intransitive species; on the contrary verbs can either be used transitively or intransitively. The test of transitive structures, he noted in 1969 is 'entailment', which is associated with 'focus'. Fortune (1973) carried on some similar studies in Shona. Since he views transitivity as the 'internal relationships of the VP' he is inclined to incorporate secondary forms like the locative and other modifiers as constituting transitivity.

A handful of scholars have shown interest in the Bantu relative clause. Doke (1955) viewing it as 'relative con- struction' has divided it into 'direct and indirect relationships'. According to him the relative clause is direct when its concord agrees with its antecedent which is the subject of the relative. Wald (1970) does not mention 'indirect relationship' but instead observes that the movement of the noun qualified by the relative clause to

the front of the predicate may result in some morphological changes. Hendrickse (1975) does not favour the division of the relative clause into 'direct' and 'indirect relation-ships' but advocates the principle of 'adjacency' which stipulates that the substantive qualified must immediately precede the relative clause. In this he is adopting a principle which was observed earlier on by Givón (1972) who preferred to call it 'pronoun attraction'. Givón, on the other hand, appreciates the problem of subject disagreement in object relative clauses and he attributes this to a constraint rooted in the perceptual problem that might arise when 'three agreement morphemes are strung next to each other' in the predicate. Perhaps by this Givón implies that there can be no two subject concords in the predicate i.e. the concord of the transferred subject and the concord of the noun occupying the subject position. Givón also notices that in object relativization, the subject is 'postposed'.

Meeussen (1971) finds different types of object relative clauses according to different Bantu languages. He observes that in one type the subject follows the verb, which pre-supposes that the subject moves from its front position to a post position. The conclusion he comes to about the Bantu relative clause is its tendency to express many 'features' through the relative concord. However, Meeussen's ob-servations are obscured by the constant use of the term 'abstract relative pronoun' which obviously is equated with 'that' in English. He uses a transformational-generative

model in explaining the Bantu relative clause. Takizala (1972) who uses the same model concludes that the relative clause is involved in focus constructions.

Some scholars have made contributions concerning the position words may take up in a sentence. Guthrie (1961) refers to such positions as 'slots'; Doke (1955), Cole (1975) and Louw (1958) refer to 'word order" in the sentence. Nkabinde (1975) investigating the word categories finds that they are "distributed' in a particular way in the sentence. Fivaz (1970) uses an adapted 'slot-and-filler' model of describing position of words in a Shona sentence. Hlongwane (1976) associates position of words in a sentence with 'function' e, g, the noun may have the subject function, object function and adjunct function. Associated with the position of words in a sentence is the question of focus or prominence. Louw (1958) refers to focus as 'emphasis' which is achieved by shifting a word to the initial position in the sentence. He shows how different parts of speech can be focussed in a sentence.

The study of case in recent years by linguists not associated with Bantu languages cf Fillmore (1968), Anderson (1971), Starosta (1973) and others, has marked a turning-point for some scholars of Bantu languages. 'Case' as seen by Fillmore does not refer to the inflectional variations of nouns but to 'meaning-relations' that may exist between nouns and verbs. In a somewhat modified vein,

Jackendoff (1972) and Chomsky (1975 and 1979) talk of 'thematic relations'. According to Jackendoff thematic relations belong to a sentence 'functional structure' which represents verb induced relations such as agency, motion and direction. Louw (1971) suggests that if the term 'case' is not necessarily associated with 'form' in the traditional sense of European languages, it is valid in Bantu languages as a 'semantic feature'. Hlongwane (1976) sees such a 'feature' as relational and refers to it as 'liaison semantic feature'. Van Rooyen (1977) also takes note of 'semantic features' of this sort. Lyons (1977) prefers the term 'predicate valence' to 'thematic relations'.

For a very long time scholars have observed that words form groups within a sentence. Bloomfield (1933) dealing with English has called these groups 'immediate constituents' whereas Robins (1964) uses the term 'colligation' for the grouping of words into constituents. De Groot (1964) refers to such groupings as 'woord groepe', a term which has been adopted by a number of S. Africans dealing with Bantu languages, cf Breed (1961), Van Wyk (1961), Kruger, C J H (1961) and (1967). Guthrie (1961) uses the term 'support' to indicate the co-occurrence of words within a sentence; to indicate the force holding words together he has used 'cohesion' whereas Van Rooyen (1977) has used 'clisis'. According to Van Rooyen 'clisis' can explain why the words require the support of others in sentence formation, cf. idla (it eats) which requires the support of the object or

adjunct _ídla útshâni_ (it eats grass); it is therefore
clear that _ídla_ is "clisis-bound'. Sometimes this is re-
ferred to as "co-occurrence' which is defined by Robins
(1964 p.224) as follows:

> By relations of co-occurrence one means that words
>
> of different sets of classes may permit, or require,
>
> the occurrence of a word of another set or class to
>
> form a sentence or a particular part of a sentence.

In grouping words within a sentence, Doke (1955 p.6) uses
'clauses" or 'phrase'. The clause is a 'predicative
statement forming part of a sentence involving more than one
predicate" whereas the phrase 'lacks the predicative
element".

1.1.5 Revision of terms

It has been found necessary to revise the definition of
certain terms in the light of this work. Redefinition is
important in that it involves explanatory issues as well as
the remodelling of analysis techniques. The terms that are
revised are the following: the sentence, clause, sequence,
co-ordination, subordination, predicate, relative, mood,
tense, aspects and participants of a predicate.

1.2   THE SENTENCE

Any attempt to define a sentence in general will be of no avail unless a proper classification of sentences is made wherein different types of sentences are properly set out. All too often definitions given do not take the sentence type into consideration.   In this investigation an attempt will be made to classify sentences as well as to define them.   Three types of classification have been identified for the Zulu sentence:

1.   Structural classification

2.   Notional classification

3.   Cognitive classification

1.2.1   Structural classification

This concerns the sentence as a linguistic structure which is independent when it is measured against itself but such linguistic structures are construed as interdependent in a discourse.   According to this type of classification there are two classes of sentences:

(a)   The representational or well-formed sentence which basically consists of the subject and the predicate.   In Zulu the subject may be omitted, leaving the subject concord and the verb-stem.   With the long form of the present tense, -ya- precedes the verb-stem whilst it is not used with the

copulative e.g.

"ízingáne" ziyádlá (children are eating)

"ábántu" bángamáqwala (people are cowards)

Both ízingáne and ábántu can be omitted. These sentences
are productive and can be enlarged or expanded by addition
of some other constituents e.g.

ízingáne ézincáne ziyákúdla úkúdlá (small children eat the
food)

ábántu ábádala bángamáqwala ímpéla (old people are real
cowards)

The sentences are sometimes referred to as 'regular' or
'favourite' types.

(b)   The contextual or completive sentence is determined by
context of utterance i.e. by preceding sentences that have
been uttered in discourse. In most cases it is necessarily
understood to form part of (a) through omission and
downgrading, and this is also known as an elliptical
sentence. It mainly involves responses. Besides responses
it may also include interjectives and copulatives e.g.

yíbo (it is they)

máyé (of unpleasant surprise)

Sometimes the concept of the contextual sentence is extended to cover certain idiomatic forms e.g.

mehlo madála (it's a long time since we last met)
qálo yephúka (of escaping by running away very fast)

The merit attached to structural classification is that it recognises that the sentence has structure. Secondly the representational sentence is in Zulu morphologically easily determined by the subject concord. However, when it comes to the contextual sentence, the problem is that the 'contextual' is encumbered by the semantic load it carries. For instance the vocative zingáne (children)! is regarded as a type of contextual sentence but there is nothing contextual about it. Another disadvantage of this classification is that it does not make any differentiation between ordinary statements and interrogatives. What is more, the contrasting of the terms 'representational' and 'contextual' is methodologically unfortunate because there is a mixture of criteria i.e. 'representational' goes along with morphological criteria whereas 'contextual' goes along with semantic measures. The better classification according to sentence structure would be representational sentence and non-representational. The representational one is signalled by the presence of the subject concord whereas the non-representational one lacks the subject concord. The sentence like: batshêle íqíniso (tell them the truth) is therefore non-representational because ba- is the object

concord.

Another version of structural classification of sentences is set out on some parts of speech figuring as structural forms, cf. Fortune (1970). In this kind of classification there are three types of sentences:

(a) Substantival sentence. This sentence contains the predicate that has a substantival stem e.g.

      úmfána úyíngane (the boy is a child)

      ítshe likhúlu (the stone is big)

These are also known as copulative constructions.

(b) Verbal sentence. This sentence contains the predicate that has a verb stem e.g.

      ábántu báyáhámba (people are walking)

      ízingáne ziyáfúnda (children are reading)

(c) Ideophonic sentence. In this sentence the predicate is the ideophone that is usually accompanied by the kind of auxiliary predicate with the stem -thi/-the e.g.

      wámúthí phíhli émbáleni (he struck him in the

                                foreleg)

      úmfána úthé lungú (the boy just peeped for a short

                            time)

It will be noted that this version of structural classification has something commendable in that we are rigorously

referred to the form of the predicate as evidenced by its stem. The shortcoming of this classification is that it leaves out some other kinds of sentences like 'exclamatory', 'interrogative' and elliptical sentences.

1.2.2 Notional classification

This classification is concerned with the utterance-meaning that can be associated with the theory of speech-acts as was postulated by Austin, cf. Lyons (1981, chapter 8). In this classification the sentences are subdivided according to the different illocutionary forces they carry. There are normally three embracing classes:

(a) Interrogative sentence. This sentence contains a question word or formative and paralinguistic features such as tempo and higher level of intonation. In a written sentence it is distinguished by ? cf.

ûphí úmfána (where is the boy)?

uyahámba (are you going)?

uyahámba nâ (are you going)?

(b) Declarative sentence. The declarative refers to straightfoward statements of fact or statements assuming some fact. It includes inter alia the indicative, the participial and the subjunctive. The declarative sentence may contain one or more predicates e.g.

úmfána úyáhámba (the boy is walking)

úmfána úbéhámba (the boy has been or was walking)

sivúka sídle síhambé (we wake up, eat and go)

(c) Exclamatory sentence. The exclamatory sentences involve exclamation and are divided into three sub-classes:

(i)   Imperative or Command e.g. hámba (go)!

(ii)   Vocative e.g. muntu (person)! [1]

(iii)   Interjective e.g. hawu (oh)!

Though this classification has an advantage of being more embracing than structural classification, it suffers from the indeterminate categorisation. There is a considerable overlap that exists for instance between the interrogative and the declarative, cf.

úmúntu úyáhámba (a person is going)

úmúntu úyáhámba (is a person going)?

Morphologically the two types are similar. Another overlap is observed in the subjunctive. The subjunctive often belongs to the declarative sentence. But notionally it may also belong to the interrogative and the imperative, cf

síhambé (must we go)? : interrogation

masíhambé (let us go)! : imperative

---

1) Prof Louw refutes the vocative as a clause because it is a 'case' form of the noun. We are, however, of the opinion that the interjective use of a noun resolves itself into an exclamatory sentence/clause because it is a self-sufficient utterance.

When form is disregarded in the classification of sentences, such ambiguities can always be expected.

1.2.3 <u>Cognitive classification</u>

This classification takes into account the knowledge a speaker of the language has of recognizing a sentence in spoken or written discourses and the ability he has of constructing any sentence which is consonant with his language. In this classification, there are two classes:

(a) <u>Text - sentence.</u> This is a sentence which is recognised as such in written discourse by a person who has internalised the structure of a language. Lyons(1977 p.623) says:

> ... there is a legitimate sense of the word 'sentence' in which some texts at least can be said to consist of an integral number of sequentially ordered sentences.

It is to be observed that the recognition of a sentence by the listener or reader implies that the person who made that sentence meant it to be understood as such by the listener or reader. A text-sentence is therefore viewed mainly <u>in the context of other sentences which may either precede or follow it.</u> There is also individual and emotional involvement in such sentences. These sentences call forth what is often referred to as 'style'. It is these

sentences that will be considered in Chapter 4 dealing with the traditional narrative discourse.

(b) <u>System - sentence</u>. According to Lyons (1977 p. 622) system-sentences are:

> abstract theoretical constructs, correlates of which are generated by the linguist's model of the language-system in order to explicate that part of the acceptability of utterance-signals that is covered by the notion of grammaticality.

These sentences are therefore dictated merely by a persons knowledge of the language and not by situation and context. At school pupils are often told to make correct sentences using a particular type of words. The sentences made by pupils are therefore system-sentences. These sentences are in the main 'well-formed' or representational. Both text-sentences and system-sentences are non-spontaneous and are characterised by well-formedness i.e. have syntactic, grammatical and semantic cohesion. Monologues such as lectures, public addresses and bulletin scripts where spontaneity to a large degree is excluded also have such cohesion. In spontaneous discourse (unwritten) sentences are often fragmentary and lack cohesion.

This classification has a psychological basis. Language is seen as one of the cognitive systems of a human being

that can be manipulated at will by the user. The ensuing
implication is that language can be put to different uses or
functions by the same individual. The advantage of the
classification is that it regards sentences as instruments
of creativity. The disadvantage is that it is not rigorous
about construction types and structural differentiation.

From the foregoing discussion of a sentence it appears that
there is no universal valid shape that we could use as the
basis of a definition. In Zulu we may say that a sentence is
a structural unit that characteristically contains one or
more predicates but which can omit the predicate or use other
words in the slot of predicates; in recognising the sentence
as a structural unit we also recognise that it is a minimum
unit of utterance.

1.3   THE CLAUSE

In the transformational analysis the clause is a result of
either embedding or conjoining rules. In a way embedding
corresponds with complex sentences while conjoining
corresponds with co-ordinate sentences. Since transforma-
tional rules are sometimes at stake, these rules will not be
applied in this investigation. According to constituent
analysis, a clause is a sentence that is a constituent of
another larger sentence, e.g.

úmfána úyáhámba úma éthânda (the boy goes when he likes) in

which úma éthânda is a constituent of úmfána úyáhámba. There
is a hint in this analysis that any clause be it 'co-ordinate',
'super-ordinate' or 'subordinate' is dependent on the whole
sentence (syntactic superior) of which it is part. This is a
hierarchical dependence rather than a 'domination' (cf.
subordination   1.6.2) of one clause by another in the
sentence. Though the constituent definition of a clause is
accepted in this study, it must be pointed out that a clause
may not necessarily be a representational (regular) sentence.
It may contain a word that has a predicative function, cf.
the infinitive and the ideophone e.g.

ngizofika ukúzómbóna (I will come in order to see him)
bábésázixóxêla njê, thushu íbhasi (they were still just busy
conversing when all of a sudden the bus appeared)

The clause then may be a simple sentence containing a
predicate or may be any unit containing a word that has a
predicative function or value, cf. also the vocative. According
to function two types of clauses are established in Zulu viz

(a) Nuclear clause i.e. a clause that has a predicative
slot; such a clause often forms a representational sentence
(b) Peripheral clause i.e. a clause that does not have a
predicative slot; this clause has a noun slot and is
sometimes referred to as a nominalised clause (cf. 1.8).

Because of the different functional types of clauses it is

not easy to give a blanket definition of a clause. It appears convenient to define each type separately. The nuclear clause is the basic clause using a predicate from which the peripheral clause is derived. Fundamentally the peripheral clause consists of a verb form or a copulative that is used 'qualificatively'. Such a use involves morphological and syntactic derivational processes. It will suffice here to give a definition of the basic clause. A clause (i.e. nuclear 'basic' clause) is a construction marked by a word having a predicative function and such a construction is normally in the company of some other similar constructions thus forming an amalgamation of predicative constructions. A definition of this kind advisedly avoids referring to a clause as a 'constituent sentence'. We have noted that a clause is not always a constituent sentence i.e. a sentence that is a part of another sentence. The infinitive collocating with certain types of predicates may constitute a clause but not outside this context, cf.

ngizofika úkúzoḿbóna (I will come in order to see him)
úcíshé úkúlímála (he almost got hurt)

In the first example úkúzoḿbóna is an infinitive clause because in this instance the infinitive is replaceable by a non-infinitive form of the same verb and has therefore predicative function, cf.

ngizofika ngízóḿbóna (I will come in order to see him)

The same meaning is retained. In the second example
ùkúlímála is the complement of the auxiliary predicate. If
ùkúlímála were nominal in function it would not be a
complement of an auxiliary predicate. In this capacity
ùkúlímála has a predicative function and can have as its
substitute a non-infinitive form without any alteration in
meaning, cf.

úcíshé walímála (he almost got hurt)

Further supportive evidence that the infinitive may form
predicate sequences is found in examples like the following:

úkúphúma njê úthishá, ziyákhúlúma ízingáne (the teacher
having just gone out, the children are talking)
úkúhleka njê, ngiyakusháya (should you laugh, I will hit
you)

In these examples the infinitive forms have predicative
function and they are therefore clauses. These infinitive
forms may be replaced by non-infinitive forms (ordinary
tense forms) without altering the sense of the sentence, cf.

éphúma njê úthishá, ziyákhúlúma ízingáne (the teacher having
just gone out, the children are talking)
wahléka njê, ngiyakusháya (should you laugh, I will hit you)

Replaceability of an infinitive by a tense form provides a

kind of substitution showing that the sentence is patterned
according to syntactic slots i.e. words of different
categories (parts of speech) cannot replace each other. The
infinitive is therefore a non-discrete category i.e. it may
be a nominal or a predicate depending on the syntactic
environment. Substitution may furthermore involve the
replacement of a single word by a group of words. This is
the kind of substitution that is along the lines of
immediate constituent and phrase-structure analysis, cf.

úmfána úfíké /úkúsa/   (the boy arrived at dawn)

úmfána úfíké /lápho kúsa/ (the boy arrived as the day was
dawning)

In this instance úkúsa though nominal in form has the function
of an adjunct or adverbial i.e. it is a "descriptive nominal".
Such a 'descriptive nominal' is substitutable for a
descriptive clause /lápho kúsa/. In the same breath the
nominalised clause can substitute a noun e.g.
/úmfána/ úyáphúméléla (the boy succeeds)
/ósébénza kahlé úmfána/ úyáphúméléla (the boy who works well,
succeeds)

The interchange of a word and a word group need not retain
the same meaning. What matters is that a word group can
occur in a syntactic slot in which a single word can occur.

It is important to note that in a sentence or clause that is

not elliptical (cf. 1.2.1) there is characteristically a predicate or a word with predicative function. In this respect the interjective offers some problems of statement because some interjectives may be stated in terms of function and others in terms of structure. It is known that the interjective may be regarded as a clause in its own right, cf. Doke (1955 p. 164) and Cole (1975 p. 58). Cf. also 1.2.2. There are different kinds of interjective clauses viz the imperative, vocative, negative words and responses. The imperative is a predicate that has no grammatical relations with the noun in terms of concords whilst the vocative may be looked upon as having a predicative function though itself not a predicate, cf

hambáni (go)!
bafaná (boys)!

This shows that the imperative and the vocative may form simple sentences that can be given as clauses in larger construction e.g.

hámba, úbábize (go and call them)!
bafána, wozáni (boys, come)!

Other interjective clauses can be analysed from a structural point of view, (cf. 1.2.1). They can be regarded as elliptical, cf,

<u>háyi</u> (no / never / don't)!

<u>músa</u> (don't)!

<u>cha</u> (no)!

The third one is a response which when used with its co-referring negative sentence, may form 'pleonastic' co-ordination (cf. Chapter 2) e.g.

<u>cha, angihámbi</u> (no, I am not going)

A clause (or a predicate) may be stable or unstable. Stability of clause means that a clause is capable of occurrence in an unexpanded form or in an uncombined form as a complete self-contained sentence. Though stability often co-incides with the 'main clause,' it may also be found that the main clause is unstable if it does not have the stabilizing -<u>ya</u>- in the present tense and if it is an auxiliary predicate. Unstable clauses are those that are incapable of standing as complete self-contained sentences in the environment in which they are found. Instability of clauses is not only a matter of subordination since it may also be involved in co-ordination (cf. later in this chapter as well as in Chapter 2 and also characteristics of the main clause in Chapter 5). In co-ordination some clauses may be unstable e.g.

<u>hámba údle</u> (go and eat)!

<u>uvúka ádle</u> (he wakes up and eats)

Both údle and ádle are unstable subjunctives in the
syntactic environment in which they occur. The short form
present tense of the indicative uvúka is also syntactically
unstable. This means that co-ordination may impose
syntactic constraints on the clauses but this does not mean
that clauses are subordinate. It takes more than syntactic
poise for a clause to be subordinate.

1.4   SEQUENCE OF PREDICATES/RELATIVES

Sequence refers to distribution of items in linear
progression in a sentence structure. Sequence of predicates
would therefore mean the successive placement of predicates
i.e. the linearisation or concatenation of predicates in terms
of space and time in a sentence, cf.

úmfána uvúka áhambé (the boy wakes up and goes)
úmfána úsébénza ejabúle (the boy works while being happy)
úmfána úyásébénza, úyálála, úyádlála (the boy works, sleeps,
and plays

Sometimes the term 'sequence' is stretched to include
'sequence markers' or, as they are usually called, conjunc-
tives. In such a case, it would then be preferable to speak
of continuous (adjacent) or discontinuous (non-adjacent)
sequence of predicates i.e. continuous predicate sequence if
there is no conjunctive or any other word between predicates
(juxtaposition of predicates); discontinuous sequence of

predicates if predicates are separated by a conjunctive or some

other word. Since relatives have a predicative value they

may also be found in sequence (continuous) e.g.

injá ébômvú éntshontshayó ifíle (the dog that is red and

thieving as well is dead)

Both ébômvú and éntshontshayó are relatives that are in

sequence.

We would like to accept C.E. Bazell's statement as cited by

Palmer (1972, p.146) that sequence is a

> pre-grammatical statement ... neutral with regard
> to different grammatical statements and indeed
> basic to ... them.

This implies, that once a sequence has been identified it

can be explained grammatically. This we hope to show with

regard to predicate sequences in Zulu. Sequence of

predicates involves the principle of linking i.e. predicates

are grammatically linked. Linking has the exponents of

modification and cohesion. The linked predicates may be

modified phonologically, morphologically and semantically

e.g.

izingáne zídla zihâmba (the children eat while walking)

ikhehla licúla bahléke (the old man sings and they laugh)

úyákhúlúma kódwa úyásébénza (he talks but he works)

In the first example, zihâmba is phonologically (cf. tonal
pattern) different from the antecedent predicate and this
shows a phonological constraint. The sequential constraint
in the second example has caused the subsequent predicate
bahléke to be morphologically marked as the subjunctive. In
the last example úyásébénza though an indicative like the
preceding predicate, has an additional semantic relation of
being oppositional by virtue of the conjunctive kódwa,
hence a semantic constraint.

'Sequence' may further be compared with 'order'. Since
'sequence' merely refers to a succession of constituents,
'order' grammatically explains such successive constituents
as regards their combination e.g.

ábáfána bahámba bédlâla (boys walk while playing)

is a sequence of the indicative and the participial. 'Order'
will then explain that in such a sequence the participial
follows the indicative. In this regard 'order' is usually
used with reference to a particular kind of combination of
constituents i.e. constituents are distributed in a special
way. Therefore 'order' involves a linguist's construct of
functions or positions of constituents in a structure. On
the other hand, 'sequence' is concerned with substantial
linearisation of units i.e. a string of units.

Modification as an exponent of linking can grammatically account for continuous sequences of predicates through the constructions as explained below.

1.4.1 Paratactic construction

In a paratactic construction each predicate is a stable unit so that it can stand by itself as an independent sentence. In addition each clause can be negated independently of each other. According to Entwistle (no date p.177)

> Parataxis places all sentences on one level and is
> distinguished by its lack of subordinate
> conjunction.

In addition, Entwistle points out that the infinitive and participial forms have developed from paratactic constructions and thus creating 'subordination'. In Zulu this can be illustrated as follows:

(i)   Parataxis: ngizofika; ngizombóna (I will come; I will see him).

(ii)   Participial: ngizofika ngízómbôna (I will come in order to see him)

(iii)   Infinitive: ngizofika úkúzómbóna (I will come in order to see him)

In (i) two indicative tense forms are in sequence by merely

placing them in juxtaposition and therefore forming
parataxis. In (ii) the indicative following upon the first
gives way to the participial thus forming a strong bond
between the two tense forms. In the above context the
participial indicates 'prospective aspect' cf. 1.7.3. In
(iii) the infinite has also a strong bond with the preceding
indicative. From the above examples it is observed that
parataxis is not subordination though it may be the basis for
it.

We have to   regard parataxis as a loose syntactic
association of predicates (or clauses) in a sentence, cf.

niyadlála, anisebénzi, anifúndi (you are playing, you do not
work, you do not read)
ngiyakhulúma, uyahleka (I am speaking, you are laughing)
akadláli, úzomxósha ngempéla (he is not joking, he will
surely sack him)

The predicates in each sentence above are relatively
autonomous clauses in their own right. They are, however,
still parts of larger sentences. Tonal downdrift
establishes the phonological status of paratactic construct-
ions as single sentences. This means that in each predicate
or clause, barring the final one, tonal downdrift is not the
same as it would be if the clause constituted a simple
sentence. In speech this can easily be exemplified by the
register of the voice. Tonal downdrift of paratactic

constructions signals phonological modification. In a paratactic construction, there is a marked pause after each predicate but such a pause is not interpreted as a full-stop.

1.4.2 Consecutive construction

According to Hyman (1971 p. 31) the consecutive construction refers to

> cases of sentential conjunction in which the verb of the second conjunct represents an action that is subsequent in time to the action represented in the verb of the first conjunct.

It must be pointed out that though Hyman may talk of 'conjunction' and 'conjunct', he is actually not referring to the conjunctive as a sequence marker. What he means by 'conjunction' is linking. The term 'conjunct' would then mean a linked construction. Put in a neat way, consecutive construction is one in which the chronological ordering of predicates (or clauses) in a sentence mainly represents the chronological occurrence of events (actions/processes) and states in time. However, to a lesser degree the chronological occurrence of events in time is not necessarily indicated by a special kind of predicate ordering in the consecutive construction (see below). In a consecutive construction the predicate expressing consecutivization is unstable in the context of the sentence in which it occurs. This means that

the consecutive predicate is found in a special sequential

form. In Zulu the sequential forms of the consecutive

predicate are the subjunctive and the narrative tense cf.

úmfána úwa ávuké (the boy falls and gets up)

hámba údle (go and eat)

úmfána úfíke ádle áhambé (the boy first eats and then goes)

úmfána wâwa wávúka (the boy fell and then got up)

Both the subjunctive and the narrative tense are used as

forms expressing a kind of linking.

In the first example above, the sequential predicate ávuké,

which is a subjunctive, succeeds the short tense form of the

indicative. It is, however, grammatically acceptable to

have the subjunctive succeeding the long tense form of the

indicative. In the second example the subjunctive údle

succeeds the imperative. A succession of subjunctives ádle

and áhambé follow upon the auxiliary predicate úfíke in the

third example. In the last example the sequential predicate

is a narrative tense wávúka and it succeeds the past tense of

the indicative wâwa. It should be clearly stated that though

both the subjunctive and the narrative tense are sequential

forms in the consecutive construction they may occur in

syntactic environments in which they are not sequential

forms and in these environments they are stable i.e. they are

able to stand by themselves as independent sentences, cf.

úmfána !wáwa wávúka (the boy is falling and getting up)

úngikhonzéle údlulé (may you give my regards and then pass)

Both !wáwa (which has an opaque grammatically conditioned tone
downstep if the narrative has a present tense meaning, cf. Louw-
personal communication) and úngikhonzéle can form isolate
simple sentences, cf.

úmfána !wáwa (the boy is falling)

úngikhonzéle (may you give my regards)

This goes to show that both !wáwa and úngikhonzéle are used in
the syntactic environment in which they are not sequential
predicates of the consecutive construction though they are
narrative tense and subjunctive respectively. Though we
say that if they are sequential predicates in the consecutive
construction they become unstable, we are not implying that they
are 'subordinate'. The short tense of the indicative is
unstable though it may be the main clause.

A different kind of consecutive notion may be expressed by
the participial. This may be referred to as the alternating
consecutive e.g.

índoda íwa ívûka (the man keeps on falling as he is getting
up.

íngane íkhála íthûla (*the baby keeps on crying as he stops
crying i.e.the baby cries intermittently)

The alternating consecutive is not expressed by 'and then' as
in the ordinary consecutive shown by the subjunctive and the
narrative tense, cf.

índoda íwa ívuké (the man falls and then gets up)
íngane íkhála íthulé (the baby cries and then falls silent)

In other words the alternating consecutive is bound up with
'subordination' whilst the ordinary consecutive is bound up
with 'co-ordination' (cf. 1.6). In this regard we differ from
Doke (1955) who associates the ordinary consecutive with
subordination. It may be noted that the alternating
consecutive gives a frequentative 'aspectual value", cf.
1.7.3.

Earlier on, it was noted that the predicates of a paratactic
construction can be negated independently. This is not the
case with the predicates in a consecutive construction, cf.

úmfána akáwi ávuké (the boy does not fall and get up)

If the first predicate is negated in form, the second one
cannot be carriedout though it is not negative in form. This
relation is also observed in time reference (tense) and
aspect. The time reference and aspect of the sequential
predicate is specified by the first predicate. This means
that the time reference and aspect of the sequential
predicate is implied and not explicit. The fact that the

sequential predicate, though positive in form, has an implied

negative meaning if the first predicate is negative in form,

and that it has an implied time reference of the first

predicate is based on two semantic properties, cf. Hyman

(1971 p. 32), viz

(i)   the consecutive construction requires that the event

        (action/process) of the second predicate be subse-

        quent in time to the event of the first predicate.

(ii)   the second event is accomplished as a result of the

        first.

Though these two semantic properties hold true for most

instances, there are a few instances where it is very

difficult to determine the event of predicate that is

subsequent in time, cf.

íngane íyákhála, ídlalé, ídle, ílalé, njéngézínye (the

child cries, plays, eats and sleeps like all others)

In this example it is not known for certain which event of

the predicate takes place first and which takes place last.

It might then be posited that the chronological order of

predicates in a consecutive construction does not always

represent the chronological occurrence of events in a

one-to-one relationship as has been intimated in our definition

of the consecutive construction above.

1.4.3 Simultaneous construction

The simultaneous construction is one in which the subsequent or succeeding predicate mainly in the participial form or to a lesser degree in the indicative represents simultaneous or concurrent event or state with the preceding one. In the main, the participial follows another predicate and it expresses an event or state simultaneous with one previously mentioned e.g.

úmfána úhámba êdla (the boy walks while eating)

nqiyiboné îdla ínkomó (I saw the cow grazing)

úmmisé ésákhúlûma (may you stop him while he is speaking)

In the first example one and the same subject is involved in the concurrent events i.e. both predicates úhámba and êdla are performed by the same subject úmfána. In the second and third examples the concurrent events or states are carried out by different subjects, cf. in the second example nqiyiboné is performed by the first person while îdla is performed by ínkomó. The participial can follow virtually all forms of verbal predicates in a simultaneous construction. However, when it follows the auxiliary predicate it does not indicate simultaneous event or state, but simultaneous modification e.g.

angifúni úkúmbóna ékhâla (I do not want to see him crying)

hambáni nîdla (go while eating)

mtshêle émîle (tell him while standing)

úzohámba ékhâla (he will go crying)

but

badamáne béhâmba (they keep on going)

úlókhu édlâla (he keeps on playing)

The indicative may at times be used as a subsequent predicate
in a simultaneous construction e.g.

úmfána úhámba úyádlá (the boy walks while eating) or

úmfána úyáhámba úyádlá (the boy is walking while eating)

In both instances úyádlá as an indicative expresses
simultaneous event. Evidently the indicative as a subse-
quent predicate is used only when simultaneous events or
states are performed by the same participant. When the
indicative is used as a subsequent or sequential predicate
it is not interpreted as a virtually autonomous clause. It
has been noted that in paratactic constructions, the
indicative is relatively autonomous but this is not the case
when it expresses simultaneity. This is because the
indicative is not preceded by a pause in a simultaneous
construction. Context determines whether the indicative is
paratactic or simultaneous.

If the simultaneous construction uses the participial as a
sequential predicate, it is noted that such a participial is
unstable as a syntactic unit i.e. it is incapable of
standing alone as an independent sentence. If a kind of

prominence is intended, instead of the participial being used as a sequential predicate, the indicative is used to express the simultaneous event. The auxiliary -ya- helps place emphatic prominence on both indicative predicates. The indicative with the auxiliary -ya- is a stable unit though it is not autonomous. So in a simultaneous construction each predicate may be stable if prominence is intended, cf.

úmfána úyáhámba úyádlá (the boy is walking while eating)

It may be noted that simultaneity may involve a negative predicate in which case it implies that simultaneity is explained in negative-positive terms, cf.

úmfána akahámbi êdla (the boy is not walking while eating)

The simultaneous, like the consecutive, has implied time reference and implied negation. Sometimes the participial may express simultaneity with another participial. This may be referred to as recursion of simultaneity e.g.

ngímbõné éhámba ekhulûma yédwa (I saw him walk while talking to himself)

In the above example ekhulûma is simultaneous with éhámba, while éhámba is simultaneous with ngímbõné. In the end it is found that all three events or actions are simultaneous.

1.4.4 Repetitive construction

The repetitive construction is a kind of focus construction,
cf. Chapter 4. In this construction the sequence involves
the repetition of the same predicate to express focus
prominence. This construction may use the short perfect
followed by the long perfect of the indicative in the
positive e.g.

úmfána úhambé úhámbîle (the boy has gone for good)
íkhehla líkhúlúmé líkhúlúmîle (the old man has spoken once and
for all)

It may also use the indicative followed by the infinitive
e.g.

úmfána úhámba úkúhámba (the boy is actually going)
íkhehla líkhúlúma úkúkhúlúma (the old man is actually
talking)

In the negative the connective na- is often attached to the
infinitive e.g.

úmfána akahámbi nakuhámba (the boy is indeed not going)
íkhehla alikhulúmi nakukhulúma (the old man is indeed not
talking)

The question may be posed as to whether the infinitive in

these instances is used as a predicate or noun. It could be safely said that the infinitive in this use is more predicative than nominal in function because in a way it is co-ordinated with the preceding predicate by a connective -na. Another type of repetitive construction uses the participial and it expresses a protracted event, cf.

úmfána úhléka éhlékîle (he laughs continuously)
íkhehla líkhúlúma líkhúlúmîle (the old man talks continuously)

It is noted therefore that the repetitive construction employs different predicative forms and these may express different semantic properties.

1.4.5 Complementary construction

This construction employs the auxiliary predicate followed by the complementary predicate. The complementary predicate may be the infinitive, the indicative, the participial and the subjunctive. Such a complementary predicate completes the meaning of the auxiliary predicate. The auxiliary predicate is syntactically unstable and requires the support of the complement, cf.

úmfána úcíshé úkúlímála (the boy almost got hurt)
íngane ímáne íyákhála njê (the child is simply crying)
úmúntu úlókhu éhâmba (the person keeps on walking)
íkhehla livéle líhléke (the old man simply laughs)

The auxiliary predicate always precedes its complement, and in this regard the complement indicates a kind of relationship with fixed sequential positions. It must be pointed out that though the auxiliary predicate and the complement are conventionally treated as 'compound predicate' these two manifest a sequence, and they are in this study treated as a sequence of predicates.

1.4.6 Reported speech construction

The reported speech construction is marked by the predicate of saying whose stem -thi may appear in some form. The predicate of saying precedes the reported predicate e.g.

úthi úyáhámba (he says he is going)
báthê bázohámba (they said they would go)
bázothi abafúni (they will say they do not want)

The examples above show indirect reported speech. This is the commonly employed construction in Zulu conversational discourse. Direct reported speech is mainly found in traditional·narratives where the aim is to dramatise the narration. It is also found in written discourse, cf.

úChákíjana wáthi : "uvuthwavuthwé maniní, nezinkótshana zakwénu zíngakáxhaphazêli nje" (and Chakijana said: "when have you ripened since your mealies have not yet boiled")? ngáthi: "wená wákómkhúlu singabáséSwázini, sizóbóna íNkôsi"

(and I said: "you of the great one we belong to Swaziland, we have come to see the King")

1.4.7 Serial construction

A number of writers on West African languages have observed the sequence of predicates called 'serialization'. The accounts of serialization are in many cases anything but explicit. Hyman (1971 p.30) says:

> The term 'serialization' has generally been used to refer to cases where two verbs occur within one sentence, but do not enter into any of the co-ordinate or subordinate relationship defined elsewhere in the language.

It must be pointed out that co-ordination and subordination are realised differently in West African languages than it is the case in European languages. In West African languages co-ordination, for example, may be realised by juxtaposing predicates without the use of any connective. The form of a predicate itself may act as a covert connecting link between the co-ordinate clauses. It might turn out to be the case that serialization is a kind of co-ordination peculiar to some West African languages. Therefore Hyman's definition may be found to be European language-orientated. Moreover, parataxis is sometimes defined in the same way as Hyman defines serialization i.e. parataxis refers to cases where

two verbs occur within one sentence but do not enter into
co-ordinate or subordinate relationship. It appears, there-
fore, that the definition as given by Hyman is somewhat
imprecise and inadequate.

According to Stahlke (1970 p.60) serial verb construction is
defined as follows:

> A common phenomenon in many West African languages
> is the use of a series of verbs, all having the
> same structure subject. In some cases the resultant
> meaning would be expressed in English by a single
> verb ... In other cases the meaning would be
> equivalent to a benefactive or some kind of
> adverbial notion in English ...

In this regard, Welmers (1973 p.367) seems to acquiesce with
Stahlke when he says

> Serialization, in short, seems to involve actions
> that can be associated with each other only if they
> are performed by the same subject.

Accepting the definitions given by Stahlke and Welmers, we
may then ask ourselves whether serialization occurs in Zulu
or not. In Zulu we do come across examples that fit the
definitions given by Stahlke and Welmers. However,
serialization has never received the attention of linguists

dealing with the South African Bantu languages.

In Zulu a series of predicates may be found in a sentence and
such predicates necessarily have the same subject. This is
mainly found with verbs of motion -ya (go to) and -vela
(come from) as well as the comparative verb -dlula/-hlula
(surpass) e.g.

ábántu bayaqíjima báya ékhaya (people are running 'going'
home)

úmamé úyáfika uvéla edolóbheni(mother is arriving 'coming from'
town)

úmfána uqijíma úyángidlúla nqéjubane (the boy runs
'surpassing me' in swiftness)

íntombí íthwéle ámanzi íwása ékhaya (the girl is carrying
water 'taking it' to her home)

úqoqo uthátha ígeja ulibéka phansi (the old woman takes the
hoe "putting" it down)

In all these sentences there is only one structural subject
and there is no possibility of introducing a new subject
with the non-initial predicate. One important semantic
dimension is that the predicates in a serial construction
are far less independent of each other semantically. This
means that the predicates are semantically interdependent in
serialization. We may assume therefore that in Zulu there
is serialization though perhaps not to the extent of the
languages of West Africa. There is some evidence of serial

'co-ordination' as well as serial 'subordination' in Zulu.

1.5 COHESION

Cohesion indicates a bond existing between linked predicates.
Linked predicates cohere in varying degrees. Some predicates
are closely bound while others are loosely bound. For that
reason cohesion may roughly be divided into strong, moderate
and loose or weak categories. In the latter cases linking is
of a very tenuous nature. Such categories are not absolute.
Strong cohesion is characterized by irreversibility of
predicate order, cf. auxiliary predicates and their complements.
Moderate cohesion is mainly achieved through the use of
conjunctives or connectives. Weak cohesion is exemplified
by successive clauses which are relatively independent of
each other. Both moderate and weak cohesion have free word
order, which of course, may differ pragmatically e.g.

úyákhúlúma kódwa úyásébénza (he talks but he works)
úyásébénza kódwa úyákhúlúma (he works but he talks)
akaphúzi, akábhemi, úyádlá njê (he neither drinks nor smokes,
he simply eats)
úyádlá njê, akábhemi, akaphúzi (he simply eats; he neither
smokes nor drinks)

As regards auxiliary predicates and their complements word
order is fixed e.g.

úlókhu éhâmba (he keeps on going)

Though the auxiliary predicate may be separated from its complement by some other word, it cannot appear after its complement cf.

úlókhu úmfána éhâmba (the boy keeps on going)
but not ✗ úmfána éhâmba úlókhu

Cohesive forces may be established in terms of semantic properties, cf.

(a)   Oppositional force (moderate) e.g. úyákhúlúma kódwa úyásébénza (he talks but he works)

(b)   Descriptive-purposive force (moderate) e.g. úyáncókóla úkúze bahléke (he is joking so that they may laugh) úzofika úkúzokubóna (he will come in order to see you)

(c)   Cognate focal force (strong) e.g. úhámbé úhámbíle (he is gone for good)

(d)   Complementary force (strong) e.g. úhlála ékhúlûma (he keeps on talking)

(e)   Concurrent-descriptive force (strong) e.g. úhámba ékhâla (he walks while crying)

(f)   Consecutive force in certain constructions (strong) e.g. uvúka agéze (he wakes up and washes himself)

The cohesive forces as indicated above are not exhaustive. They merely serve as examples. It will be noted that the

'paratactic constructions' i.e. loosely cohering clauses
have more or less zero (very weak) cohesive force. Cohesion
per se is engendered either by conjunctives or by conjugational
forms of predicates as they constitute grouping of co-occurrent
or collocatable clauses.

1.6 CO-ORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION OF PREDICATES OR CLAUSES

In sentences where more than one predicative form occurs, the
linking devices generally known as co-ordination and
subordination are found. These devices may be achieved
either through conjunctives or through juxtaposition. Syn-
tactic factors play a big role in co-ordination and
subordination. On the other hand semantic factors form an
integral part of syntactic structures. This being so, both
syntactic and semantic factors are involved in co-ordination
and subordination. An assumption is therefore made that both
co-ordination and subordination are not mechanical devices.
They are determined by the interplay of differing factors.
Co-ordinate predicative forms are usualy independent
(autonomous) though sometimes they are not. Subordinate
predicative forms may resemble co-ordinate ones. The
distinction in the form of a predicate or 'mood' is not to
be taken as the hall-mark of either co-ordination or
subordination.

1.6.1 Co-ordination

A few definitions of co-ordination will be given so as to
place it in its proper perspective. Doke (1935) says:

> In syntax this term is used of sentences brought
> into equal relationship.

Doke does not specify whether 'equal relationship' refers to
grammatical relationships or to semantic relationship. He
leaves this as an open question. Dik (1968 p. 25)
defines co-ordination as follows:

> A co-ordination is a construction consisting of two
> or more members which are equivalent as to grammati-
> cal function, and bound together at the same level
> of structural hierarchy by means of a linking
> device.

Apparently Dik does not include semantic function in what he
calls 'equivalent grammatical function'. In a language like
Zulu in which predicates or clauses may be combined without
the use of conjunctives the leaving out of a semantic
interpretation in co-ordination, may be misleading, cf.

úṁfána úyáhámba; úyádlá (the boy is walking; he is eating)
úṁfána úyáhámba úyádlá (the boy is walking while he is eating)

In the first example the predicates are paratactically co-ordinated. The pause after the first predicate helps us arrive at this interpretation. In the second example úyádlá is subordinate as it describes the situation in which the subject finds itself. We are also helped by the absence of a pause after the first predicate to arrive at this interpretation. More important than a pause, is the context in which the sentence is uttered that determines whether it is a co-ordinate or subordinate structure. So semantic or contextual relationship is important in co-ordination.

According to Schachter (1977 p.90)

> The constituents of a coördinate construction must belong to the same syntactic category and have the same semantic function.

Schachter's definition is significant in that he is aware of the interplay of syntactic and semantic factors in co-ordination. He also notes on p.95 that

> It is SUPERFICIAL syntactic categories that are relevant to conjoinability.

Schachter mentions this in order to avoid an objection such as: every clause is an independent sentence in 'deep structure'. The point he wants to make is that in the analysis of co-ordination or subordination the starting

point is 'surface structure' and not 'deep structure'. It

is also the concern of this investigation that the different

types of clausal or predicative relationship in a sentence

are obtained from the 'surface structure'. Schachter's view

on co-ordination is accepted only partly in this investigation

because in co-ordination constituents need not always belong

to the same category. Co-ordination, as it applies to this

study, refers to predicates or clauses that have equal or

near equal syntactic and semantic relationship in a sentence.

The definition as given here is general, or rather rough and

ready, and will require an on the spot refinement in

Chapter 2.

A straightforward type of co-ordination uses certain

conjunctives. The semantic effect of such conjunctives may

be oppositional clauses e.g.

úyádlá kódwa akasúthi (he eats but he does not get satisfied)

índoda íyásébénza képha íyágula (the man is working but he

is ill)

úyángihlúpha nokhó ngiyabekezêla (he worries me yet I

persevere)

Other co-ordinating conjunctives are derived from auxiliary

predicates e.g.

ízingáne ziyádlála bése ziyálála (the children play and then

sleep)

úThokó ungiqópha njé hléze úyángithánda (Thoko is calling me
names, maybe she loves me)

umuhlekísa njé ngâhle uyamyénga (you laugh with him, perhaps
you are deceiving him)

With basic or primary conjunctives there may be free choice
of ordering of clauses e.g.

úyádlá kódwa akasúthi (he eats but he does not get satisfied)
akasúthi kódwa úyádlá (he does not get satisfied but he eats)

Such conjunctives cannot precede both clauses. Those derived
from auxiliary predicates may precede more than one clause
e.g.

ngâhle uyamyénga, umuhlékisa njê (perhaps you are deceiving
him but you laugh with him)

Co-ordination explains predicate sequences from grammatical
and semantic angles. It would therefore include the
following constructions: paratactic, consecutive
(subjunctive and narrative tense) repetitive and those in
which certain conjunctives are used e.g.

íngane íyáfúnda; íyádlála; íyádlá (the child reads; he
plays; he eats)

úmfána úvúka áhambé (the boy wakes up and goes)

úbabá úhámbé úhámbíle (father has gone for good)

<u>índoda íyádlá kódwa ayisúthi</u> (the man eats but never gets
satisfied)

In co-ordination the form of the predicate is immaterial;
what matters are the syntactic and semantic relationships that
hold between predicates.

1.6.2 <u>Subordination</u>

A subordinate clause is a predicative construction that is
syntactically and semantically dominated by the 'main' clause
or 'head unit'. Syntactic domination (here used in a different
sense from the one found in generative grammar) in the first
place involves that the main clause is a syntactic superior
over the subordinate one in that the main clause is either
typically obligatory or in a way governs the subordinate
clause. Specifically we use 'main clause' to refer to a
construction with the full-fledged predicate or auxiliary
predicate. The term 'head unit' or simply 'head' is reserved
for a noun or pronoun that is syntactically expanded by the
relative clause. If the main clause consists of an auxiliary
predicate it somehow conditions the subordinate complementary
clause by fixing its position (i.e. the complement always
occurs after the auxiliary predicate) and by requiring a
particular morphological form (in the way of 'moods') of the
complement e.g.

<u>úmúntu úlókhu ékhâla</u> (a person keeps on weeping)

The auxiliary predicate úlókhu requires the participial
ékhâla. However this does not imply that a particular
auxiliary predicate will always require a specific single
'mood'. Therefore subordination in this sense is not of a
one-to-one relationship. Of particular interest is when the
subordinate complementary clause is followed by another
subordinate clause e.g.

úvéle áhambé éngavalelisánga (he simply leaves without
saying good-bye)

In this case éngavalelisánga is not a complementary clause
but is subordinated to the complementary clause.

In the following examples syntactic domination involves
subordinate clauses that are typically optional while the
main clauses are typically obligatory:

úmfána úyásébénza /úkúze ahóle/ (the boy is working so as
to get pay)
úmúntu úhámba /ékhâla/ (the person walks crying)

It might also be said that the conjunctive conditions the form
of the following predicate in not a one-to-one relationship.
See Chapter 3. In Zulu the head of the relative may be
omitted but it is obligatory by virtue of the anaphoric
concord it leaves as a pronominal morpheme or formative e.g.

úmúntu ógul<u>á</u>yo úl<u>é</u>le (a person who is ill is asleep)

ógul<u>á</u>yo úl<u>é</u>le (the one who is ill, is asleep)

Semantic domination is indicated by the subordinate clause 'modifying/describing' or 'qualifying' or 'complementing' the main clause or head unit. Such semantic domination may be achieved either by the use of subordinating conjunctives or by juxtaposition e.g.

<u>nqibóna úkúthi úyáthánda</u> (I realise that he loves)

<u>úmúntu úhámba ékhúlûma</u> (a person walks while talking)

<u>úsúke ahléke</u> (he simply laughs)

<u>úmfána ólusayo úyádlála</u> (a boy who looks after cattle is playing)

In the first examples the subordinate modifying/descriptive clause is introduced by the subordinating conjunctive <u>úkúthi</u> while in the second the participial subordinate clause describes the situation under which the preceding indicative occurs. In the third example the subordinate clause <u>ahléke</u> complements the auxiliary predicate main clause. The relative clause <u>ólusayo</u> qualifies the head unit <u>úmfána</u> in the last example. In cases where the subordinte clause is not introduced by the conjunctive, the distribution of the subordinate clause is often predictable. For instance the participial, in the main, follows the indicative. In a few cases the participial may precede the indicative, cf.

éfíka njê, úyájwayeléka úThémba (having just arrived Themba
adjusts easily)

Clearly the participial receives prominence or focus when it
precedes the indicative.

As stated earlier, (cf. 1.4.2)   the consecutive may explain
a subordinate predicate rather than a co-ordinate one, cf.

úmfána usivála ésívûla ísícabha (* the boy shuts the door just as
he is opening it)
úgogo ugúla ésînda (* grandmother fallsill just as she is
recuperating)
úthishá úbámba éyéka (* the teacher grasps just as he is letting
it go)

In these cases, the participial expresses a kind of consecutive
which we may call 'alternating' consecutivization i.e. the
events involved take place one after another in relays. While
the participial expresses 'alternating' consecutive in the
above examples, it also describes the situation under which
the preceding indicative occurs e.g. in usivála ésívûla the
main event usivála is modified by the semantically opposite
event ésívûla. In other words ésívûla implicitly answers
the question; usivála kánjani? (how does he shut it)?
usivála ésívûla (he shuts it as he in turn opens it). It is
in the nature of delicacy as regards the participial in this
situation that it also expresses simultaneous events. Perhaps

that is why Welmers (1973 p. 367) says:

> In both Igbo and Efik, the consecutive may refer to
> a simultaneous action, and the inevitability of the
> simultaneity is a rather tenuous notion.

In an example like úḿfána usivála ésívûla isícabha, it is
physically impossible to shut and open the door at the same
time. The events must therefore be consecutive. However,
the notion of simultaneity cannot totally be ruled out if the
events are thought of as 'happening together' or 'concurrent'.
The consecutive, like the simultaneous, mainly indicates a
semantic relationship between predicates in sequence. Both
the consecutive and the simultaneous are not under the
trammels of any particular single conjugational form, as we
have tried to show above.

Co-ordination and subordination are sometimes defined in
terms of the distribution of constituents. An endocentric
construction expresses such distribution. Lyons (1968
p. 231-2) defines endocentricity as follows:

> An endocentric construction is one whose distribution
> is identical with that of one or more of its
> constituents; and any construction which is not
> endocentric is exocentric.

Endocentric constructions may be co-ordinative or subordinative.

In a co-ordinative construction the constituents are
'syntactically comparable' cf. Robins (1964 p. 235) or they
have the same distribution.   In subordinative construction
the constituents are not syntactically equivalent i.e. they
do not have the same distribution, cf.

co-ordinative: úmfána úyáhámba képha úyágula (the boy is
                   going but he is ill)
subordinative: úmfána úhámba égúla (the boy goes while
                   being ill)

In Zulu, at least, subordination need not have constituents
that are differently distributed, cf.

úmfána úyádlá úyákhúlúma (the boy eats while he is definitely
talking)

In such contexts úyákhúlúma is subordinate because it, like
the participial, describes úyádlá. This shows that both in
co-ordination and subordination, syntactic evidence must get
semantic support.   Sometimes the construction úmfána úyádlá,
úyákhúlúma may receive another interpretation i.e. it may be
viewed as paratactic in which case there is a pause between
the two clauses.   It will be noted that when the term
'endocentric construction' is used to cover both co-ordination
and subordination of clauses, it is strained because co-
ordination has a place apart from subordination.

1.7 THE PREDICATE

In a simple representational sentence, the predicate may be used by itself to form a one-word sentence. Such a predicate has the subject concord and sometimes it includes the object concord. The subject and object are closely related to the predicate in the sense that they can be represented in the predicate by means of anaphoric concords. Some other secondary forms cannot be represented in the predicate by means of concords and they are therefore not so closely related to the predicate. These are traditionally called 'adverbials'. Since the predicate is the nucleus of the sentence, nominal forms (that are not predicative) which accompany the predicate may be regarded as arguments. Arguments of the predicate may conveniently be divided into nuclear and peripheral types. Nuclear arguments are those having or capable of having their concords in the predicate, viz the subject, object and sometimes the locative.

Peripheral arguments are those nominals, usually inflected, that cannot have their concords in the predicate cf.

Nuclear arguments e.g. /ábâfána/báyázilúsa/izinkômó/ (boys
      do look after cattle)

Peripheral argument e.g. /izingáne zivéla/ésikóleni/ (children
      come from school)

      ábâfána báya/kwáMkhíze/ (boys are
      going to the Mkhize's)

The term predicate is used as a cover-term indicating two major divisions of:

(a) Verbal nucleus i.e. verbs forming the modal core of the sentence.

The verbal nucleus itself is divided into:

(i) Proper verbs i.e. those designating an occurrence in terms of an 'event' (action/process) and 'state' e.g.

índoda/iyáhámba/ (the man is walking)

úbabá/úléle/ (father is asleep)

(ii) Auxiliary 'verbs' i.e. those helping proper verbs in terms of manner of occurrence e.g.

íngane/idamáne/íkhâla (the boy keeps on crying)

íntombí/íhlála/íkhúlûma ngáwe (the girl keeps on talking about you)

(iii) The infinitive may form the verbal nucleus when it collocates with auxiliary verbs as well as certain proper verbs e.g.

úcíshe/úkúlímala/ (he nearly got hurt)

bázofika/úkúzókúbóna/ (they will come in order to see you)

The infinitive may form a nominal nucleus in certain environments e.g.

úthánda úkúhámba (he likes to go)

báfúna úkúza lapha (they want to come here)

It is to be noted that the predicate may refer to a derived form or non-derived form. Most auxiliary verbs are derived from proper verbs whilst many copulatives are derived from nouns.

It is common to classify proper verbs according to the kind of semantic relationship they impose on nouns or pronouns with which they co-occur, cf.action, process and state. The dividing line between 'action' and 'process' is often indeterminate. For instance Chafe, Comrie and Lyons each use the word 'process' with a different semantic content. Chafe (1970 p.100) points out that 'process' indicates a situation 'where the noun is said to have changed its state . or condition'. Comrie (1976 p.13) says:

> processes are dynamic situations viewed in progress,
> from within (imperfectively)

Lyons (1977 p.483) on the other hand puts it as follows:

> If a dynamic situation is extended in time it is a
> process.

In this investigation, for purposes of simplicity the term 'event' will be used to designate both the so called 'action' and 'process' i.e. event indicates a <u>dynamic/happening</u> <u>situation</u>. In most cases 'change' is evident in events; such a change may or may not be willed (cf Comrie 1976 p.49) e.g.

íngane íyaqíjima (the child is running) : change in movement

ílanga likhípha ímísebé émihle (the sun is emitting

beautiful rays) : no change

Further specification of events may be that of 'motion' vs

'non-motion' e.g.

úyáhámba (he is walking) vs úyácábánga (he is thinking)

State indicates an existing situation. Such a situation is

viewed as non-dynamic. The noun or pronoun associated with

this situation finds itself in a particular state.

In Zulu verbs indicating states are often determined formally

by specialized suffixes -ile/-e and -ek/-akal- e.g.

íngane ílámbile (the child is hungry)

úmamé újabúle (mother is happy)

úmntwana úyáthandéka (the child is loveable)

ílanga líyábónákála (the sun is visible)

Although states are in general durative or persistent, they

are defined differently according to the nature of the verb

or its suffix. The suffix -ile/-e is a perfect tense form

that may also be used to indicate the state of being, cf.

stative perfect aspect. When ile/-e is used in a tense it

implies the recent past e.g. úhlékile (he has laughed). When

it indicates the state of being, it combines the past and

present times, cf. Comrie (1976 p, 52):

More generally, the perfect indicates the continuing

present relevance of the past situation.

This can be illustrated by the following examples:

ínyama inónile (meat is fat)

íngane yóndile (the child is thin)

úmamé úthúle (mother is quiet)

It will be noticed that with these verbs the perfect form is

preferred to or is more usual than the non-perfect form

(cf the so-called 'inchoative' stems -nona, -yonda, -thula).

It must be pointed out that some verbs prefer not to use the

suffix -ile/-e though they indicate the same meaning as this

suffix e.g.

úhlezi (he is seated)

úsúthi (he is satisfied)

úmíthi (she is pregnant)

With other verbs the meaning of state is not readily deducible

from -ile/-e. For this reason a distinction may be drawn

between explicit stative perfect and implicit one. An

explicit stative perfect indicates an instance where the

'inchoative verb' uses -ile/-e to indicate a state. According

to Cole (1975 p, 277) 'inchoative verbs' are somewhat

ontologically differentiated from others:

Inchoative verb stems indicate an action which can continue for only a limited period of time before attaining completion of the action, where-upon some type of mental or physical state results.

Sentences like the following illustrate the explicit stative perfect:

íngane ílámbile (the child is hungry)

índoda íléle (the man is asleep)

ínkósíkazi íkhúlúphéle (the woman is fat)

On the other hand an implicit stative perfect does not have an inchoative form. The meaning of state is therefore not as readily deducible as that of the explicit stative perfect. This type of perfect could also be interpreted as recent past e.g.

ábántu báhámbíle (people are gone/have gone)

íngane íhlékíle (the child is in the state of having laughed/ has laughed)

índoda ífúndíle (the man is learned/has learnt)

In the first and second examples the state resulting from a completed action is indicated. The action 'to read' when completed gives way to a state through a process of change.

In the above instances, state is bound up with the form of

the verb i.e. there is a stative form of the verb and non-
stative form of the same verb. On the other hand there are
verbs that have an in-built lexical notion of state without
using any suffixes e.g. -fána (be similar), -godóla (feel
cold). In order to differentiate between the two categories
of verbs connected with state, we shall use 'stative verbs'
to indicate verbs whose meaning of state is bound up with
form (suffixes -ile/-e and -akal-), and 'verbs of state'
will be used for verbs whose meaning of state is not
associated with additional affixes. It will be realised that
when meaning(situational)is associated with 'verbs of state',a
tangle of conflicting speculations relating to semantics may
crop up. With some 'verbs of state', state is somewhat
relatively easily arrived at, e.g.

úmfána úfána noyísé (the boy resembles his father)
úmkhúlu úyágula (the old man is ill)
úgogo úyágodóla (the old woman is feeling cold)

In these sentences the subject nouns find themselves in a
particular state or condition as designated by the verb. It
is observed here that the state of being involves verbs that
are less willed or less controlled, cf. also úgogo úyágodóla
(the old lady is feeling cold). The state is extended in time
or is 'on going'   and change is not immediately observed
unless the state is reversed. With other verbs the position
is unclear as to whether they are states or events, cf.

úmfána únúka izímbali (the boy is smelling flowers i.e. he

inhales sweet smell)

izímbali zinúka kahle (flowers give off a scent)

It would appear that 'únúka' in the first sentence refers to

an event whilst 'zinúka' refers to a state. This indicates

that some verbs can have both uses, viz use involving the

meaning of state and the use of non-state. In order to play

down semantic speculations, it is better to treat únúka and

zinúka as separate lexical items that have redundant

information somewhere in the lexicon; the non-redundant

information being indicated as a ± or — feature, cf. únúka

(-state) zinúka (+state).

In conclusion it is to be mentioned that copulative predicates

are stative in nature. We also feel that the participial

tense form has a hint of state.

Events may further be specified in the way they are

semantically related to arguments/participants:

(i)   Verbs of feeling e.g. úyácábánga (he is thinking)

                              úyábónga (he is giving thanks)

(ii)   Verbs of motion e.g. úyáhámba (he is walking)

                              úyágíjima (he is running)

(iii)   Operative verbs e.g. those in which the agent affects

         the patient e.g. úmfána úsháya ínkomó (the boy is

                     hitting a cow)

<u>ínyoka ílúma ímbûzi</u> (the snake is
biting a goat)

(iv)   Factitive verbs i.e. those in which the agent
produces the patient e.g. <u>úbabá wákha índlu</u> (father
is building a house)
<u>úmúntu úbáza ítáfula</u> (a
person is making a table)

However, not all events are easy to categorize into the above
subclasses.

As regards the simple sentence in which the verbal predicate
occurs, it is realised that it is the pivotal or central
constituent. This often results in the subclassification of
predicates in terms of the number of nouns (arguments)
concerning structural places, the predicate can take. The
one place predicate is one that is used intransitively i.e.
it has only one argument e.g.

<u>amádoda ayálwa</u> (men are fighting)
<u>ízingáne ziyádlála</u> (children are playing)

The two or three place predicates are those that are used
transitively i.e. those having two or three arguments e.g.

<u>ízingáne zidlála íbhóla</u> (children are playing netball/football)
<u>úthishá úníka úmfána íncwadí</u> (the teacher is giving a book
to the boy)

'Transitive' and 'intransitive' are essentially types of syntactic structures. They are not to be measured in terms of somewhat semantic criteria like 'action/process passing over from the subject to the object' or 'state confined to the origo'. Note for instance the semantic differences as regards predicate-object relations in the following sentences:

ínkomó íbíza ímali (a cow costs money)
úmúntu úbíza ínja (a person is calling a dog)

Both sentences are transitive but the objects ímali and ínjá cannot semantically be specified in the same way. The object ímali is a range participant whilst ínjá is a neutral patient. By a range object/participant is meant that the participant cannot be specified as a patient though distributionally it is an object. Such differences in semantic specification in the above examples arise from the assumption that -biza in the two sentences belong to two separate items in the lexicon.

Verbal predicates may also be classified in terms of their morphology. The stem may be taken as the criterion of the division. The simple predicate is one whose stem is simple and has not undergone any inflexion e.g.

úmfána/úsháya/ínkomó (the boy is hitting a cow)
úmamé/úbóna/úbabá (mother sees father)

The complex predicate is one whose stem has undergone inflexion by means of suffixation e.g.

úmfána/úsháyísa/úbabá ínkomó (the boy is helping father hit a cow)

ínqane/íthandéka/kúnóma /ubani (the boy is loveable to anyone)

The compound predicate is one whose stem takes a prefix in the way of an auxiliary. Such an auxiliary is a formative and may be juxtaposed to the stem or it may be separated from the stem by the concord e.g.

úbéhâmba (he has been walking)

séngihâmba (I am now walking)

Another type of a compound occurs when the stem is reduplicated e.g. úmthákathi/úhámbahámba/ébúsúku (the wizard goes a little at night)

This type we may call "reduplication compound predicate'. In reality the compound predicate must be a single word.

Other than events and states, the verbal nucleus may also include manner (i.e. verbs of manner) as indicated by auxiliary verbs/predicates. In the main, auxiliary predicates have the 'proper' verbs/predicates as their complements. In restricted circumstances they may be used without 'full' or 'proper' verbs that act as their complements, cf.

músa úkúhámba (do not go)!

akazánge afíke (he did not come)! vs

músa (don't)!

akazánge (he did not)!

The leaving out of the complement must be taken as 'contextual'
or 'elliptical' cf. sentence types. The auxiliary predicates
are in a sense, 'modifier' predicates though they are
structurally 'heads' with complements as their 'supports'.
They are sometimes referred to as 'closed verbs' because they
are not productive in some respects. They cannot, for
instance, take the object concords and extensions.

It may be argued that the use of the term 'compound predicate'
to refer to a sequence of the auxiliary predicate and its
complement is inappropriate. Properly speaking, a compound
would refer to a single word that is made up of two or more
words through the process of word derivation. Matthews (1974,
p. 172) expresses the same doubt over the use of 'compound'
when he says

> Perhaps 'compound' is not an entirely satisfactory
> term, since in lexical morphology it has already
> been used of forms which are one word by every
> external test ... Moreover, one may often speak of
> one-word compounds in inflectional morphology ...
> Perhaps, therefore, the Greek term periphrastic
> might be less misleading.

As Matthews correctly observes, the so-called 'compound
tenses' are divisible by inserting a word between them. In
Zulu the auxiliary predicate and the complement may be
separated by a noun or some other word e.g.

akazánge úmúntu afíke (the person did not come)
akazánge njě afíke (he did not come, for sure)

This goes to show that the auxiliary predicate and its
complement are cohesive just as any other word group may be.
It is noted therefore that the term 'compound' is
traditionally used rather inconsistently to refer both to
single words as well as to group of words.

When the auxiliary predicates as words in their own right,
are reduced to formatives, we shall refer to them as
auxiliaries. This means that we shall make a distinction
between auxiliary predicates and auxiliaries. Auxiliary
predicates are words whereas auxiliaries are formatives. The
term 'compound' is more appropriate with reference to
auxiliaries that have fused with proper verbs. For instance,
the auxiliary predicate -be may be 'downgraded' into an
auxiliary, cf.

ngizobe ngihâmba (I will be walking) vs
béngihâmba (I have been walking)

The first example is a sequence of an auxiliary predicate

and a complement predicate. The second example is a compound
predicate derived from a sequence of predicates viz
ngibé ngihámba.

(b) The nominal nucleus consists of forms indicating
attributes,location and demonstration.The attributes may indicate
identification e.g. ínkôsi/íngumúntu (the chief is a human
being), description e.g. ínkôsi/inkúlu/ (the chief is
great), association or possession e.g. únencwádí (he has a
book). Location indicates where the subject is located e.g.
úmfána/úsékhaya/ (the boy is at home). Some copulatives are
deictic in nature though distinguished from those of the
demonstrative pronouns, cf.deictic copulatives e.g.

úmúntu/nángu/ (here is the person)
ízingáne/názo/ (there are the children)

Copulatives based on the demonstrative pronouns differ from
the above e.g. íngane/yiléyo/óyífúníle (the child is the very
one you wanted). Unlike the verbal nucleus, they need not
always have the subject concord. So the copulatives may be
divided into

(i)   Concord copulatives e.g. íntombí inkúlu (the girl is
        big)
(ii)   Concord-less copulatives e.g. íngane nánso (there is
        a child)

Copulatives that are without the subject concord cannot form relatives. Copulatives cannot be divided into events and states. They, however, do have the character of states because they are 'existing' rather than 'happening'.

The predicate is the essential minimal core of a clause though in certain cases it may be omitted in the formation of clauses. Predicates can enter into both the lexical morphology and inflectional morphology analyses. As regards lexical morphology, predicates can form new words. The relative clause is derived from the predicate. Inflectional morphology of the predicate concerns the conjugation of the predicate as to mood, tense, aspect and number as well as suffixation of different extensions.

1.7.1 Mood

Most linguists dealing with Bantu languages have not tried to define mood in terms of the languages they are dealing with. Perhaps the reason for this is that the term 'mood' is merely accepted as it is applied in Indo-European languages. Ziervogel (1959 p.142) so far is the only South African linguist who has attempted the definition of mood in a Bantu language:

> The mood indicates the form assumed by the predicative to show how the speaker views the relation between the subject and the predicative. In Bantu, form

plays a very important part in the whole linguistic

set-up, and in the case of mood no less than in

other spheres.

Ziervogel, like many other linguists dealing with languages

other than Bantu, sees mood in the 'form' of the predicate.

In Zulu though form is important in the identification of

mood, it is primarily the semantic distinctions of utterances

that are grammaticalized. For instance, the indicative and

the participial are in many respects similar in form but

differ in their semantic force. The indicative mainly

expresses a statement while the participial (if not conditioned

by the auxiliary or auxiliary predicate) describes another

predicate. On this basis they are often regarded as

different 'moods' by South African linguists, including

Ziervogel himself. It must however be pointed out that the

indicative itself may describe another indicative, cf.

úmfána úhámba ekhâla (the boy walks whilst crying)

úmfána úhámba úyákhála (the boy walks whilst crying)

Because of the similarity of form and semantic force in some

respects between the indicative and participial, they are

not clear-cut separate moods. Clearly the participial is

to be considered as a subclass (or sub-mood) of the indicative.

The main use of the participial is to describe the situation

under which another predicate (event or state) is carried

out. For this reason it is sometimes called the "situative".

The subjunctive is also another problematic area as regards the propriety of the term 'mood'. Originally as it was in the Latin grammar, 'subjunctive' meant 'subordinate' or 'subjoined'. In this regard the term was used only for verb forms that are subordinate. Nowadays it is found that 'subjunctive mood' is used by many linguists dealing with African languages to refer to forms identical to 'subjunctive mood' but which are not subordinate. The label 'mood' in the latter case is unfortunate. In Zulu the form of the subjunctive is sc/oc + radical + -e in the positive. In the negative it is sc + -nga- (+ oc) + radical + -i. The subject concord of class 1 singular is a- in the positive and the negative. Note the following:

úmfána uyagíjima úkúze/á(m̀)fícé/úyisé (the boy is running so that he may catch up with his father)
úmfána úhámba kancane úkúze/ànga(m̀)fici/úyisé (the boy is walking slowly so that he may not catch up with his father)

In the above examples the subjunctive is subordinate and it is here that it may properly be called mood. In other instances it may be found not as a subordinate predicate e.g.

úngikhonzêle kúyéna (may you give my regards to him)
ízingáne ziyádlála,/zifûndé,/zilâlé/ (children play, read and sleep)

The subjunctive may use auxiliaries ma- and a- as prefixal

formatives to form the hortative (command) e.g.

ábáfána mabáhambé (boys must go)

masiqóduke mfána (let us go, boy)

If the hortative is directed to the second person and the
predicate takes the object, only the object concord is
prefixed to the verb stem e.g.

wuhlókoze úmlilo (poke the fire)

musháye ngénduku úmfána (hit the boy with a stick)

Like the imperative, the hortative shifts the plural subject
concord to the back so that it appears as a suffix, cf.

wuhlókozéni úmlilo (poke the fire)

musháyéni ngénduku úmfána (hit the boy with a stick)

The forms like nibóhámba (you will have to go) are sometimes
regarded as 'future tense' of the 'subjunctive mood' by
some linguists, cf.Doke (1961 ed. p.189). It is, however,
more appropriate to refer to such forms as some kinds of
imperatives because they express mild commands. The
narrative tense is also regarded as 'past tense' of the
'subjunctive mood' by Doke and some other linguists. Others
call it a 'mood' in its own right. Jordan (1956 p.424)
calls it a 'commentative mood' while Westphal (1946 p.178)
calls it a 'consecutive mood'. There is some plausibility

in these views. In the first instance the narrative tense
is associated with the past tense of the 'subjunctive mood'
because of its similar distribution with the subjunctive in
continuous predicate sequences e.g.

úmfána uvúka agéze ádle (the boy wakes up, washes himself and
eats)

úmfána wâvûka wágeza wadlá (the boy woke up, washed himself
and ate)

Secondly it is called a 'commentative mood' because it may
be used as a dramatic commentary for the present e.g.

zasébénza ízingáne (there are the children working)
!lásuka íbhanóyi (there is an aeroplane taking off)

Thirdly the term 'consecutive mood' is used because the
narrative tense may be used to express the subsequent event/
state in the consecutive construction. Plausible as these
views may be, they are misleading because they confuse 'mood'
with the use of the narrative tense. In grammatical form
(morphology), the narrative tense is like the past tense of
the indicative. It appears tenable to regard the narrative
as a tense form of the indicative distinguished from the
past tense mainly by difference in length and tone (phonology)
on the subject concord. The foregoing illustrations show that
the term 'mood' should be applied circumspectly, if at all,
as regards the 'subjunctive' and that it is not appropriate

for the narrative.

There is another predicative form which is named differently
by different scholars. Doke (1961 p.194) calls it the
'potential mood' while Cole (1975 ed. p. 268) calls it the
'conditional mood'. Louw (1968 p. 125) calls it the
'potential form'. In Zulu this form consists of sc + -nga-
+ verb stem in the positive. In the negative it consists of
sc + -nge- + radical + negative ending e.g.

angalámba (he can be hungry)
angélámbe (he cannot be hungry)

Of particular importance is that this form may also be
associated with the participial in its distribution and
formation, cf.

úma éngalâmba ngitshêle (if he can be hungry tell me)

The positive form may also indicate 'conditional' meaning
rather than 'ability to act' in which case its tone sequences
may differ:

angalamba avalélise (should he be hungry, let him bid us
good-bye)

Since in its conditional meaning, this form is never
associated with the participial in its distribution, it might

be preferable to call it the conditional 'mood'. However to
call it 'mood' would suggest that the conditional semantic
force is grammaticalized differently from all other
predicative forms in the language. This would not be true
because its form is also similar to that of the 'potential'
in some respects. Louw (1968 p.127) refers to the conditional
use of the potential. We shall simply refer to it as a
conditional, which also shows that it is always subordinate.
The term potential predicate will be used to indicate the
semantic force of 'ability to act/do' irrespective of the
form of the verb and of whether it is subordinate or not, cf.

úm̀fána únókúhámba (the boy can go)

úm̀fána anqahámba (the boy can go)

úma úm̀fána énqahámba nqitshêle (if the boy can go, tell me)

úma úm̀fána énókúhámba nqitshêle (if the boy can go, tell me)

The potential predicate is not limited to one form but can
refer to different forms with the same or related meaning.

In Zulu there is a tense form used only in negative
constructions. In grammatical form it is similar to the
narrative tense but its tonal pattern is that of the
participial e.g.

nqêke sâdla sódwa (we would never eat alone)

asisôzé sáhâmba sódwa (we would never go alone)

Because of the marginal nature of this tense form which is
governed by certain negative auxiliary predicates, it shall
be called participial - narrative tense. The use of the
participial - narrative tense is very limited in its
distribution because it is always governed by certain
auxiliary predicates. These auxiliary predicates may also
govern the subjunctive, with a somewhat different shade of
meaning e.g.

ngêke sídle sódwa (we shall never eat alone)
asisôzé síhambé sódwa (we shall never go alone)

Though the infinitive and the imperative are traditionally
treated as 'moods', they are not clearly marked as such.
This is so because the infinitive is a noun of class 15,
verbal characteristics apart;   the imperative is a kind of
interjective e.g.

úkúhámba (to go)
hámba (go)

In a sense, the imperative is a sentence type which is to be
contrasted with declarative and interrogative sentences. It
can express a kind of future tense by -bo- cf.

hámbáni (you go) vs anibóhámbani (you will have to go).

The future may be contracted to shorter forms, cf.

anibóhámba   —   *anióhámba   —   anóhámba

At times the imperative sentence forms may be pleading and
cajoling e.g.

hámbáni phêla bantabámi (please go my children)

Both the infinitive and imperative are non-finite and cannot
be regarded as tense forms.

In conclusion, we may state that some linguists have sounded
a note of warning against the somewhat indescriminate use of
the term 'mood'. Lyons (1977 p.847) says:

> ... it is important to emphasise that, at the present
> stage of linguistic theory and descriptive practice,
> it is impossible to formulate any very clear notion
> of the distinctions that are grammaticalized, within
> the category of mood, throughout the languages of
> the world. The labels that are used in standard
> descriptions of particular languages are often
> misleading in that they imply that the functions of
> the moods are narrower or more specific than they
> really are.

Welmers (1973 p.344) deals with 'mood' under 'verbal
construction' and avoids the use of 'mood' as he says:

The term "verbal construction" is thus designed to
avoid the confusions and complications inherent in
distinguishing categories such as tense, aspect, and
mode. Such constructions, to be sure, may have
specific reference to time, such as past; others
may have specific reference to mode, such as
conditional. But the forms or constructions of
Niger-Congo languages do not fall into neat sets with
different types of morphological structure.

The predicates in Zulu do not fall into clear-cut semantic
distinctions that have been grammaticalized into sets of
morphological structures called 'moods'. In many instances
a predicative 'form' has different semantic forces as well
as different syntactic uses. When the term 'mood' is applied
to certain predicative forms, it misrepresents the facts of
language. In this investigation we shall content ourselves
with dividing predicative forms into different categories
not labelling them as moods. There are six important
predicative categories in Zulu, viz

(a)   The infinitive e.g. úcíshé/úkúhámba/ (he almost went)

(b)   The imperative e.g./hámba/m̂fána (go, boy)

(c)   The indicative e.g. úm̂fána/úyáhámba/ (the boy is going)

(d)   The participial e.g. ngim̂bóné/éhâmba/ (I saw him going)

(e)   The subjunctive e.g. mgxoshe úkúze/áhambé/ (dismiss him
      so that he may go)

(f)   The conditional e.g. ngizomlándela/angahámbá/ (I will

follow him, should he go)

The potential is not regarded as a separate category because it can be a subclass of the indicative and the participial. It could also be subsumed under the conditional in which case we can distinguish between potential conditional and non-potential conditional.

1.7.2 Tense forms and time

The category of tense is semantically associated with time and morphologically with a form of the predicate. Tense is, in the main, the formal indication of time distinctions or relations often relative to the moment of speaking or writing. This would mean that tense locates the event or state in time according to the form of the predicate. The form of the predicate involves the subject concord and/or auxiliaries to express a particular tense form. In many instances the tense forms are grammatically identified with particular time relations in a one-to-one correspondence i.e. the present tense form is associated with the present time, the past tense form with the past time and the future tense form with a future time. It will, however, be realised that a tense form is not always reserved for a particular time. For instance a present tense form may be used to indicate future time. In instances where time relations are not clear from the formal category of tense, use may be made of certain temporal adjuncts or adverbials, cf.

úyáhámba kúsâsa (he is leaving tomorrow)

úzohámba manje (he will leave now)

It is quite clear that though the formatives -ya- and -za-
are conventionally often recognised as tense markers, this
is not exclusively so according to the Zulu conception of
reality. In the above examples, for instance, -yá-
expresses emphasis whilst -zo- expresses intention.

Time relations may be implied and not directly located by a
tense form, cf.

ábántu bayaphefúmula émhlábeni (human beings breathe on earth)

The statement of this kind implies the past, present and
future times, and this shows that such a statement has time
value and not 'timeless' as often thought. The implication
of time, and not its location, is also observed in the
participial and the subjunctive. Such implication of time
is called by Comrie (1976 p.2) 'relative' time reference
whilst the location of time he calls 'absolute' time reference.
He therefore divides his tenses into: relative and absolute
tenses. For the purposes of clarity of explanation, tense
as having to do with the time concept will be divided into
two sub-categories in terms of deixis (cf. Lyons 1977 p.677):

(a) deictic sub-category: this sub-category contains
reference to the delimitation or location of time and points

to a period or point of time as revealed by the connotations
of 'now', 'yesterday', 'tomorrow' etc. e.g.

ízingáne ziyábhala (children are writing)

ízingáne zâbhala (children wrote)

ízingáne zízobhála (children will write)

(b) non-deictic sub-category: this entails no reference to
some point of time and therefore has no time location though
something about passage of time is implied. This sub-
category of tense is non-specific since time indication is
circumstantial as observed in tense forms associated with
simultaneous or consecutive predicates e.g.

úhámba/ephumúla (he walks resting)

wâhâmba/ephumúla/(he walked resting)

uvúka/agéze/ (he wakes up and bathes)

úzovúka/agéze/ (he will wake up and bathe)

In Zulu the tense form in the positive is determined by the
subject concord which may or may not be accompanied by the
object concord and the auxiliary formative. In the remote
positive past where the auxiliary formative (-áa-) is used in
addition to the subject concord the elision of the vowel of
the subject concord takes place e.g.

zi- + -áa- + -hámba - zâhâmba (they walk/went)

It is to be noted that the tense form may be used with other semantic specifications than those indicating time. Givón (1975) and Van Eeden (1956) observed that the auxiliary -ya- of the long present tense in Zulu can indicate emphasis exerted on that particular predicate in which it is found. It has been observed that also the auxiliary -be- and the subject concord that is preceded by another subject concord can be used to indicate emphasis on that particular predicate e.g. zi- + -be +-zihámba - bézihâmba (they were walking) which though indicating recent past is also assertive as to the occurrence of the action (it will be noticed that in the form bêzihâmba, the initial subject concord has been elided according to the economical nature of the language). The remote past can also indicate emphasis by the repetition of the subject concord e.g.

zi- + -a-(be) + -zihámba - zâzihâmba (they had been walking) which is the long form of the past tense asserting the occurrence of the action/process in the past. Clearly the subject concord can also be used to indicate anaphoric agreement e.g.

ízingáne ziyáhámba (the children are walking)

and non-anaphoric agreement e.g.

kúhámba ízingáne (children are walking)

The concord indicating agreement is pronominal in character whereas the one indicating non-anaphoric agreement is merely a prefixal verbal stabilizer (vide Chapter 4 and 5).

It appears to be the case that the present and future times have no exclusive tense markers, while the past has. The -za-/-ya- occurring with the infinitive may indicate the present but not always. The -â- i.e. (-áa-) indicates the past. Paulos (1975) calls tense auxiliaries 'tense prefixes' and then divides them neatly into pre-concordial prefixes e.g. -a- in azihámbi (they are not going) and postconcordial prefixes e.g. -a- and -ya- in z(i) âhâmba (they went) ziyahámba (they are going). In Zulu the recent past can be expressed by employing the aspectual marker -ile/-e. The suffix ile/-ê indicates aspect as well as tense, cf. 1.7. When it indicates aspect it means the beginning of the present state or the state that started in the past and is completed or persisting in the present e.g.

séngiqedíle (I have finished)
úfúndíle (he is learned)

This use of aspectual perfect is in this study referred to as stative perfect. When the suffix -ile/-e is used to indicate recent past, it will be called perfect tense e.g. úmsháyíle (he has hit him).

In the negative the tense form uses the subject concord

which can either be preceded or followed by the negative
formative (marker) i.e. a- or -nga- respectively. Such a
negative marker is often accompanied by the ending -i or
-anga e.g.

ábántu abahámbi (people do not walk/are not walking)
ábántu abángahâmbi (people must not walk)
úfúna ábántu bángahâmbi (he wants people not to walk)
ábántu abahambánga (people did not walk/have not walked)
ábántu abázúkúhámba (people will not walk)

In the last example the negative is not marked by the
negative ending and this is also a compound tense. The
dependent tense-forms normally do not take the negative
formative before the subject concord, cf. úfúna bángahâmbi
(he wants them not to walk)
úbábónê béngahâmbi (he saw them not walking)

Sometimes the auxiliary predicates are used instead of
auxiliary formatives. The subjunctive is normally used as a
complement of these auxiliary predicates e.g.

ngêke báhambé (they will never walk)
ngêké zídle (they will never eat)

It is a common occurrence to find the auxiliary predicate
used together with the auxiliary formative e.g.

angêké báhambé (they will not walk)

abazánge báhambé (they did not walk)

The above examples show that the tense-forms of the
negative predicates are a little more complicated than those
of positive predicates. The auxiliary predicates as distinct
from 'formative' auxiliaries are used in the formation of
predicate sequences.

They modify semantically the simple tense forms e.g.

úmáne ákhalé (he simply weeps)

úlókhu âhâmba (he has left ever since)

The form ákhalé is the subjunctive whilst âhâmba is the
participial.

The division of tense into deictic and non-deictic categories
is important in that it clarifies our statement on the uses
of tense. Other than location and implication of time,
predicative forms may have the following uses:

(i)   to link predicates, cf. the participial and the
        subjunctive e.g.
        úhâmba ekhâla (he walks crying)
        uvúka agéze (he wakes up and washes/bathes)

(ii)   to ask questions, cf. the tense form of the
        subjunctive e.g.

ngihâmbê (must I go)?

(iii)   to give reported speech, cf. the subjunctive which

normally follows the verb of saying e.g.

úthê sídle (he said that we have to eat)

(iv)   to narrate, cf. narrative tense form e.g.

sâvûka sáhámba sábúya (we woke up, went and came

back)

It must also be pointed out that concerning tense use, there

is a possibility of replacing one tense form by another.

Replacement or substitution is a syntactic property which

may also help indicate which predicate or nominal forms have

actually predicative function.

1.7.3   Aspect

The term 'aspect' is often used differently by different

linguists. The term was first specifically used for Slavonic

languages where there is a clear-cut differentiation between

'imperfective' and 'perfective' aspects. The definition and

understanding of aspect has since changed because nowadays,

it is no longer limited to Slavonic languages, cf.Ziervogel

(in van der Merve,H.J.M. et al- symposium -1958), Comrie

(1976), Van Rooyen (1977) and Lyons (1968). Comrie

distinguishes aspect from tense on the basis of 'situation-

internal time' (aspect) and 'situation-external time' (tense).

This implies that aspect is connected with temporal phases

of the event/state rather than location of time. In this

study, the term 'aspect' will be used to indicate temporal

oppositions other than those of tense that are grammaticalized

in the predicate. While tense usually indicates time in

terms of the present, the past and the future, aspect

indicates the quantity of time in terms of the inception,

duration and completion of the event or state. It is to be

pointed out that aspect is not always grammaticalized, and

the term 'aktionsart' is often used for such a state of

affairs. We shall use the term 'aspectual value' for

aspect that is not grammaticalized.

Some scholars of South African Bantu languages have

accomodated aspect in their grammatical treatises though

they differ in the way they look at aspect. Doke (1957, p.

187) has three aspects i.e. the definite, the continuous and

the perfect. Ziervogel (1959, p.146) has four: the simple,

the continuous, the stative and the progressive. Van

Rooyen (1977) has extended aspect to include, inter alia,

the perfect-punctual, the inceptive-exclusive, the

imperfective and the progressive. In this study aspect will

be posited as a constrastive feature and the grammaticalized

aspects that we have establishes in Zulu are:

(i)   the progressive vs non-progressive

(ii)   the stative perfect vs non-stative perfect

(iii)   the imperfective vs non-imperfective

(iv)   the inceptive vs non-inceptive

(v)   the continuous vs non-continuous

(vi)   the prospective vs non-prospective

It will be observed that the oppositions can be explained in terms of marked vs unmarked forms for aspects.

The marked is grammaticalized, cf. the stative perfect -ile/-e, the progressive -sa-, the inceptive -se-, the continuous -ya-, the imperfective -be- and the prospective -zo-/-yo-. Some of these formatives can be used for the indication of tense as well. As has been noted if aspect is not grammaticalized it is referred to as aspectual value. It would appear that context has a role to play in the interpretation of aspect, cf. Louw (1963, p.164):

> In die meeste gevalle word aspek in Ngunitale slegs
> toevallig deur die kontekstuele gebruik van 'n tydvorm,
> vgl. die statiewe perfektum, en die samestelling van
> 'n hulp-predikatief en 'n komplement aangedui ...

The auxiliary predicate may have aspectual value in so far as inception (cf.-máne, -vele, -fáne) and duration (cf.-de, -damáne, -jínge, -lókhu etc) are concerned. The 'all-of-a-sudden inception' and 'habitual duration' are evidenced in auxiliary predicates, cf.

wâsuke wakhala (all of a sudden he wept)
úlókhu éngibúza (he keeps on asking me)

The habitual aspectual value is also observed in the short

form of the basic tense of the indicative mood, cf.

úsébénza éGóli (he works in Johannesburg)

úthánda úkúdlála (he is fond of playing)

It does happen that a single formative acts, as a marker for

more than one aspect, cf.-sa-:

progressive aspect: úsáhámba (he is still going)

prospective aspect: úsáhámba (he is to leave soon)

                     ngisákúhlúpha (I am to worry you)

Prospective aspect indicates the state of being about to

start i.e. limited duration between the time of speaking and

the start of action. It may also indicate a state of

anticipation or intention as occurring with -zo- and and

-yo- in the participial tense form e.g.

sâfîka sízómbóna (we came intending to see him)

sámbôna éyómhlálisa (we saw him intending to stay along with

him)

The term prospective is taken from Comrie (1976 p.64-5.) The

use of -zo-and -yo- in the prospective aspects shows that

certain formatives may mark both tense and aspect.

There is a reason to believe that the aspectual value that

may be attached to concords in such examples as sásíhâmba
(continuous aspectual value) accrues from the fact that the
auxiliary -be- which is a marker for imperfective aspect
has been deleted, cf.

sí-a-bé-síhâmba (elision of a vowel taking place)
sá-bé-síhâmba (elision of an auxiliary taking place)
sá-síhâmba

In the last instance two subject concords apparently in
succession are a result of the deletion of the auxiliary.
In certain instances it is the concord that is elided, cf.

sí-bé-síhâmba
bésíhâmba

The imperfective marker -be- can also be used together with
the auxiliaries indicating intention or the future -zo- and
-yo-; e.g.

úbézohámba (he would have gone)
úbéyóhámba (he would have gone)

The aspectual marker may here be left out and still leaves
its value or implication e.g.

zâ(be)zízohámba

sometimes -be- has its variant as -ye-, cf.

wábézohâmba/wáyézohâmba (he would have gone)

1.8 THE RELATIVE

There are two subclasses of the relative, viz the verb-based
relative and the copulative-based relative. The verb based
relative has a verb stem which is converted into a relative
stem by derivation. The derivation involves the demonstrative
la- added to the subject concord of the indicative, cf. also
van Eeden (1956 p. 151) in connection with the formation of
the adjective. In Zulu and Xhosa the demonstrative la-
has lost the l element though in Swazi and Tsonga the l is
still retained cf.

Zulu: úmúntu óhámbayó (a person who is going)
Swazi: úmúntfu lóhámbakó (a person who is going)
Tsonga: munhu ló áfámbaká (a person who is going)

Clearly the relative a- in Zulu is a remnant of the
demonstrative element which is still extant in some South
African Bantu languages. The formation of the verb-based
relative is therefore set out as follows:

(1)a + subject concord + verb stem indicative (+-yo) e.g.
la + úhámba (+-yo) > óhámbayó

The suffix -yo is bound up with syntactic conditions: if the relative has no object or any other form of adjunct, it takes -yo as a stabilizer so that it can end the clause.

There is no need for this -yo when the relative has an object or adjunct, cf.

úmúntu óhámbayó ngímbóníle (a person who is going has been seen by me)

úmúntu óhámba yédwa ngímbóníle (a person who is going by himself has been seen by me)

The copulative-based relative is also derived in the same manner as the verb-based relative. The relative a- (remnant of the demonstrative la-) combines with the subject concord of the copulative. The vowel of the subject concord conditions the relative a- according to different noun classes, cf.

imízi émhlóphe:(l)a + ímhlóphe (the houses that are white)
ízingane ézilápha:(l)a + zílapha (the children that are here)

It may also be posited that in Zulu the 'adjective' as identified by Doke is a relativized copulative from nominal stems. Louw (personal communication) is, however, of the opinion that the 'adjective' is distinct from the relative and has concords similar to real prefixes of nouns. Though the relative has a clausal status its structural distribution is that of a nominal.

1.9 PARTICIPANTS OF THE PREDICATE (OR ARGUMENTS OF THE PREDICATE)

The relationship between the predicate and its participants may be expressed in two ways:

(i)   syntactic simplicity and complexity

(ii)   participants roles

Concerning syntactic simplicity and complexity, it must be pointed out that in a Zulu sentence there is a tendency to avoid the repetition of the noun and a tendency to repeat the predicate. The avoidance of the repetition of nouns may be looked upon as syntactic simplicity. The obvious way of avoiding the repetition of nouns is to use their concords; in this way concords are pronominal e.g. úmúntu úyáhámba (a person is walking) can be simplified by leaving out úmúntu as in úyáhámba (he is walking). This shows that the concord ú- stands for the noun that ought to have been repeated in the predicate. In syntactic complexity, it is observed that the same predicate may be repeated in a sentence e.g.

úmuntu úhambé úhámbíle (the person has gone for good)

úmuntu úcúla, acúle, acúle áhambé (the person sings and leaves)

úmfána wâfûnda wafúnda wafúnda wózela (the boy read and read and became sleepy)

It must be observed that the predicate is repeated though the participant is not repeated.

Though this study is mainly concerned with inter-clausal connections, the participants' roles (which have to do with inner structure of clauses) are to be briefly explained. In his revised theory of cases, Fillmore (1977 p. 61 Cole and Sadock eds.)points out that cases assign semantic – syntactic roles to particular participants in the sentence, and further says:

> This assignment determines or constrains the
> assignment of a PERSPECTIVE on the situation by
> means of what I have called SUBJECT SELECTION
> PRINCIPLES and the CASE HIERARCHY.

From this quotation, it stands out that Fillmore tacitly associates the ordering of nouns/pronouns with case functions i.e. his cases are near the surface. Jackendoff (1972) calls these cases 'thematic relations' and makes a provision that a participant may have more than one 'thematic relation'. Jackendoff, however, does not define 'theme' satisfactorily in that a language obviously has more verb types than the types of 'motion' and 'location'. He also associates the increase or otherwise of thematic relations a particular noun may have with predicate valence. In this study it appears proper to use the phrase 'liaison semantic features' with the understanding that a number of features can be mapped

onto a specific noun or pronoun according to the general

(primitive) and particular (additional) features and also

according to the interpretation that may be attached to the

observed <u>overt forms</u> (surface syntax) in a sentence. This

would mean, for instance, that causation is a general

feature whereas agentive and instrumental are particular

features. To this can be added a less general term than

causation, and that is the assistive. For the definition of

assistive cf. Louw (1971 p.7). There is a hierarchy of

liaison semantic features based on the interpretation that

one attaches to the constituents of a sentence. For instance

the relational feature 'agentive" may be interpreted as not

only involving the categorial notion of 'human' but also

'non-human' and 'inanimate' concepts.

Causation may be posited as a primary feature i.e. causation

vs non-causation. Under causation there are related secondary

features like assistive, agentive, instrumental, comitative

and source. On the non-causation side there are related

features like patient, factive, locative, directive, goal,

conceptive and affective (some of these terms we owe to

Louw (1971). The point that has to be brought forward is

that there is no feature that is inherently attributable to

a particular participant because this would involve

ontological problems. The features are arrived at according

to the relational functions of participants.

It is well to point out that 'liaison semantic features'

express the semantic contents of nouns (primary and secondary) and verbs. In this regard liaison semantic features are concerned with distributional semantic structure as obtaining from the 'surface syntax'. The overt syntactic structure which contains tone as well as intonation, is the source for the liaison semantic feature as well as any other semantic information of the sentence. Focus, for instance, which is a semantic property, has as its source word order as well as certain formatives (cf.-ya-, -be-). The meaning of a sentence as a whole is dependent upon the overt syntactic relations like 'subject', 'object', 'adjunct' and 'predicate' as well as lexical items of the sentence.

At this stage a provisional classification of semantic features can be made. The semantic features are classifiable into syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. The liaison semantic features fall into syntagmatic relations. The paradigmatic relations consist of features that are mapped on the LSFs and in that way they modify these LSFs. For this reason we shall use Bierwisch's term 'delimiting', cf. Bierwisch (1970 p.31). They shall be called delimiting semantic features. Both types of features i.e. liaison and delimiting ones are bound up with syntactic as well as grammatical manifestation. This would mean that the overt or surface structure has a semantic structure that can be assigned to it. This Chomsky has affirmed in his later ideas, cf. Chomsky (1976). In effect the sentence (overt syntactic form) is meant to provide meaning i.e. the overt

forms (words) are lexemes i.e. words as lexical items and these lexemes are connected meaningfully (syntagmas). The meaning of the sentence is then linked with the individual interpretation. In linguistics we need not include the pre-utterance stage as constituting meaning of the sentence. The following diagram is an attempt to show in a simple way how the semantic structure ties in with syntactic structure. The diagram serves only as an illustration of how surface syntax is bound up with semantic structure. It does not necessarily include all the semantic information that may be attached to overt syntactic constituents. For a fuller summary of semantic information of a sentence, vide pp. 4-5.

Syntactic Structure

N   V

LSFs

DSFs   Causation   non-causation

assistive   patient

agentive   factive

instrumental   locative

comitative   directive

source   conceptive

goal

affective

Specifying   Quantifying

human vs non-human   general vs individual

animate vs inanimate generic vs particular

Semantic structure

Semantic structure

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Key to the diagram

N   =   nouns

V   =   verbs

LSFs   =   liaison semantic features

DSFs   =   delimiting semantic features

NB

1.   The nouns are attached to verbs syntactically i.e. nouns
     and verbs co-occur and the major syntactic device used
     for this co-occurrence is the concords. From the
     structural point of view, nouns and verbs are inter-
     dependent in the regular or well-formed sentence.

2.   As the nouns co-occur with the verbs they are made
     semantically dependent on the verbs because the verbs
     determine the liaison semantic features. The verb is a
     semantic nucleus which channels the tenor of its
     arguments. Liaison semantic features group themselves
     into causation primitives. Secondary semantic features
     can sort themselves out according to these two major
     groups. The primary and secondary liaison semantic
     features fall within the horizontal or syntagmatic
     relations between nouns and verbs.

3.   The horizontal semantic relations have other limiting
     features in respect of nouns. These features fall
     within the vertical or paradigmatic relations and they
     are called delimiting semantic features (DSFs). The

DSFs themselves into two major groups i.e. specifying and quantifying which are further sub-divided into minor features.

4. The bracketings show that the surface syntactic structure provides us with the semantic structure i.e. sentence semantic structure.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 CO-ORDINATION OF CLAUSES

Co-ordination of clauses is in effect co-ordination of
predicates. Predicate sequences (continuous or discontinuous)
may express themselves in co-ordinate structures. Since
co-ordination is a type of linking, it has syntactic
constraints. Sometimes it becomes more difficult to explain
co-ordination when predicates are repeated in a sentence.
In such cases, the predicates are co-ordinated structurally
but lexically they form a unit. Co-ordination of clauses
will, for convenience, be divided into the following types:

(i)   Structural types of co-ordination (i.e. types
        according to syntactic/semantic relations between
        clauses)

(ii)   Lexemic types of co-ordination (i.e. types according
        to relations between events/states indicated by
        predicates as lexemes)

Since transformational analysis has had a tremendous influence
in shaping the treatment of co-ordination, it will be just
and proper first to look into the transformational treatment
of co-ordination.

2.2 CO-ORDINATION IN TERMS OF TRANSFORMATION

Most linguists have explained the structure of co-ordination within the framework of transformational model. It will be realised that European languages have received a considerable amount of attention in this kind of structural analysis. It has been found necessary, in order to put our assumptions into perspective, to give a brief review of the analysis of co-ordination in terms of transformational model though we follow an alternative method that is text or discourse based. One of the corner-stone principles in transformational operations is cyclicity. Without the formalisation of this principle, it states that rules apply cyclically and never apply wholly within a domain cycled on previously, cf. Pullum (1979 p. 109). This would mean that any rule that changes the structure of a clause is cyclic. The rules that change the pre-established clause structure are deletion (Equi), permutation (change of word order/inversion) insertion (extraposition) and substitution (replacement). Scholars have made a typology of cyclicity as follows: precyclic, cyclic and postcyclic rules. Precyclic rules have never been clearly expounded but they appear to be structure sensitive and not to effect any change in the input structure. Postcyclic rules operate after cyclic ones have taken place, cf. movement rules and rules that apply to co-ordinate structure e.g. Gapping and co-ordinate reduction rules. In recent years a number of versions of transformational model have developed, cf. Relational

·Grammar, Trace theory, Enriched Extended theory etc. It

falls beyond the scope of this investigation to give attention

to these versions.

The representation of a co-ordinate structure in terms of

transformational analysis would be like this:

Fig. 1
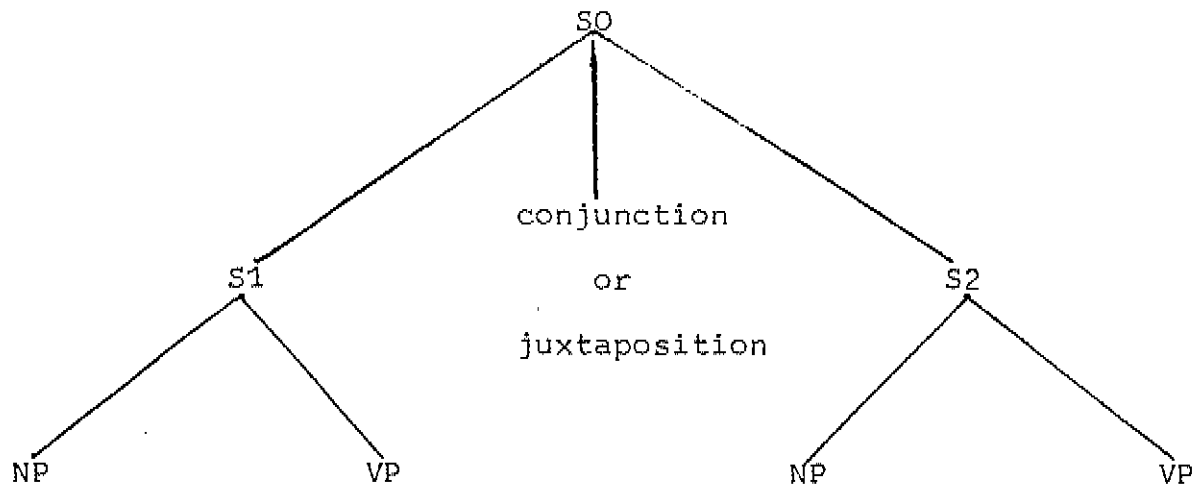
A co-ordinate or double sentence would then be mapped on this

kind of tree diagram. This means that S1 and S2 are sort of

sisters rooted in SO. A very straightfoward kind of

co-ordinate sentence in Zulu can be mapped onto a diagram

without any transformation, cf.

úmfána úyáhámba kanti íntómbazâne íhlezi (the boy is walking

but the girl is sitting)

Fig. 2

```
                             SO
                            /|\
                           / | \
                          /  |  \
                         /conjunction\
                        /    |    \
                       /   kanti    \
                      /             \
                    S1               S2
                   / \              / \
                  /   \            /   \
                NP     VP        NP     VP
                |      |         |      |
                |      |         |      |
                N      V         N      V
                |      |         |      |
                |      |         |      |
             úmfána  úyáhámba  íntómbazâne  íhlezi
```
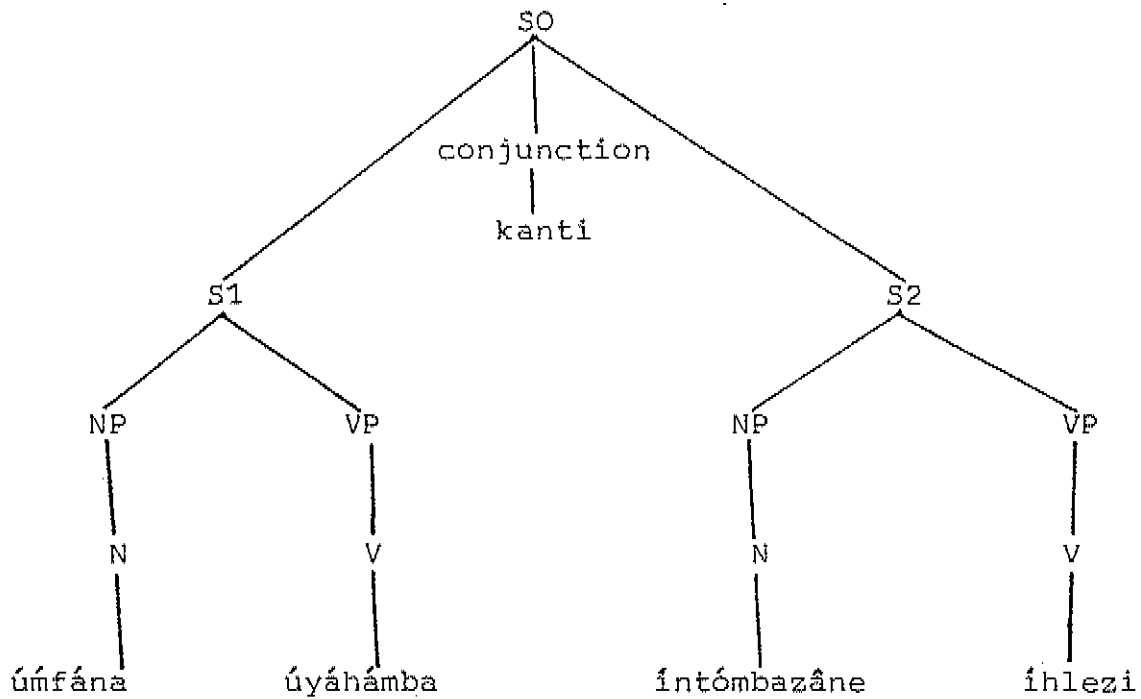
A less straightforward kind of co-ordination in Zulu may be shown by the two following sentences:

úmfána nentómbazâne báyáhámba (the boy and the girl are walking)

úmfána úvúka áhambé (the boy wakes up and goes)

Fig.3
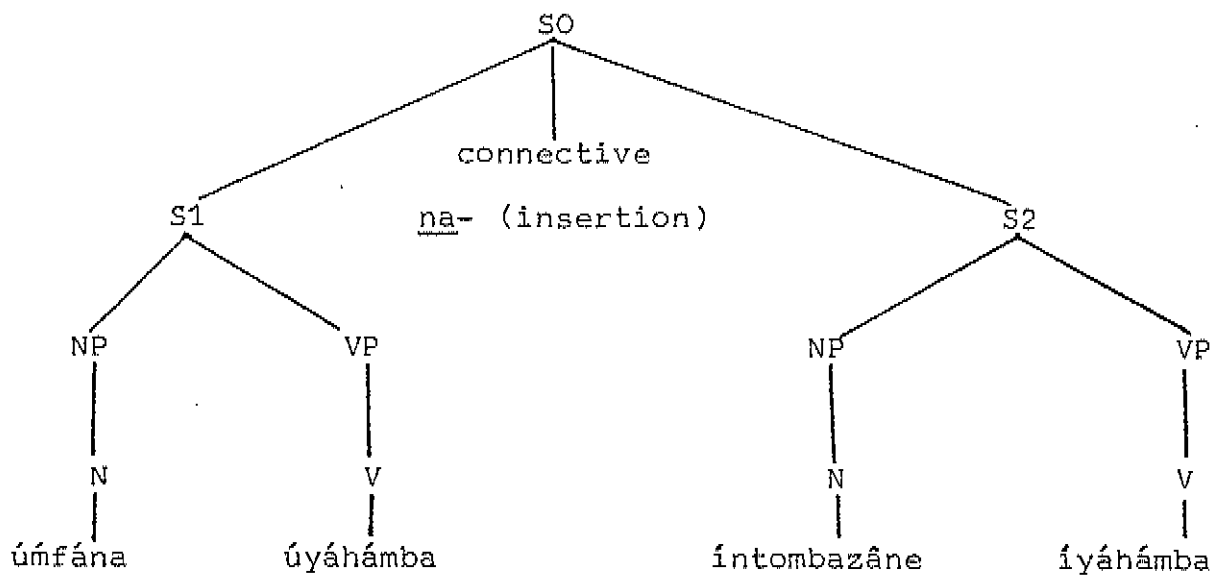
Fig. 4
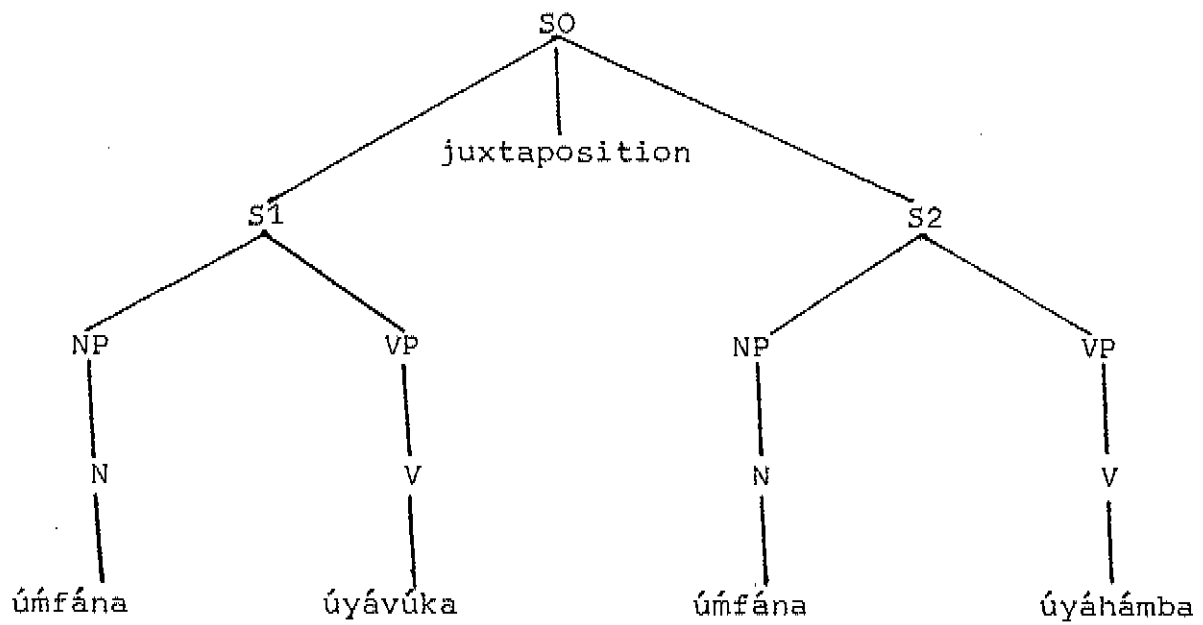
The tree diagrams in Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 show that transformation rules have taken place. In Fig. 3 the insertion of a connective na- to conjoin the nouns úḿfána and íntombazâne has been invoked. This insertion has necessitated the deletion of one VP because of identity principle. In these transformations re-grouping of constituents is involved i.e. the nouns have been re-grouped by conjoining. In Fig. 4 juxtaposition has necessitated certain transformations. First one NP has been deleted on identity principle. Second VP úyáhámba has been replaced by the VP áhambé. The VP áhambé shows that the sentence is now a conjunct. The VP úyávúka has been replaced by úvúka which also goes to show that it is a conjunct. So in these transformations there are the following rules: insertion, deletion, conjoining and substitution.

In a number of writings, Ross is often cited as the one who initiated transformational rules on co-ordinate structures. There are two rules that are often associated with Ross, viz Gapping and Conjunction Reduction. Gapping is said to be a rule that 'reduces co-ordination sentences simply by deleting identical occurrence of verbs'. On the other hand Conjunction Reduction rule not only deletes verbs but any grammatical item with a resultant regrouping of constituents. In the examples given above, Fig. 3 would invoke Conjunction Reduction rule while Fig. 4 would invoke Gapping rule. Since then some scholars have refuted the dichotomy of these rules. Koutsoudas (1971) for example makes a compelling

plea that these two rules should be collapsed into one single rule. The main motivation for his plea is that both rules delete identical items and they both reduce co-ordinations. Koutsoudas (1971 p.347) then gives the Co-ordinate Deletion rule as an alternative to these two rules in the following way:

> Given a coordination in which each conjunct includes a constituent which is identical to the corresponding constituent of each other conjunct, all but one of these identical constituents may be deleted, the undeleted constituent being that of the first conjunct if it is a left-branching constituent, and that of the last conjunct if it is a right-branching constituent.

It appears that even a rule such as that postulated by Koutsoudas is inadequate among transformationalists. For instance, Pullum (1979, p.347) says:

> A truly last-cyclic rule, then, would either be of a type that could apply to a coordinate structure (Gapping, Coordination Reduction etc.) but would only apply to an unembedded coordinate structure, or be of a type that could apply within a simplex S but would only apply if the simplex S were neither embedded nor coordinated. I am not aware of any evidence that even hints at such a thing. All

alleged last-cyclic rules that apply in simplex

clauses can apply in a clause linked to a succeeding

clause by _and_, as far as I know.

Pullum expresses some misgivings about relating co-ordinate

structure to post/last-cyclic rules because after all these

rules apply to simple clauses that are assumed to be

isolated before they are co-ordinated. In the end Pullum

makes an appeal to 'root transformations'. He then motivates

them by a somewhat pragmatically based explanation that the

two root transformations that apply in the derivation of a

co-ordinate structure, "apply not on the last, coordinate

cycle but on the two parallel penultimate cycles'. Obviously

according to Pullum, co-ordinate structure rules are not

post/last-cyclic; they are penultimate. All this shows

that the explanation of co-ordination in terms of the

transformational paradigm has been technically defended but

has never been adequate.

2.3 STRUCTURAL TYPES OF CO-ORDINATION

Structural co-ordination looks at clauses as structures and

how these structures are linked. Clauses as structures are

not always homogeneous. This is already known from sentence

structural types, viz the representational (marked by the

subject concord) and the non-representational (marked by the

absence of the subject concord) types cf. 1.2.1. Essentially

the linking of clauses means the linking of predicates. It

is therefore necessary to look at the form of predicates that
are linked.   There are two basic principles involved in
linking clause structures in co-ordination:

1.   Conjoining

2.   Juxtapositioning

2.3.1 Conjoining Co-ordination

This co-ordination refers to co-ordination of predicates
through conjunctives. This may involve the co-ordination of
relatives mainly by the use of the connective na-;   relatives
being nominalisation of predicates. But these will be dealt
with separately in 2.3.3. Predicates that are co-ordinated
by conjunctives constitute double/multiple sentences. It
will be noted that though connectives have no referential
meaning of their own, they have semantic effect in sentences.
It is on these grounds that sometimes a distinction is made
between co-ordinating connectives and subordinating ones.
In most cases the connectives linking predicates are not
used in linking nominals. Connectives as sequence markers
may be distinguished on the basis of whether they link
nominals (cf. na-) or predicates.

Co-ordinating conjunctives may either link simple clauses or
complex clauses. Such conjunctives have the following
semantic effects as regards simple predicates:

(i)   Adversative or oppositional:

úmfána úyádlá képha akasúthi (the boy eats yet he
does not get satisfied)

ísálúkázi síyásébénza kódwa síyáqula (the old woman
is working but she is ill)

(ii)   Additive or combinatory:

íntombí ínhle fúthi íkhúthéle (the girl is beautiful
moreover she is diligent)

ízinkômó ziyádlá kúqâla bése ziyáséngwa (the cows
first graze and thereafter they are milked)

shayéla bése úqóqa izítsha (sweep and then collect
dishes)

(iii)   Alternative:

uyayithánda ínyama nóma awuyithándi (do you like
meat or don't you like it)?

(iv)   Illative (introducing a conclusion):

úkháthéle kabi, ngákho úséyálála (he is very tired;
therefore he is now going to sleep)

báwúqédíle úmsébénzi, ngákho mabaqóduke (they have
finished work, therefore they must go home)

The same conjunctives that are used in linking simple clauses
may also be used in linking complex ones.

(i)   Adversative or oppositional:

íngane ílókhu ídlála émîni képha ívéle íkhalé ébúsúku

(the baby keeps on playing during the day but she

simply cries at night)

(ii)   Additive or combinatory:

úvéle ahléke fúthi úvéle ákwéthusé (he simply laughs

moreover he frightens you)

(iii)   Alternative:

báhlále békhúlúma nóma báhlále béthúle (do they

keep on talking or do they keep on being quiet)?

(iv)   Illative:

úlókhu ékhúlúma ésébénza, ngakho masivéle símxóshe

(he keeps on talking while working, therefore we

must simply send him away)

It is possible to have two conjunctives juxtaposed in a

sentence e.g.

íntombí ínhle kantí fúthi íkhúthéle (the girl is beautiful

moreover, she is diligent)

úvéle ahléke kantí fúthi úvéle ákwéthuse ngóhleko lolo (he

simply laughs moreover he simply frightens you with that

laugh)

Though we speak of co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctives,

it would appear that there are no inherent co-ordinating or subordinating conjunctives, cf.

úmfána úyágula nóma úyázénzisa nâ (is the boy ill or is he malingering)?

úmfána úyásébénza nóma égúla nâ (is the boy working although he is ill)?

úyáhámba kôdwa úyágula (he is going but he is ill)

wáyéphíla kôdwa énganyakâzi (he was alive but was not moving)

In the above examples the conjunctive nóma and kódwa may either create co-ordination or subordination. Independent forms of predicates (cf. long form of the indicative) do not always occur as co-ordinate predicates. They may be semantically conditioned by conjunctives and thus become subordinate, cf. Ziervogel (1976 p.142):

> Subordinate clauses introduced by kutsi, ngoba khona follow the main clause
> Babe washo kutsi tondzile tinkhabi 'Father said the oxen were thin'
> Malukatana akambiti uyisetala ngoba uyamhlonipha 'A daughter-in-law does not call her father-in-law by name because she respects him'

This indicates that syntactic and semantic factors are interwoven in co-ordination and subordination.

Conjoining has as its subclass zeuqma. According to Lyons (1977 p.405) zeuqma refers to a deliberate or unintentional violation of the condition for co-ordination that conjoined forms should have the same distribution. In a zeugmatic type of conjoining co-ordination one of the constituent clauses that are co-ordinated is grammatically 'incomplete' or 'elliptical'. Elliptical clauses, though grammatically incomplete, are contextually complete. This would mean that in zeugmatic co-ordination there is a linking of a grammatically complete clause and a grammatically incomplete one (i.e. a grammatical clause and a ungrammatical one), cf.

(i) Ordinary conjoining co-ordination
ngiyasebénza kódwa wena awusebénzi lútho (I work but you do not do anything)
ngiyafúnda kódwa angifúndi ébúsúku (I read but I do not read at night)
sikhulúma ngemílomo kódwa bona bákhúlúma ngezénzo (we talk with mouths but they talk in deeds)

(ii) Zeugmatic conjoining co-ordination
ngiyasebénza kódwa wena lútho (I work but you do nothing)
ngiyafúnda kódwa háyi ébúsúku (I read, but not at night)
sikhulúma ngemílomo kódwa bona ngezénzo (we talk with mouths but they in deeds)

Put in another way it may be said ellipsis as found in
co-ordinate clauses is zeugma.

Pragmatically it is not the grammatical completeness of a
sentence that is important as a linguistic communicative
sign. Once an expression conveys the necessary information,
it is sufficient even if it is grammatically incomplete.
This notion gives rise to contextual sentences. Contextual
sentences are in a sense discourse sentences that are opposed
to system-sentences. In this repect contextual sentences
tie in with text-sentences and this is a matter for Chapter
4 in which sentences occurring in a folktale are investigated.

From the pragmatic point of view a sentence like ngiyasebénza
kódwa wena lútho, it is evident that wena lútho is a
contextual clause which gets its full meaning from the
preceding clause with which it is co-ordinated. It is a
fact that such a contextual clause is referable to a longer
clause but it is a moot point to presuppose a pre-established
grammatically complete clause from which a grammatically
incomplete clause is transformationally derived by deletion.
Such presupposition is making an idealization about clause
structure. Along pragmatic lines, the contextual clause
co-ordinated with the representational one, avoids the
repetition of old information and only asserts new information.
Chafe (1970 pp.210-211) refers to old information as the
one which "the speaker and hearer already share at the same
time the sentence is spoken" whilst new information is the

one the speaker 'is introducing into the hearer's mind for
the first time'.

The linking of a grammatically complete clause and an
elliptical one is intriguing. Following the general
definition of co-ordination a sentence like ngiyasebénza
kódwa wena lútho would be aberrant because the co-ordinated
members do not have equal syntactic and semantic relationship.
The transformational account would first of all have a
pre-established representational clause wena awusebénzi lútho
and then solve the problem by deleting or dropping
awusebénzi. In such a case co-ordination would be justified
on the grounds that it is not wena lútho that is co-ordinated
to ngiyasebénza but a deleted predicate. In the same breath
angifúndi is deleted in ngiyafúnda kódwa háyi ébúsúku.
However, in the latter case, deletion of the predicate is
accompanied by the insertion of the negative interjective
háyi. The handling of the problem by the transformational
analysis is attractive and plausible. On a closer look,
however, there is no need for having a pre-established
clause then deleting its predicate afterwards. It would be
realised that many accounts of co-ordination are set out on
the transformational framework. They therefore emphasise
constraints that are coupled with deletion and re-grouping of
constituents. The principle of a transformational cycle is
invoked to delete one of the identical constituents, cf.
Pullum (1979 p.234). In this investigation it is assumed
that there is an alternative method of dealing with elliptical

co-ordination. Such a method promises to be more natural
than advancing transformational rules for their own sake.

In the double sentence <u>ngiyasebênza kódwa wena lûtho</u>, the
predicate in the first clause need not be repeated in the
second clause because it would be lexically redundant if the
negative information is supplied by an adjunct. Since the
predicate in the second clause is supposed to be in the
negative, its negative load is carried by the negative
adjunct <u>lûtho</u>. At times the language avoids unnecessary
repetitions, and this is in accord with the pragmatic economy
of the language. This is observed when the given background
information already shared by the speaker and his other
interlocutor is deliberately left out. It will also be
observed that the avoidance of repetition (i.e. of a lexical
item) may be achieved through alternation, cf. <u>báyáhléba kódwa</u>
<u>háyi ngawe</u> (they are back-biting someone but not you). In
this instance <u>háyi</u> is the negative alternative of the predicate
in the first clause. It must also be noted that though <u>háyi</u>
is taken as interjective clause, it is elliptical in the
sense that it is an alternative for a fuller grammatical
clause. It must be realised that the avoidance of repetition
and the granting of an alternative are principles broadly
based on discourse with the notions of 'old information' and
'new information' and not just a matter for transformational
rules of deletion and insertion based on pre-established
system sentence, (cf. Chapter 4).

It was mentioned earlier on that a distinction is drawn
between a connective marker linking nominals and a connective
linking predicates. A connective na- links nominals (nouns
and pronouns) in Zulu, cf.

úbabá nómfána báyáhámba (father and a boy are walking)
úbabá úhámba nómfána (father walks along with a boy)

In the first sentence the conjoined subjects are juxtaposed
whereas in the second sentence they are separated by the
predicate. The case in point is that conjoined subject or
objects are in a way linked with elliptical co-ordination of
predicates. It may well be that the fuller form of the above
sentence is

úbabá úyáhámba nómfána úyáhámba (father is walking and a boy
is walking)

Through ellipsis the predicate is not repeated because such
repetition would be lexically redundant. The comitative
liason semantic feature as expressed by the connective na-
indicates that conjoined/co-ordinated participants are in
concert in carrying out or undergoing a particular event or
state. The event or state carried out or undergone by
conjoined participants faces repetition constraint. As for
the co-ordination of predicates the constraint may be
interpreted as zeugmatic in the sense that a 'fuller
structure' undergoes contraction as a result of textual or

discourse constraints, cf.

úbabá úyáhámba, nómfána úyáhámba vs
úbabá úhámba nómfána / úbabá nómfána báyáhámba

Both structures are used by the Zulu speakers but the first
variant (full structure) is used for contrastive purposes.
The second variant indicates that language may choose to be
economical as a means of communication by avoiding repetition.
This kind of explanation can also be applied to conjoined
nouns used with the reciprocal predicate as in:

úbabá nómfána báyásizána (father and the boy help each other) vs
úbabá úsiza úmfána, nómfána úsiza úbabá (father is helping
the boy and the boy is helping the father)

Elliptical clauses when found in co-ordination with non-
elliptical ones are constrained to occur in non-initial
positions. The constraint is pragmatic. The clause in the
initial position i.e. left-most clause supplies the
background information which naturally must be shared by the
speaker and the hearer. The clause which comes after the
conjunctive is contextual since it leaves out the given
background information and concentrates on supplying new
information. In the context of the initial clause, the
elliptical clause is sufficient and complete. It is such
contextual completeness that is cause for concern amongst
those working within the framework of formal syntax.

According to formal syntax (cf. transformational analysis)
the otherwise different sentences are reduced to the same
basic structure. In this respect kódwa wena lútho and
kódwa wena awusebénzi are reconciled by reductionist
principle (i.e. transformationally derived structures).
According to this analysis kódwa wena lútho is surface and
kódwa wena awusebénzi deep. In many instances the criteria
used for choosing the deep structure are not explicit.

It may happen that there is no ellipsis in co-ordinated
members yet they are unbalanced because there is no
equivalent relationship between them. Such a situation is
referred to as syllepsis cf. Matthews (1981 p. 213) e.g.

íngane nencwádí kwáletha úmbíko óbúhlúngu (the child and the
letter brought a sad message)
ínsízwa íhámba nentômbí nenhlízíyo ébúhlúngu (the lad goes
along with the maiden and a sad heart)

Syllepsis can be explained by the notion of collocation. In
syllepsis there is no violation of the grammatical pattern
but what seems to be violated is the probabilistic
compatibility of words. Violation of the compatibility of
words would then mean departure from the usual collocations
as found in our day-to-day experiences. We must, however,
not interpret 'violation' or 'departure' as something
always of a demerit. Some poems may be very moving because
of unusual collocations. In this respect we may say unusual

collocations are a departure from triteness and triviality.
In the examples given above incompatibility of words lies in
delimiting features of human vs non-human. For instance
íngane is human whilst íncwadí is non-human and these two
are made to perform the same activity. So the interpretation
that may be attached to the sentence is:

íngane yáletha úṁbíko óbúhlúngu, nencwâdí yáletha úṁbíko
óbúhlúngu (the child brought a sad message, and a letter
brought a sad message)

It could be said therefore, that the sentence íngane nencwâdí
kwáletha úṁbíko óbúhlúngu involves both ellipsis and
syllepsis. But the kind of ellipsis found in conjoined
nouns performing one and the same activity does not result
into an 'ungrammatical' construction. As regards syllepsis,
a delicate balance must be struck in the use of unusual
collocations between triteness and obscurity.

Zeugmatic and sylleptic types of co-ordination place an
inadequacy on the general definition of co-ordination as
tentatively proposed in Chapter I. There are three points
that stand out clearly from the general definition i.e.
co-ordinated members must have (i) equal or same
(ii) syntactic and (iii) semantic relationship. In the
first place it is not clear what is meant by 'equal' or
'same'.

Are the forms such as úhámba and úyáhámba equal or same?
Secondly 'syntactic' relationship is not clear-cut. Do we
mean for instance that different 'moods' or 'predicate
categories' are not syntactically related? Thirdly, in what
way are members semantically related? - Does it mean same
significance or synonyms? Such questions as above put a
serious test on the adequacy of the general definition of
co-ordination. In zeugmatic co-ordination there is no
equal syntactic relationship while in a co-ordination like
thúla séngizwîle (shut up, I have already heard), semantic
relationship in terms of illocutionary force is lacking
because thúla is a command whereas séngizwîle is a
statement. There is also some evidence that co-ordinate
clauses need not always interchange their order freely e.g.

ízinkômó ziyádlá kúqála bése ziyáhlatshwa (cattle first
graze and thereafter they are slaughtered) in which case it
would be sequentially inappropriate to say:
* ízinkômó ziyáhlatshwa bése ziyádlá kúqála. Furthermore
the syntactic interchange cannot be the sole criterion of
co-ordination because even subordination uses it, cf.

nqiyakusháya !wádelela (I will hit you, should you be rude)
!wádelela nqiyakusháya (should you be rude, I hit you)

The general definition of co-ordination is based on the
assumption that co-ordinated members must produce grammatical
as well as semantically balanced or parallel structures.

It has been observed, however, that co-ordinated clauses need
not always be grammatically complete, cf. ellipsis above. It
turns out to be the case that a more viable and tenable
definition must be textually orientated. In this regard
Sanders' (1977 p. 243) definition is more or less in keeping
with the facts of language:

> I consider a coordination to be any sequence of
> constituents which all have the same semantic
> function in their discourse context - for example,
> asserting, questioning, referring, predicating -
> and when this common function is also the function
> of the complete sequence as a whole.

However, the use of 'same' is misleading because co-
ordinated members may not be the same as to their semantic
functions he singles out. A more refined definition may
therefore be put as follows:

> co-ordinated members have comparable syntactic and
> semantic relationship in which none of the members
> dominates another in their discourse context.

The avoidance of 'same' relationship and the use of
'comparable' in its stead, accomodates aberrant types of
co-ordination like the zeugmatic one. It is tacitly assumed
that by 'co-ordinated members', we mean co-ordinated predicates
that in their own right are 'lexemes'. However, lexemic

comparability arouses implications that will be discussed later in this chapter.

2.3.2 Juxtapositioning co-ordination

In this type of co-ordination clauses are juxtaposed i.e. they have zero conjunctive. Linking of clauses without the use of a conjunctive is a common phenomenon in Zulu. Juxtaposed clauses are explained by the following clause structures:

(a)   Paratactic co-ordination

(b)   Consecutive co-ordination

(c)   Serial co—ordination

2.3.2 (a) Paratactic co-ordination

As we have noted in Chapter I, parataxis is a construction in which clauses are loosely combined without the use of any conjunctive and in which each clause is stable and relatively autonomous. Nkabinde (1975 p. 88) gives paratactic clauses under co-ordination and says:

> Although the clauses in each of the preceding
> sentence fulfills (sic) the requirements of
> distributional independence in the Zulu sentence,
> they nevertheless do meet the criteria of penultimate
> length and intonation characterising the Zulu
> sentence. Therefore, _anisebénzi_, _anifúndi_, _anidláli_

for instance, are reduced to the status of clauses
in a co-ordinate sentence. But each of them retains
the potentiality of independent occurrence.

As has already been observed in Chapter 1, Nkabinde
re-affirms that the phonological criterion reduces the
otherwise syntactically independent sentences into clauses
within a paratactic construction. This implies that the
principle of linking involved in parataxis has as its
exponent phonological modification. Phonological modification
embraces marked length on the penultimate syllable of the
last predicate and the phenomenon of downdrift. The study of
downdrift has received a good deal of attention in recent
years, cf Bolinger as cited by Becker (1979, p.234) 'running
down pattern'; Becker (1979 p.235) 'ending on a low tone',
Ohala (1978 p.31) 'gradual fall in pitch from the beginning
to the end of an utterance'. In a Zulu paratactic construction,
the environment for downdrift or intonation is the final
clause. The phonological criterion may not be an absolute
parameter in the identification of paratactic co-ordination
but it is worthy of attention.

Doke (1955 p.98) also gives paratactic clauses under co-
ordination and then says:

> The best way to deal with such types of co-ordination
> is to treat the predicates together as compound
> without connective conjunctives.

Though Doke does not say why the predicates in parataxis should
be taken as a compound, it is assumed that he also recognises
the phonological criterion. All this evidence supports our
view that parataxis is a kind of co-ordination. There is
another view which contrasts parataxis with hypotaxis, cf.
Brøndal (1972 p.23). In this view parataxis is equated with
co-ordination whilst hypotaxis is equated with subordination.
In our view parataxis is a subclass of co-ordination as there
are other different kinds of co-ordination.

Other than the phonological property, the paratactic
construction, has three important grammatical properties,
viz. syntactic stability, capacity for each clause to be
negated independently and avoidance of complex clauses i.e.
avoiding clauses to consist of an auxiliary predicate and
complement cf.

<u>ízingáne ziyádlála, ziyáfúnda, ziyáganga</u> (children play,
they read, they do mischief)
<u>úyáhlala, akasebénzi, úyádeléla</u> (he sits, he does not work,
he is rude)

Parataxis is a very simple type of linking. For this reason
it avoids complex clauses and prefers simple ones. If at
all the complex paratactic clauses are found, the auxiliary
predicate is repeated with different complements and this
appears to be somewhat limited to the traditional discourse
of oral praise poetry, cf. Senzangakhona's praises (Nyembezi,

1958 p.13):

> Uthe wakulala wangangemifula;
>
> Uthe wakuvuka wangangezintaba;
>
> Uthe usubuy' amaxhegw' enyanya.
>
> (As he was sleeping, he became as big as rivers;
>
> As he was waking up, he became as big as mountains;
>
> As he was returning old men got disgusted)

Here uthe as an auxiliary predicate with temporal significance
is paratactically repeated with different complements.

Parataxis may show some semantic properties that also
feature in conjoining co-ordination (cf. 2.3.1):

oppositional e.g. ngiyasebénza, uyanqibúka (I am working,

          you are looking at me)

          ziyâdlá, azisúthi (they eat, they do not

          get satisfied)

combinatory e.g. uyadlá, uyasebénza, uyalála (you eat, you

          work, you sleep)

          úbabà úyibónile ingane, béyigánga (father

          saw the child she was doing mischief)

illative e.g. báyàsébénza, bázophumeléla-ké (they are

          working, they will then succeed)

2.3.2 (b) Consecutive co-ordination

Consecutive co-ordination has already been defined in the first chapter. In short it refers to a construction in which the chronological ordering of predicates in a sentence, to a large measure, represents the chronological occurrence of events or states in time. This would mean that events/states take place one after another or are supposed to take place one after another as signalled by the ordering of predicates, in a sentence. Sometimes the ordering of events/states in a sentence is not a decisive factor for consecutivisation as to the fact that they occur after the first in a sequential series. The predicates that often express the consecutive notion are in the subjunctive, and the narrative tense. This suggests that in Zulu co-ordination may be expressed by a verb form and not by a conjunctive. This also shows that co-ordination is not only a grammatical phenomenon (i.e. morpho-syntactic) but is also a semantic one. Though the predicate expressing consecutive co-ordination may be grammatically unstable, the notion expressed by that unstable form is 'and then'. The consecutive predicate is one that occurs after the first in the consecutive construction. A co-ordinate predicate may therefore be grammatically constrained. In Zulu, a strong semantic strategy of interpreting consecutive co-ordination is that of inserting the conjunctive <u>bése</u> (and then) or its other form between predicates and still retaining the same meaning though the predicate after <u>bése</u> may change its form. In the past tense

the conjunctive <u>bése</u> adapts <u>be</u>- to the concordial system of
the narrative tense, (cf. below).

The predicates that may precede the sequential ones in
consecutive co-ordination are the indicative, subjunctive
and imperative e.g.

<u>úḿntwana úzálwa ákhalé</u> (the baby is born and then it cries)
<u>úhambé úbuyé phêla</u> (may you go and then come back)
<u>gijíma úyóḿlánda úFána</u> (run and fetch Fana back)

It is noted that the past tense of the indicative is followed
by the narrative tense in the consecutive co-ordination. It
is however possible to have a narrative tense followed by
another narrative tense, cf.

<u>úḿntwana !wázálwa wákhála</u> (there the baby is born and it
cries)

This shows that the narrative may either express the
consecutive notion or it simply declares without any
consecutive notion. It is therefore necessary to take note
of the environment in which the narrative tense occurs.
This also holds true for the 'future tense form' or the
form expressing consecutive command occurring after the
imperative, cf <u>gijíma úyóḿlánda</u>. This shows that <u>úyóḿlánda</u>
occurs in the environment in which it expresses
consecutivization. Note that forms like <u>úyóḿlánda</u> are

associated with serialisation that has resulted into a fused

construction, cf. úyé úkúyómlánda ⟶ úyómlánda.

The imperative followed by the subjunctive may be found in

singular or plural e.g.

wôza sídle síhambé (come let us eat and go)

vukáni níngitshéle ícebo (wake up and tell me the plan)

The close affinity between the imperative and the subjunctive

is observed in the plural -ni that appears as a suffix in

both of them with regard to the first and second persons e.g.

wozáni sídléni síhámbéni (come let us eat and go)

vukáni síkhúlékéni (wake up and let us pray)

Since -ni occurs with the subject concord in the subjunctive,

it shows that it is no longer active as a postposed subject

concord for plural second person. The plural marker -ni

is normally not used with hortatives referring to the third

person, cf.

mazídle (let them eat)

makahámbe (let them go) but

masídléni (let us eat)

masíhámbéni (let us go)

When the hortative takes -ni the following subjunctive form

usually does not append -ni,cf.

masívukéni síhambé (let us wake up and go)

masídluléni símbône (let us pass by and see him)

In certain dialects -ni is used with both the hortative and
the subjunctive,cf.

masívukéni síhámbéni (let us wake up and go)

masídluléni símbónéni (let us pass by and see him)

The hortative does not occur after the subjunctive. There is
a close link between the imperative and the subjunctive on
the one hand and the hortative and the subjunctive on the
other. All these forms i.e. the imperative, the hortative
and the subjunctive may function independently and may be
used to express commands. It is therefore not surprising
that if they are in sequence they usually form a kind of
co-ordination.

In Zulu, commands in sequence are not all expressed by the
imperative. The imperative is found as the initial clause
and then other commands appear in the form of the subjunctive.
This means that the subjunctive may be used after an
imperative to express the subsequent predicate in a sequence
of commands e.g.

vúka sigéze síhambé síye émsébenzíni (wake up, let us bathe,

and go to work)

The imperative as a second clause in a sentence may be found after predicates of saying in direct reported speech e.g.

ngithi: "hambáni!" (I say: "go!")
úthê: "gijíma mfána!" (he said: "run boy!")

The sequence of a predicate of saying and the imperative in direct reported speech forms a kind of consecutive co-ordination.

The grammatical properties of consecutive co-ordination may be given as follows:

(i)   The consecutive predicate is unstable in the context of the sentence as a whole e.g.

        úmfána úvúka aqéze (the boy wakes up and bathes)
        úmfána wâvûka wáqeza (the boy woke up and bathed)
        hámba uqéze (go and bathe)

(ii)   A new subject may be introduced with the consecutive predicate e.g.
        úmfána úvúka íqhúde líkhalé (the boy wakes up and the cock crows)
        ízulu lidúma ábántu bathúke (the weather thunders and people get frightened)

íkhehla likhulúma ízingáne zihléke (the old man talks
and then children laugh)

(iii)   The consecutive predicate is not limited to one form
of the predicate;   for instance it may appear as the
narrative tense form as well as the subjunctive.   It
can also be in the negative form, cf.
íngane yâvûka yáhámba (the child woke up and went)
íngane ivúka íhambé (the child wakes up and goes)
íngane ivúka íngahámbi (the child wakes up and then
does not go)

(iv)   The consecutive predicate may form a transitive
construction.   Such a construction may have one object,
conjoined objects, and direct and indirect objects
e.g.
úmfána uvúka ásháye ínkomó (the boy wakes up and
hits a cow)
úmfána uvúka ásháye ínkomó nembóngolo (the boy wakes
up and hits a cow and a donkey)
úmfána uvúka ásháyíse úbabá ínkomó (the boy wakes up
and helps hit the cow for the father)

(v)   The subject may be in the sentence initial position
or stand between the predicates or after them, cf.
íngane yâvûka yáhámba (the child woke up and went)
yâvûka íngane yáhámba (the child woke up and went)
yâvûka yáhámba íngane (the child woke up and went)

Sometimes the grammatical argument is put forward or implied that the consecutive predicate is subordinate because it is subsequent to the first, cf. Doke (1955 p. 105). However, the question of the ordering of predicates must not bias our interpretation of co-ordination in Zulu. For this reason we do not concur with Doke. Moreover, if it is argued that the consecutive predicate takes the negative marker -nga- which is found with the subordinate predicates, we may equally maintain that -nga- can also occur in the main predicate e.g.

úhámbe kahlé (may you go well)
úngahâmbi kahlé (may you not go well)

There are also semantic properties of consecutive co-ordination that must be borne in mind:

(i)   The consecutive predicate expresses the event/state
        that takes places after the non-consecutive one in
        time e.g.
        úmfána uvúka aqéze (the boy wakes up and bathes)
        This means that aqéze takes place after uvúka has
        taken place.

(ii)   The consecutive predicate may carry the idea of
        command if the first predicate is an imperative e.g.
        hámba úfundé (go and read)!
        vukáni nigéze (wake up and bathe)!
        gijíma úyómlánda (go and fetch him)!

This shows that when there is a series of commands, the initial one is in the form of the imperative whilst the following one is in the form of the subjunctive or the indicative.

(iii)   When the initial predicate is the indicative or the subjunctive the consecutive predicate may express the idea of intention or wish e.g.

ngiyofika ngímtshéle (I will come and tell him)

úhambé úbuyé phêla (you may go and then come back)

(iv)   The consecutive predicate implies that it is accomplished as a result of the initial predicate, for instance úmfána wâvûka wáqéza would mean 'the boy woke up and as a result he bathed'

(v)   The consecutive predicate together with the non-consecutive predicate may express the habitual events/ states e.g.

índoda ívúka ísébénza ílalé íphúmulé (the man wakes up, works, sleeps and rests)

(vi)   Time reference is explicitly indicated by the initial predicate, especially if it is in the past tense form of the indicative while the consecutive implicitly takes up the time reference indicated by the first predicate e.g.

ízingáne zâdlá zádlála zálála (children ate, played and slept)

úm̓ntwana wâzâlwa wákhála (the baby was born and then
it cried)

The narrative tenses in the above examples can be referred
to as having past time significance because they occur in
the context of the past tense indicative. In this
environment the narrative is non-deictic. Talmy Givon
(1972 p.183) appears to be right when he says in this
respect:

> Less marked tense-aspects are more likely to appear
> as narrative tenses, i.e. lose much of their feature
> content though perhaps retain some. In instances of
> this kind, the 'narrative tense' depends for its
> fuller feature specification on other tenses in
> its environment.

Givon also associates 'less-marked' tense with a relatively
less restricted distribution. This is borne out by the
fact that the narrative may occur as the first predicate
and in such instances there is possibility of the free
choice of word order between narrative tenses, cf.

wáválélisa wáhámba úm̓fána (there the boy is bidding
good-bye and then leaving) vs
wáhámba wáválélisa úm̓fána (there the boy is leaving and
then bidding good-bye)

When there is a series of narrative tenses as shown in
the above examples, the non-initial narrative indicates

the present time by virtue of its occurrence in the
environment of the deictic narrative (i.e. the initial
one). The narrative occurring in the initial position is
deictic and indicates the present. The narrative present
provides a commentary for an event taking place
simultaneously with narration. Such a use of the narrative
has a dramatic effect.

(vii)   The consecutive may not only carry the idea of the
        event/state that takes place after the first one in
        time; the second event/state may start later than the
        first but the two eventually take place concomitantly e.g.
        báhámbá síhambé nathi (they go and then we go)
        nqisebénza úsébénza nawe (I work and then you work)

        In such consecutive co-ordination the event subsequent in
        time and yet concomitant with the first has a different
        participant (subject) from the first one.

(viii) Some form of the conjunctive bése may be introduced
        between the predicates and still retain the meaning of
        'and then' though the form of the consecutive predicate
        may change after the introduction of this conjunctive.
        The conjunctive bése is co-ordinating because it has
        an additive force, cf.

úmntwana uzálwa ákhalé ⎫ (the baby is born and
úmntwana uzálwa bése ékhâla ⎭ and then it cries)

úhambé úbuyé phêla ⎫ (may you go and then
úhambé bése úbûya phêla ⎭ come back)

gijíma úmlandé uFana ⎫ (run and then fetch
gijíma bése uyamlánda úFána⎭ Fana back)

úmntwana wâzâlwa wákhála ⎫ (the baby was born
úmntwana wâzâlwa wáse ⎬ and then it cried)
úyákhála ⎭

From the above examples it is observed that the
conjunctive is followed by either the indicative or
the participial. Since the participial may form a
co-ordinate clause after the conjunctive bése or its
other form, it shows that the form of the predicate is
not crucial in co-ordination. What matters most is
the relationship between predicates or clauses. It
must be noted that in an example like úfíka úkúzómbóna
(may you come in order to see him) the conjunctive
bése cannot be introduced because it alters the
meaning 'in order to' which expresses purpose or
intention. Note also that in an example like
úmfana úhámba úyádlá (the boy walks while eating)
bése cannot feature because 'walks' and 'eating' are
not taking place one after the other but occur
simultaneously. The conjunctive bése or its other
form therefore offers us a significant semantic
feature in the interpretation of consecutive

co-ordination in Zulu. Note that the conjunctives like <u>bése</u> can be used as auxiliary predicates and they make the nature of co-ordination intricate as it becomes associated with subordination, cf. 6.1.2.

(ix) There may be different nuances of meaning between the sentence that negates the initial predicate and the one that negates the consecutive predicate e.g.

<u>úḿfána akavúki ásébenzé</u> (the boy does not wake and work)

<u>úḿfána uvúka ángasebênzi</u> (the boy wakes up and does not work)

In the first example the nuance is that the initial predicate is not negated independently of the subsequent one i.e. when the action indicated by the first predicate does not occur, the one indicated by the subsequent predicate also does not occur. The second examples in which the subsequent predicate is negated independently of the first predicate expresses the idea that the action of the first predicate is carried out while that of the second predicate is not.

(x) Logically the meaning of the verb stems determine the fixed ordering of the initial predicate and the subsequent one. Otherwise nonsensical sentences would be rendered, cf.

izulu lidúma báthuké (it thunders and they get a

fright) vs

*báthúka izulu lidúme (*they get a fright and it

thunders)

The meaning of other verb stems allows free ordering

in consecutive co-ordination e.g.

indoda iyásébénza iphúmule (the man works and then

rests)

indoda iyáphumula isébênzé (the man rests and then

works)

2.3.2 (c) Serial co-ordination

Serial co-ordination differs from consecutive co-ordination

in that in it the predicate sequences do not represent

chronological sequence in time. Serial co-ordination is

marked by one structural subject and as such the predicates

are often semantically associated. Because of the close

association of predicates in serialization there is no

scope for the inclusion of the conjunctive bése or its

other form in its interpretation. In certain instances

serial predicates are interpreted as 'single events/states'

in English. As has been pointed out earlier, serialization

appears to be more limited in Zulu than in languages where it

has received a fair degree of attention. For this reason it

happens that only some predicate sequences may form

serialization while others do not. From a grammatical point

of view, it appears that the tense forms and aspects of the

indicative, in the main, feature in serial co-ordination;
the infinitive and the subjunctive do feature as well to a
lesser degree in serial co-ordination e.g.

ábántu bayáfika bavéla ékhaya (people are arriving 'coming'
from home)

ízingáne ziyáhámba zíya ésikóleni (children are going 'moving'
to school)

źingáne zízohámba zíye úkúyómbóna (children will go 'moving'
to see him)

úmúntu úcúla avúle íphimbo (the person sings 'opening' the
vocal cords)

íkhehla líkhúlúma líhlékise abantu (the old man talks 'making'
people laugh)

Note that úkúyómbóna is combined serially with zíye, while
in the last two examples subjunctives are serially combined
with the preceding predicates because the insertion of bése
can render a different interpretation.

It has been noted that in many accounts of serialization it is
treated independently of co-ordination and subordination. We
maintain that this kind of treatment mainly springs from the
conception of co-ordination and subordination in European
languages. It does occur that sometimes definitions are
treated as rigid boundaries but this may lead to certain
misconceptions about language. We have noted in the introduction
that the exponents of clause relations in Zulu are co-ordination
and subordination. We further assume that these exponents

can be subcategorised into phenomena like consecutivization
and serialization. In this investigation we propose to
subsume some kinds of serialization under co-ordination
while other kinds will be subsumed under subordination.

There is quite a number of semantic properties involved in
serial co-ordination, cf.

(i)   Tautology is sometimes expressed in serial co-ordination.
       This is noted in certain predicates preceding the
       predicate of saying (-thi) which are used to
       introduce reported speech. Some stems of such
       predicates are -sho, -tshéla, -yala e.g.
       úshílo wathi ... (he mentioned it and said ...)
       ngiyomtshéla ngithi ... (I will tell him and say ...)
       bámyálile bathi ... (they advised him and said ...)

       It is noted that here we do not complete the sentences
       because if we do, some other type of predicate
       sequences not involving serial co-ordination would
       be given. Another kind of serial co-ordination
       involving tautology would be:

       úThóko úhléka úyágigithéka (Thoko is laughing and
       giggling)
       ámanzi ágcwele áyáchíchima (water is full and over-
       flowing)
       íngane íyákhála íyábíbíthéka (the baby is crying and

sobbing)

Tautology in serial co-ordination will later in the chapter also be re-classified as quasi- co-ordination under lexemic types of co-ordination. This means that it dovetails with serialisation and quasi-co-ordination.

(ii)   Serial predicates may indicate events/states that are concomitants, which have to do with movement to/from e.g.

úyáfika uvéla ékhaya (he is arriving 'coming' from home)

báyáhámba báya ésíkóleni (they are going 'moving' to the school)

(iii)   Comparison may be expressed by predicates in a series e.g.

ísíthúthuthú sigijíma sishíya ímoto (a motor-bike runs 'overtaking' a motor-car)

úmfána úhlákáníphile údlúla úyise (the boy is intelligent 'surpassing' his father)

(iv)   Focus is expressed by serial predicates if such predicates show some kind of repetitive construction e.g.

úbabá úhámbé úhámbîle (father is gone for good)

úmamé úléle úléle (mother is asleep for good)

This kind of serial co-ordination will also be
reclassified as quasi co-ordination under lexemic
types of co-ordination.

2.4   CO-ORDINATION OF CLAUSES WITHIN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The structural types of co-ordination as dealt with above
form double and multiple sentences.   Now it must be shown
that these double/multiple sentences can be the constituents
of subordinate constructions through recursiveness.   This
means that a larger subordinate clause can include
co-ordinated predicates or conjoined predicative nominals
within its ranks.   This structural recursiveness shall be
done without repeating semantic properties already dealt
with above.   As regards co-ordination within the subordinate
clause there are four subdivisions as shown below.

2.4.1   Co-ordination of the indicatives

Though the indicative often occurs as the main clause, it may
also be found in subordinate clauses.   The following examples
show the co-ordination of the indicatives within complex
sentences:

úThembí úcábánga úkúthi úyázi nokúthi úkhúthéle (Thembi
thinks that she is clever and diligent)
akézanga námhlanjé ngóba úyágula fúthi údiniwe (he has not
come today because he is ill and also angry)

In the first example úyázi and úkhúthéle are co-ordinated
subordinate clauses. The conjunctive úkúthi is an infinitive
and it is therefore capable of using the connective na-, cf
nokúthi. In the second example úyágula and údíníwe are also
co-ordinated subordinate clauses. The conjunctive fúthi
links úyágula and údíníwe as co-ordinate clauses.

2.4.2 Co-ordination of the participials

The participial often constitutes subordinate clauses. It
describes the situation in which the main event/state occurs.
It also expresses simultaneous events/states. However,
participials may be co-ordinated though they themselves form
subordination e.g.

úmúntu úhámba ékhúlûma fúthi ejeqéza (the person walks
talking and looking around)
ngimficé éhlêzi fúthi éjabûle (I came upon him while he was
seated and happy)
ngiboné íkhehla lílêle képha áméhlo ébhekîle (I saw an old
man asleep but his eyes being open)

In the first example the participials ékhúlûma and ejeqêza
are co-ordinated by the conjunctive fúthi. In the second
example the stative participials éhlêzi and éjabûle are also
co-ordinated by fúthi. The stative participials lílêle and
ébhekîle are overtly co-ordinated by kepha in the third
example. Care must be taken to distinguish between

co-ordinated participials and subordinated participials, cf.
Chapter 3. Co-ordinate participials are normally linked by
co-ordinating conjunctives and they have the same relation
as against the main clause.

2.4.3 Co-ordination of relatives

The relative clauses may be co-ordinated by conjoining (cf.
2.3.1) as well as by juxtaposition. Note the following
sentences:

úmúntu óhlákáníphíle nókhúthéléyo úyásébénza (the person who
is clever and diligent is working)
índoda éhámba yódwa, éphéthe nénduku fúthi, ínesíbîndi (the
man who walks by himself and who is also carryin a stick is
very brave)
ábántu ábáqíníle ábázaciléyo baqijíma kabi (people who are
strong and thin run very fast)

In the first example the connective na- is used to link the
conjoined relatives óhlákáníphíle and ókhúthéléyo. The use
of the connective na- with the relative shows its nominal
character. In the second example éhámba and éphéthe are
co-ordinated without the use of the conjunctive; fúthi as it
appears at the end of the clause is used as a peripheral
adjunct and not as a conjunctive. It must be noted that
conjunctives like fúthi and kódwa may be used as adjuncts
that may either precede or succeed the predicate e.g.

uyaphí kódwa (where are you going by the way)?

kódwa uyaphí (by the way where are you going)?

úhámba égúla fúthi (he goes whilst being ill-moreover)

fúthi úhámba égúla (moreover, he goes whilst being ill)

This shows that these adjuncts may at times be used as introductory words. In examples like ábántu ábáqiníle, ábázaciléyo baqijíma kabi there is a succession of relative clauses without a conjunctive. Such relative clauses are covertly co-ordinated by juxtaposition.

2.4.4 Co-ordination of subjunctives

The subjunctives may be co-ordinated when they occur as subordinate clauses e.g.

úgógo úshéshé wálála úkúze ávuké áhambé ékúséni (my grandmother slept early so that she may arise and go in the morning)

úmfána úyágeza ándúba áhambé áye ésíkóleni (the boy bathes before he goes to school)

In the first example ávuké and áhambé are co-ordinated though together they are subordinated to the main complex clause úshéshé walála. In the second example áhambé and áye are serially co-ordinated and they are together subordinated to úyágeza.

2.5   LEXEMIC TYPES OF CO-ORDINATION

The main motivation for this classification is that of
viewing predicates in sequence as lexemes. This classification
is supported by the collocational theory of lexical meaning as was
advocated by J.R.Firth,cf.Robins 1964 p.68. Amongst other things,
the theory assumes that the lexical item is not co-extensive with
a word, cf. the idiom shayá úchíthe (go) has two words but
has one lexical item hámba (go). In this it is observed that
the determination of the lexical meaning in collocations is
text-oriented.

Matthews (1974 p.22) explains lexeme in the following way:

> ... we will say that dies, died, dying and die are
>
> forms of the lexeme DIE, that man and men are
>
> Singular and Plural of MAN, that the lexeme MAN is
>
> a Noun but DIE a Verb ...

Kempson (1977 p.80) more or less explains lexeme in the same
way as Matthews as she says:

> Isolating the construct of lexical item, or lexeme
>
> as it is sometimes called, enables us to characterise
>
> the paradigm run, runs, running, ran as different
>
> forms of one lexical item ...

From these two definitions it comes out clearly that two or

more different forms may belong to one lexeme. In Zulu it
does happen that predicates in sequence are different forms
of one lexeme. This implies that co-ordination of
predicates may involve tautology. Doke (1955 p.210) quoting
Fowler in 'Modern English Usage' says:

> Tautology is generally a term of reproach for
> pleonastic expression, in which the same thing is
> said twice, either by literal repetition or by
> repetition in meaning.

We shall try to identify co-ordination in which there is
tautology and the one in which there is no tautology. Co-
ordination will therefore be divided into:

1. Proper co-ordination (no repetition)
2. Pleonastic co-ordination (repetition in meaning)
3. Quasi-co-ordination (literal repetition)
4. Periphrastic co-ordination (literal repetition where one
   clause would do)

2.5.1 Proper co-ordination

Proper co-ordination refers to the combination of predicates
that are taken as discrete lexical items. Such combination
may be achieved either by the use conjunctives/connectives
or by juxtaposition. When there is a conjunctive, co-
ordination is said to be overt e.g.

ízingáne ziyâdlá kódwa azisúthi̧ (children eat but they do not

get satisfied)

íntombí íyáyíthánda lénsízwa nokho yoná ayibóni (the girl

loves this young man but he does not realise)

ízingáne mazigánge ngamáthuba ázo njê képha zízozisóla kúsâsá

(let the children waste their opportunities but they will rue

it all tomorrow)

Covert co-ordination is accounted for by juxtaposition of

clauses or predicates e.g.

wáhámba wánganáka lútho mntánómúntu (you walk and do not take

care of anything, child of man)

siyofika síbuké, sílwe sínqobé (we shall come, watch, fight

and conquer)

Covert co-ordination may involve paratactic, consecutive and

serial constructions.

2.5.2 Pleonastic co-ordination

Pleonasm is a kind of tautology. In pleonasm the clause is

not repeated; the pleonastic clause adds nothing of

importance to another comparable clause. In short the

pleonastic clause adds nothing that is not already involved

in what has been said before. The pleonastic clause does,

however, give a certain nuance to another clause e.g.

ngizokusháya, ngiyakutshéla (I will hit you, I am telling you)

úzofika, ngiyacabánga (he will come, I think)

úzofika, awûshó (will he come, don't you think so)?

In the first example ngiyakutshéla is a pleonastic clause and may be left out. It has an emphatic significance.

In the second sentence ngiyacabánga is pleonastic and it expresses uncertainty. Likewise awûshó in the third sentence expresses uncertainty.

Syntactically, pleonastic co-ordination is paratactical. The ordering of clauses is in certain instances relatively free, cf.

úzofika, ngiyacabánga

ngiyacabánga, úzofika

From the last example, which is paratactic, may develop subordination e.g.

ngiyacabáng úkúthi úzofika (I think that he will come)

This confirms Entwistle's claim (cf. 1.4.1) that subordination comes as a result of the complication of structures. The choice of word order may itself be tied in with the complication of structures, cf.

úzofika, awûshó? but

awûshó úkúthi úzofika (don't you think that he will come)?

Note that in the last instance the choice of a particular
word order results in subordination. The clause awûshó is
focussed and becomes the main clause which is then described
by úkúthi úzofika. With some people it is idiosyncratic to
use paratactic negative pleonasm e.g.

!inhle léntombí,akúnjaló (this girl is beautiful, is that
not so)?
uyabóna ngiyasebénza, akúnjaló (you see I am working, is that
not so)?

Instead of akúnjaló, angíthí may be used with no change in
meaning:

!inhle léntombí, angíthí?
uyabóna ngiyasebénza, angíthí?

Sometimes pleonastic co-ordination may be brought about by
interjective clauses e.g.

wangihlúpha kángaka, bábéshane (O you are giving me a lot of
trouble)!
hlukána nami, muntundîni (you just leave me alone, you
specimen of humanity)!
cha, angithándi (No! I do not like)

The exclamations bábéshane, cha and muntundîni may be
interpreted as exclamatory clauses that form a kind of
co-ordination. If it is granted that there are exclamatory
sentences,then surely there is an exclamatory clause. These
exclamatory clauses are pleonastic because they are lexically
not important and they can be left out without altering the
lexical meaning of the sentence. They, however, do have
semantic significance because they express the emotion of the
speaker.

2.5.3 Quasi- co-ordination

It is mainly in quasi- co-ordination where we observe that a
lexical item is not co-extensive with the word. The hall-mark
of quasi- co-ordination is the presence of a lexical tie-up.
The lexical tie-up occurs when the second predicate in a
sequence serves to give prominence to the first one and when
there is some synonymy or lexical correspondence between such
predicates e.g.

úhámbé úhámbîle (he is gone for good)
ízinkômó záfá zaphéla (cattle are dying in large numbers)
ingane yâwá yáthi bhalakaxa (the child fell down flat)

In the first example two forms of one lexeme are in sequence.
In the second examples two lexemes záfá and zaphéla are in a
way synonymous; in the third example yáthi bhalakaxa gives
focus to yâwa and the ideophonic sequence is also in a way

synonymous with the preceding predicate because it can be
used without it, cf.

íngane yâthi bhalakaxa (the child fell down flat)

This goes to show that quasi- co-ordination is not co-
ordination in the true sense of the word.

The general meaning of the predicates in succession is
equivalent to the meaning of one predicate or of an auxiliary
predicate and the complementary ideophone. There are
differences in nuances of course. These lexical tie-ups are
meant for focus constructions, cf. Chapter 4. It is noted
that quasi- co-ordinated predicates may be a complement to
the auxiliary predicate cf.

úlókhu éhambé ehambîle (he is still gone for good/he is still
on the go)
zazilókhu zifíké zifíkîle ízinsízwa (they were still coming-
the young men)

In these examples the stative participials are quasi- co-
ordinated.

The co-ordinative lexical tie-ups as found within quasi-
co-ordination are found both in positive forms and negative
ones. The negative forms are not semantically parallel to
positive forms. Double negation produces a focus of a positive

statement, cf.

<u>úhámbé úhámbîle</u> (he is gone for good)   } positive

<u>úhléké úhlékîle</u> (he laughed once and for all) } forms

<u>akahambánga akahambánga</u> (he walked a long

distance/he walked very fast)   } negative

<u>akahlekánga akahlekánga</u> (he was rocking with } forms

laughter)

With negative forms in sequence, the question of intonation
comes to the fore because in the second predicate there is
no expected downdrift. The meaning of the two negatives in
succession is well expressed by the auxiliary predicate <u>áve</u>
(excessive ... + complementary predicate) e.g.

<u>áve éhámbîle</u> (he walked a long distance/he walked very fast)
<u>áve éhlékîle</u> (he rocked with laughter/he laughed too much)

While the negative forms used to indicate a strong positive
cannot be made discontinuous by the replacement of the noun
or pronoun between them, the negative ones can e.g.

<u>akámsháyi akámsháyi úmntwana</u>
                                        (oh, how often she beats a baby)
<u>akámsháyi úmntwana akámsháyi</u>

The negative somewhat semantically corresponding to the
negative forms with the absolute positive meaning is achieved
by the introduction of <u>ngoba</u> followed by the participial

negative form, cf.

akahámbi akahámbi (he walks fast/he goes often) } focussed

akáhléki akáhléki (he laughs too much) } positive

akahámbi ngoba éngahámbi (he is actually

not walking) } focussed

akáhléki ngoba éngahleki (he is actually } negative

not laughing)

It is noticed that the introduction of ngoba makes subordination

out of lexical tie-ups. Sometimes the focussed negative is

achieved by employing a nomino-verb form, which is a nominal

in form but verbal in force and significance, cf.

úhámbé úhámbîle (he is gone for good) : focussed positive

akahámbîle úngohámba[1] (he is not gone for good): focussed

negative

Note also the lexical tie-ups using the infinitive:

úmfána úhámba úkúhámba (the boy is indeed going): absolute

emphatic positive

úmfána akahámbi nakuhámba (the boy is indeed not going):

focussed negative

---

1) úngohámba is predicate with a nominal form, cf. the
infinitive. Its derivation appears to be based on the
future tense ngiyohámba which is reduced to ngohámba,
and then the prefix of 1(a) is added.

The infinitive forms úkúhámba and nakuhámba in a way complement the preceding predicates and could therefore be considered as forming predicate sequences.

Another variety of lexical tie-ups is found when the positive form is used together with its negative form e.g.

úyáhleka akáhleki (he laughs and does not laugh)

báyásébénza abasebénzi (they work and they do not work)

The positive-negative predicate sequence is common in the speech of some Zulus. Such construction has three dimensions of meaning:

(a)   It may mean partial commitment in the event by the participant(s); such partial commitment may be bound up with neutral significance.

(b)   It may mean intermittent event/state.

(c)   It may mean apparent or pretended event/state.

In general quasi- co-ordination may be divided into the following categories:

(a)   Explicit category i.e. two forms of one lexeme are used together, cf. úhámbé úhámbíle

úyáhleka akáhleki

(b)   Implicit category i.e. in which two lexemes more or

less have the same meaning.

úThembí úhlézi údeklézile (Thembi is relaxedly sitting down)

úMamázane úhléka úyágigithéka (Mamazane is laughing in a giggling manner)

ngiyasho ngithi ngizokuthóla (I say I will get you)

In the first example údeklézile and úhlézi are lexical tie-ups while in the second úyágigithéka and úhléka are also lexical tie-ups. In the third example the predicates of saying ngiyasho and ngithi used in reported speech are also lexical tie-ups. It must be noted that in quasi- co-ordination, the succeeding predicate, which is the counterpart of the preceding one, has no additional lexical information except that it has semantic significance. When predicates in sequence form lexical redundancy they form lexical tie-ups.

2.5.4 Periphrastic co-ordination

This is related to quasi- co-ordination in that the same predicate is repeated but differs from it in that the subject concords are different. In periphrastic co-ordination two separated predicates are used instead of one inflected predicate e.g.

hambáni, síhambé (you go, we go)!

gijimáni, sigíjimé bakwêthu (you run, we run brethren

<u>mfána fúnda, sífundêni</u> (boy read, we read)

Note that the sequence of the imperative and the subjunctive
may be expressed by inflection of a predicate into the
hortative:

<u>masíhambéni</u> (let us go)

<u>masigíjiméni bakwethu</u> (let us run brethren)

<u>asífundéni mfána</u> (let us read boy)

It will be noted that in periphrastic co-ordination the
speaker i.e. the person issuing a command, first wants to
make it clear that he is commanding others by use of the
imperative; second he wants to include himself in such a
command. The natural way of doing this is to employ a
consecutive construction though the meaning attached to such
a construction is not that of subsequent event or state in
time expressed by the chronological sequence of predicates.

In conclusion it may be said that co-ordination in Zulu is less
straightforward than we usually suppose. At times we are
forced to invoke presupposition (cf. the inclusion of <u>bése</u>
to paraphrase consecutivization) in order to be near
explanatory adequacy. Even with the so-called co-ordinating
conjunctives the matter is not simple as we hope to show their
perspective in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

Lyons (1968 p. 233) defines subordination in terms of distribution as follows:

> Subordinating constructions have the same distribution as one of their constituents.

This means that from a syntactic point of view the subordinate clause has the same distribution as the main clause or principal clause and its occurrence is typically optional i.e. it is a constituent of the main clause. The subordinate clause is syntactically dominated by the main clause in that the main clause could be taken as the 'head' while the subordinate clause is an 'expansion' or 'support'. If the main clause consists of a full-fledged predicate it is usually capable of standing alone as an independent sentence i.e. it can be stable if the predicate is not in the short form of the indicative present tense. On the other hand the auxiliary predicate is unstable as a syntactic unit and requires obligatory support. This goes to show that the main/principal clause need not always be stable. The subordinate clause is also semantically dominated by the main clause, though this is by no means restricted to subordination, cf. discourse sentences. This means that the subordinate clause gets its full significance from the main clause and that it is not typically self-contained in meaning, e.g.

<u>úḿfána úhámba / ékhâla</u>/(the boy walks while crying)

<u>úḿfána úyádlá / úkúze aphíle</u>/ (the boy eats so that he may
live)

<u>ábántu badamáne / béhlêka</u>/ (people keep on laughing)

Semantic characterisation may also be noted in that the
subordinate clause is a <u>modifier</u> or a <u>complement</u>. It may be
the modifier of the main clause or head unit (cf. descriptive
and relative clauses) or the complement of the auxiliary
predicate.

A further clarification on the nature of subordination of
relative clauses and supporting (complementary) clauses is
essential. The relative clause has the same distribution as
the noun it expands. Unlike the main clause whose occurrence
is typically obligatory, the noun may be omitted leaving the
relative clause. In all probability this fact arises from
the bipartite kind of subordination of the relative. First,
the relative clause is syntactically dominated because it is
an expansion of the 'head' noun. It is semantically dominated
by the 'head' noun in that it is its modifier. Second, the
relative is dominated by the principal clause consisting of a
nuclear predicate. Compared with the nuclear predicate which
is obligatory, the relative is optional and on this account
it is subordinated to the obligatory constituent. This may be
explained in terms of structural frames or slots. In Zulu the
slot of the nuclear predicate is obligatorily filled in, in a
grammatically well-formed sentence. The subject and object

slots (noun slots) are optionally filled in, cf. kúmákhaza (it
is cold). Since the relative and the noun are similarly
distributed they are nominal and therefore optional in relation
to the nuclear predicate. We might then regard the obligatory
clause as a nuclear clause whilst the optional clause
distributed the same as the noun is peripheral. Cf.

úmfána/óhámbayó/úyáfúnda
/óhámbayó/úyáfúnda

Both úmfána óhámbayó and óhámbayó are optional whilst úyáfúnda
is not. On the other hand, óhámbayó is both the expansion and
modifier of úmfána.

The syntactic relationship between the auxiliary predicate and
its supporting predicate is somewhat complicated. This is so
because the supporting predicate which is subordinate is
obligatory. We have noted that the occurrence of the subordinate
clause is optional vis-a-vis the principal or main clause
consisting of the full-fledged predicate. Since the
auxiliary predicate or clause determines the occurrence of
the supporting predicate, it may be maintained that the
auxiliary clause is a syntactic superior (or head) but
lexically it is deficient. As such it requires the obligatory
occurrence of a lexically complete predicate. This would
mean then that though the supporting predicate is the
constituent of the auxiliary predicate, it is expressed by
periphrasis i.e. by means of double structural frame (predicate

frame) instead of one, cf, periphrastic predicates vs compound

predicate. Vide Matthews (1974 p.174) for a periphrastic

tense form in French. In Zulu it must be noted that the

ordinary predicates can at times be used as auxiliary

predicates without any change of form and perhaps the term

"deficient verb" as used by Doke is more revealing in this

regard, cf.

ábáfána báhlálá/bédlâla/ (boys keep on playing)

zíngáne zízothi/úkúphúmúla namhlânjé/(children will rest for

a while today)

úshó/úkúnqiqéda ngénduku/ (he almost hit me with a stick)

úmúthé/nké ngénduku/ (he banged him with a stick)

In the last example the ideophone nké functions as a

supporting predicate. The auxiliary predicate semantically

conditions or dominates the complement i.e. the complement

completes the notion expressed by the auxiliary predicate.

Two syntactic phenomena are taken into account in subordination,

viz

(a)   Domination

(b)   Government

Domination means a syntactic - semantic control that a word

(or a group of words) has over another words (or a group of

words) in a given construction, (see Chapter 1). As regards

predicates or clauses, the main clause dominates the
subordinate one e.g.

íngane íhámba íkhâla (the child walks crying)
siyoze silíbambe ísela (we shall catch the thief)
úThandi úsûké wâhléka (Thandi simply laughed)

In the first example the participial subordinate clause
íkhâla is dominated by the indicative main clause íngane
íhámba. In the second and third examples the subjunctive
subordinate clause silíbambé ísela and the narrative subordinate
clause wâhléka are respectively dominated by auxiliary
clauses siyóze and úThandí úsúké. From the syntactic point
of view the indicative dominates the participial in that the
participial is typically optional and therefore expands the
indicative which is obligatory. On the other hand the
auxiliary predicate syntactically dominates the complement in
that it determines the form and occurrence of the complement
or a supporting predicate. Semantically the participial
modifies the indicative and it is therefore dominated by
indicative. The complement is semantically dominated by the
auxiliary predicate because it completes the notion expressed
by the auxiliary predicate. Another way of explaining that
the complement is dominated is by presupposition. The
auxiliary predicate which is a higher predicate presupposes
the occurrence of the complement. On the other hand the
complement does not presuppose the auxiliary predicate. So
it is a unilateral presupposition. Domination may also

indicate a control of a non-infinitive predicate over the infinitive one. e.g.

<u>fiká úkúzómbóná</u> (come in order to see him)

<u>úzofika úkúzómbóna</u> (he will come in order to see him)

<u>úfíke úkúzómbóna</u> (may you come in order to see him)

<u>úcíshé úkúlímála</u> (he almost got hurt)

In the first three examples, the infinitive is syntactically dominated because it expands the main clauses; in this context the infinitive is syntactically unstable as a predicate or clause. The infinitive is also semantically dominated by full-fledged predicates in the imperative, indicative and subjunctive because it modifies these predicates as to purpose. In the last example the infinitive is syntactically dominated because it is a complement or supporting predicate that is required according to the syntactic nature of the auxiliary predicate if the predicative construction is to be complete. Semantically the auxiliary predicate is collocatable with the infinitive complement and because the complement completes the notion initiated by the auxiliary predicate it is dominated. It is noted that the infinitive even if not a complement has a relatively tighter cohesion with the preceding predicate. A dominated predicate may also be introduced by a conjunctive. This means that a conjunctive may have a semantic potential of making a predicate dominated by another e.g.

úngitshêle lápho éfîka (tell me when he comes)

masíṁgxôshé úkúze áhambé (let us expel him so that he goes)

Syntactically lápho éfîka is the constituent of úngitshêle

whilst ukuze áhambé is the constituent of masíṁgxôshé. This

then explains that éfîka and áhambé as predicates are

syntactically dominated by predicates that precede them.

Government is defined by Robins (1964 p.251) as:

> the requirement that one word of a particular class
>
> in a given syntactic construction with another word
>
> of a particular class shall exhibit the form of a
>
> specific category.

In a number of European languages the verb may govern its

object in a particular 'case'. In Zulu there are no formal

markers of this type of relationship. The kind of government

found in Zulu is where the verb governs the locative, the

instrumental, the associative and the comparative. In

replacive nominalization, the relative can enter into

locative, instrumental, associative and comparative relationships

and as such be governed by the predicate e.g.

úya kwábáṁthándayó (he is going to those who love him)

uvîka ngábáṁthándayó (he is protecting himself by those who

love him)

úhámba nábáṁthándayó (he is going along with those who love

him)

úsébénza njéngábámthándayó (he is working like those who

love him)

The relationship between the predicate and adjunct relative is
that of a bilateral dependent construction in which a
constituent of a particular class requires the constituent of
another particular class to assume a particular grammatical
form. This type of construction is also known as exocentric.
It must be pointed out, however, that in expansion nominalization,
the relative is typically optional and is therefore dominated
by the head which is obligatory, cf. endocentric constructions
which are unilateral in nature.

Having assumed the presence of domination and government in
subordination, we shall investigate subordination of clauses
according to the following:

(A) Modifying clauses
(B) Complementing clauses

3.2 A. MODIFYING CLAUSES

In this section subordinate clauses that modify other clauses
are examined. In this work modification is used in its
broader sense and it includes the attributive or the
qualificative as well as the descriptive clauses. It is also
in this sense, I suspect, in which modification is used by

Matthews (1981 p, 146). Such modification may include conjunctives. Modifying subordination involves the following:

1. Indicative

2. Participial

3. Conditional

4. Relative

5. Subjunctive

6. Infinitive

3.2.1 Indicative

It has been pointed out that the tenses and aspects of the indicative may be subordinate in certain contexts. The subordination of the tenses individually constituting clauses is mainly found after certain conjunctives. Note the main tenses and aspects of the indicative being introduced by certain conjunctives:

ízingáne zibóna úkúthi/zízoshaywa/ (children realise that they will be punished)

índoda ícábánga úkúthi/íyázi/ (the man thinks that he knows)

ábántu bájabuléla úkúthi/báfundíle/(people are happy that they are learned.

ngiyamthánda lo mfána ngoba/úyázimiséla/ (I like this boy because he prepares himself)

The indicative tenses zízoshaywa in the first example, íyazi

in the second, and <u>úyázimiséla</u> in the fourth are conditioned
by the conjunctive so that they become subordinate. The
same applies to the stative perfect <u>báfundíle</u> in the third
example. With certain sentences, it is grammatically
acceptable to start with the subordinate clause, cf.

<u>úkúthi zízoshaywa, ízingáne ziyábóna</u> (that they will be
punished, children realise)
<u>ngoba úyázimiséla, ngiyamthánda lo mfána</u> (because he prepares
himself, I like this boy)

It is therefore possible to have focus on the subordinate
clause by making it an initial clause.

3.2.2 Participial

The participial may either use a conjunctive before it, or
be juxtaposed to the main predicate. Sometimes juxtaposed
predicates may not be adjacent when there is a word other
than the conjunctive between predicates. The following
sentences show the participial being introduced by the
conjunctives:

<u>úThokó úyásébénza úma/éthânda/</u> (Thoko works when she likes)
<u>lowo úkhúlúma ngoba/éngazí/</u> (that one talks because he does
not know)
<u>sâfika lapho/béhlála/khoná</u> (we arrived where they stay)

The notions of description as attached to the conjunctives
introducing the participial are fairly wide-ranging. In the
above examples only a few notions have been given. Cf. úma
brings forth 'condition' while ngoba has an import of 'reason'.
The notion of 'place' is given by lapho. The participial
subordinate clause introduced by the conjunctive may precede
the main clause e.g.

úma éthânda úThokó úyásébénza (If Thoko likes, she works)
ngoba éngazí lowo, úyákhúlúma (because he does not know, he
talks)
lapho béhlála khoná, sâfika (where they stay, we arrived)

When the participial is juxtaposed next to the main predicate,
it usually expresses simultaneous events or states. Simultaneity
of events or states is an inter-clausal semantic property.
However the semantic property that makes the participial
subordinate, is that it describes the situation in which the
main predicate takes place. For this reason the label
'situative' may be used to indicate the participial in this
context. The modifying property of the participial is
evidenced by the fact that it forms the basis for the relative.
Both the participial and the relative form the negative in
the same way. In the main, the participial does not precede
the main predicate or clause. This shows that its occurrence
is predictable and its distribution is restricted. Since the
participial is 'situative' there is no clear indication of
the past and future participial tenses forms. The future

tense formative that may be found with participial indicates
a prospective aspect, cf.

ngímfícé ézohámba (I found him about to leave)
nqâbâbhabha bésáyókweba (I caught them about to go and steal)
The participial tense as expressing simultaneity is non-
deictic i.e. its indication of time is contextual or
'relative' e.g.

úhámba ékhâla (he walks crying)
úzohámba ékhâla (he will walk crying)
wâhâmba ékhâla (he walked crying)

The participial allows aspectual differentiation. This
shows that in itself it is not clearly marked as an aspect.
If we talk of the "participial aspect" of the indicative, we
merely distinguish aspects that occur under the participial
as against those that occur under the main tenses of the
indicative.

The aspectual forms of the participial may modify the
indicative aspectual forms e.g.

zihlézi zilámbîle (they are seated while they are hungry)
ngisámzúma ébhekîle (I am about to stealthily fix him
up while he is wide awake)
ngisámhlúpha ézohámba (I am to worry him as he is about to
leave)

In the first example the stative aspect of the indicative
is modified by the stative perfect of the participial. In
the second one, the prospective aspect of the indicative is
modified by the stative perfect aspect of the participial.
In the last example the prospective aspect of the participial
modifies the prospective aspect of the indicative. It will
be noted in these instances that there is a sequence of aspectual
forms. The participial as a 'tense' form can be used with
all aspectual forms of the indicative e.g.

úyáhámba êdla (he does walk eating): Note that -ya- indicates
emphatic long form as well as continuous aspect
úsáhámba êdla (he was still walking eating): progressive
aspect
séngihâmba ngîdla (I am now walking while eating): inceptive
aspect
béngihâmba ngîdla (I have been walking while eating):
imperfective aspect
úthê êkhúlûma nathi, símbône (he said, speaking to us, we
must see him): stative perfect.

Something noted in the last example is that there is possibility
of the choice of different word orders, i.e. the participial
can precede the main indicative predicative, cf.

êkhúlûma nathí úthê símbône
Though this ordering is acceptable it is preferable to have
ngenkathi placed before the participial e.g.

ngenkáthi ékhúlûma nathi úthê símbône

In this context the temporal descriptive significance as bound
with the participial is strongly felt.

The participial as indicating simultaneity may also be found
with the potential formative -nga-. The formative -nga-
can either be attached to the indicative tense forms or to the
participial. In simultaneity, one of predicates is allowed
to carry the potential formative not both of them, cf.

ungafúnda ûdla (you can read while eating)

bangasébênza békhúlûma (they can work while talking)

ngimbóna éngaphúméléla (I see him being able to succeed)

bazibóna béngafúnda (they see themselves being able to read)

The negative potential form of the participial must be
distinguished from the ordinary negative form of the participial.
The negative potential form of the participial uses the infix
-nge- instead of -nga- of the ordinary negative and there is
also difference in vowel endings,cf.

ngimbóna éngéphúmúléle (I see him being unable to succeed)

ngimbóna éngaphumelêli (I see him not succeeding)

This means that in form the ordinary negative differs infixally and
terminally from the potential participial. Tonal sequences
also differ.

The main predicates occurring with the participial having

simultaneous notion may be the indicative, subjunctive,

imperative and hortative e.g.

úhámba ékhâla (he walks crying)

áhambé ékhâla (may he walk crying)

fúnda usukumîle (read standing)

makasébênzé éthûle (he must work while being silent)

The narrative tense as the main predicate may also combine

with the participial e.g.

!wáhámba ékhâla námhlânjé (there he walks crying today)

!bákhûlúma bêdla, kwénzénjani (there they talk while eating,

what is the matter)?

The participial may also be subordinated to the infinitive, be

it nominal or predicative e.g.

úkúhámba éngashôngo, kúyáxáka (his going without telling us

is baffling)'

úcishé úkúmlímâza énganakîle (he almost hurt him while he was

unaware)

úfike úkúzómbóna ésébénza (may you come in order to see him

working)

It is to be noted that the participial may be subordinated to

another subordinate predicate e.g.

úlókhu éhámba êdla (he keeps on walking while eating)

úvéle áhambé êdla (he simply walks while eating)

wâvele wáhámba êdla (he simply walked while eating)

angahámba êdla, úngitshêle (should he walk eating, tell me)

In the first example êdla is subordinated to another participial
éhámba; in the second it is subordinated to the subordinate
subjunctive áhambé while in the third it is subordinated to
the subordinate narrative wáhámba. In the first three
examples the first subordination is that of a complement
(brought about by auxiliary predicates) while the second
subordination is that of 'simultaneous' description. In the
fourth example êdla is subordinated to the conditional by
simultaneous notion of description.

A succession of participials may be found e.g.

úmfána úlókhu édé ékhála éngashayîwe (the boy keeps on crying
now and then while not having been hit)

These participials are not co-ordinated; they are
subordinate clauses. In this way subordinate clauses form a
hierarchy according to recursive rules, i.e. 'rules which
apply indefinitely many times to their own output', cf.
Lyons (1977 p.389). Though in theory the rules may apply
ad infinitum, in practice there are stylistic constraints.
In simple terms recursion states that sequences within a
sentence form a structured whole. In the example given above,

the participials constitute different structural layers in
subordination. Cf, the participial auxiliary predicate <u>édé</u>
is the complement of another auxiliary predicate <u>úlókhu</u>;
<u>ékhála</u> is the complement of <u>édé</u> whilst <u>éngashayîwe</u> describes
the situation in which <u>ékhála</u> occurs. It will be noted that in
co-ordinated participials, the participial is not explained
as describing another, cf. Chapter 2.

The deictic copulative (locating as well as demonstrating) may
precede the participial e.g.

<u>nâmpá béza ábántu</u> (here people are coming)
<u>nángu ékhúlúma yedwa úFána</u> (here Fana is talking to himself)
<u>nánso íkhwéla émthíni ínyoka</u> (there is a snake climing the
tree)

In these examples the participial describes the situation
under which the deictic copulative occurs. The situation
itself indicates an event that is going on in the present.
In this context the participial indicates the present time
because the deictic copulative is only relevant to the present.
It cannot indicate future and past time. The deictic
copulative and the participial may be separated by a noun,
a pronoun, locative or any other adjunct e.g.

<u>nâmpá ábántu béza</u> (here people are coming)
<u>nángu úFána ékhúlúma yedwa</u> (here is Fana talking to himself)
<u>nánso émthíni ínyoka íkhwêla</u> (there is a snake climbing the

tree)

Since the deictic copulative is associated with the pronoun, the use of the participial in describing it is very close to that of the relative. Prof Louw (personal communication) says in many Bantu languages of Central Africa, as in Zambia, the relative clause is a participial.

3.2.3 Conditionals

In Zulu there is a number of conditional constructions. Such constructions are bound up   with the notions of contingency and potentiality. In order to have conditional constructions clarified, it is appropriate to classify them into three categories, viz   simple conditionals, hypothetical conditionals and counterfactual conditionals. This classification is that of Saloné (1979 pp.65-66) who used it in connection with Haya which belongs to a subset of Bantu languages. This classification has been found appropriate and has therefore been applied to Zulu.

3.2.3 (a) Simple Conditional Construction

In this construction the predicate that is conditional (protasis) is signalled by the narrative, the -nga- formative and the participial introduced by úma e.g.

ǃwáfîka, sizohámba (once you come, we shall go)

ungafika, sizohámba (should you come, we shall go)

úma úfíka, sizohámba (if you come, we shall go)

In simple conditional construction, there is an assumption that if the protasis holds, the apodosis (main predicate) results. According to Saloné (1975 p. 65) simple conditionals

> state that a proposition results if another
> proposition holds.

This means that as long as the conditional predicate is there, the main predicate which is a conclusion, is evidently a corollary. The ordering of the conditional predicate (protasis) and the main one (apodosis) may be free i.e. the protasis may either precede or follow the apodosis e.g.

!wáfîka sizohámba (once you come, we shall go)

sizohámba !wáfîka (we shall go, once you come)

ungafika sizohámba (should you come, we shall go)

sizohámba ungafika (we shall go, should you come)

In case the conditional predicate with -nga- is preceded by the auxiliary predicate -thi, the choice of word order is fixed e.g.

áthi angafika ángibône (the moment he comes, he should see me)

According to Greenberg (1963 p. 66) there is some universal

in the ordering of subordinate and main predicates as he
says:

> In conditional statements; the conditional clause
> precedes the conclusion as the normal order in all
> languages.

This seems to be the case in Zulu though the term 'normal'
is questionable. It is to be noted that there are semantic
similarities between the simple future and the simple
conditional. The difference is that in the simple conditionals,
the futurity is highly contingent and not just a matter of
course as it is with the simple future.

3.2.3 (b) Hypothetical Conditional Construction

According to Doke (1955 p. 139) this conditional construction
expresses 'doubt' as he says;

> In conditional construction involving doubt or
> inexpectancy of fulfilment in present or future
> time ...

Though Doke mentions only the present and future time, it
must be pointed out that even the past time is involved in
the hypothetical conditionals. The hypothetical conditional
puts forward a proposition that is understood as 'unreal'
or 'imaginary'. The construction of the hypothetical

conditionals is peculiar in that it involves the conjunctive
úkúba and the optative conjunctive ngábe which may be
shortened to nga-. The optative conjunctive ngábe may also
be understood as an auxiliary predicate especially if it
prefixes the subject concord‚cf.

ngábe úyáhámba úkúba úyáthánda (he would be going if he liked)
ízingáne zingábé zâfika úkúba zázâzi (children would have
come, if they knew)

The protasis of the conditional contains úkúba whereas the
apodosis contains ngábe. Though Doke sees 'doubt' in these
constructions, it seems proper to regard the hypothetical
conditional as a proposition whose occurrence is made
null-and-void because another proposition fails to occur.
The proposition whose occurrence is made null-and-void is
the protasis, while the proposition failing to occur is the
apodosis. The choice of word order of the apodosis and
protasis is free in hypothetical conditionals, cf.

ngábe úyáhámba úkúba úyáthánda
úkúba úyáthánda ngábe úyáhámba

In the hypothetical conditional construction, the apodosis
and the protasis are inter-dependent. The clauses determine
each other and they agree in subordination. This may be
expressed by if-then convention: if one clause is subordinate,
then the other one is subordinate (hypothetical).

3.2.3 (c) <u>Counterfactual Conditionals</u>

The counterfactual conditional designates 'an unfulfilled past condition', cf. Doke (1955 p. 140). In Zulu this construction is achieved by the contingent apodosis which consists of the past formative <u>be</u> or -<u>a</u>- + the future formative -<u>zo</u>- and the protasis introduced by <u>úkúba</u> or <u>úma</u> e.g.

<u>béngízohlala úkúba ufikile</u> (I would have stayed, had you come)
<u>ngángízophuméléla úkúba ngásébênza</u> (I would have succeeded, had I worked)
<u>bébézomthóla úma éphúzîle</u> (they would have fixed him, had he been drunk)

The conclusion (apodosis) is taken to be contrary-to-fact cf. <u>béngízohlala, ngángízophuméléla, bábézomthóla</u> and the conditional clause is signalled by the conjunctive <u>úkúba/úma</u>. Welmers (1973 p. 361) referring to Kpelle, regards the conclusion that is contrary-to-fact as 'desiderative' expressing 'an action which the subject wishes would have taken or had taken place' Though the conclusion or the so-called 'desiderative' is the 'main' predicate or clause it is determined by conditional predicate introduced by <u>úkúba/úma</u>. The relation difficulties of such propositions may be resolved somewhat by the <u>if-then</u> convention as applied above.

3.2.4 Subjunctive

In Zulu the subjunctive par excellence as forming a subordinate
clause occurs after the conjunctives úkúthi/úkúba and úkúze.
Sometimes these conjunctives may be implicit, i.e. in
contexts where they are supposed to occur they are left
out, cf.

ngifúna úkúthi sídle (* I want that we may eat i.e. I want
us to eat)
úyásébénza úkúze ahóle (he works so that he gets paid)
as against
ngifúna sídle (* I want that we may eat i.e. I want us to
eat)
úyásébénza ahóle (he works so that he gets paid)

In these sentences the subjunctive expresses subordination.
It must be noted though that in contexts like úyásébénza
ahóle, the subjunctive may be interpreted as being consecutive
which is not introduced by implicit conjunctive, cf.

úyásébénza ahóle (he works and gets paid)

When the subjunctive does not express purpose, which perforce
indicates subordination, it is not introduced by conjunctives
úkúthi/úkúba and úkúze whether explicit or implicit, cf.

isísébénzi síyáshayéla, síkólobhe, sílúngise índlu (a worker

sweeps, cleans and prepares the house)

In the latter example the subjunctive besides being a predicate itself also acts as a covert co-ordinating link, hence forming consecutive co-ordination. Subordinated subjunctives are descriptive whereas co-ordinated subjunctives are not.

From the foregoing analysis of the subjunctive two important questions emerge:

(a) When is it possible for the subjunctive expressing subordinate clause of purpose to leave out úkúthi/úkúba or úkúze?

(b) Is the clause of purpose associated with the command?

3.2.4 (a) <u>When is it possible for the subjunctive expressing the subordinate clause of purpose to leave out úkúthi or úkúze?</u>

It has been noted above that in certain instances the subjunctive expressing the subordinate clause of purpose, the presence of úkúthi and úkúze may be optional. In other contexts the leaving out of these conjunctives, completely changes the sense of the sentence so that the subjunctive is no longer the subordinate clause of purpose. In the first place it must be made clear that úkúthi and úkúze do not have the same semantic property as connectives in all respects. <u>Úkúthi</u> may be left out in a context where úkúze

cannot replace it. In that context the omission of úkúthi

does not affect the nature of the clause having the

subjunctive. Cf.

ngifúna úkúthi sídle (I want us to eat)

báthánda úkúthi zibônwé (they like them to be seen) vs

ngifúna sídle

báthánda zíbônwé

Though the conjunctive úkúthi may be omitted as shown in the

above example, there are certain preferences about omission.

If the subject of the main clause is also the subject of the

subordinate clause, the omission of úkúthi is not preferred

e.g.

ngifúna úkúthi ngídle (I want to eat)

báthánda úkúthi bábonwé (they want to be seen or taken notice

of)

but not

*ngifúna ngídle (I want to eat)

*báthánda bábonwé (they want to be seen)

The use of preferred construction (i.e. that of using ukúthi

when the subject concords of the main and subordinate clauses

are the same) avoids ambiguity which prevails if the

conjunctive is omitted.

In non-conditional construction, úkúthi has úkúba as its

alternative. So in all the instances where úkúthi is used in the above examples, úkúba may replace it. In this respect úkúthi and úkúba are grouped together because they are not contrastive in subordinate clauses of purpose. Úkúba is a dialect variant of úkúthi. The case in point is: When does the subjunctive expressing the subordinate clause of purpose omit úkúthi/úkúba? It would appear that úkúthi/ úkúba is optional when a certain class of predicates is used. Some linguists associate this class of predicates with the 'substantival clause", cf, Doke (1955 p. 33) and Cole (1975 p. 437). In this regard Doke refers to substantival clauses employing the subjunctive mood and says:

> These are used after verbs of desire, intention,
> purpose, necessity. In this construction ukuba
> is used more commonly than ukuthi, though the latter
> also occurs followed by the subjunctive mood.

Cole in Tswana more or less proceeds in the same vein as Doke since he says:

> Substantival clauses of purpose, expressing desire,
> intention or command, are introduced by gore,
> followed by present subjunctive tense forms.

The propriety of the term "substantive clause' will be examined later in this chapter. However, the view expressed by Doke and Cole that a certain class of predicates (i.e. of

desire, intention and necessity/command) are used with the subjunctive introduced by úkúthi/úkúba (in Zulu) is significant. In Zulu it is this class of predicates which makes the use of úkúthi/úkúba optional in forming the subjunctive subordinate clauses of purpose. Úkúze does not replace úkúthi/úkúba in this context.

3.2.4 (b) <u>Is the clause of purpose associated with the command?</u>

This question requires that we specify the nature of association or relationship between the clause of purpose and command. Obviously the nature of relationship can be stated in terms of both formal and semantic properties. As regards form the hortative, which is a form of command, has a structure related to the subjunctive expressing a clause of purpose. Note the following:

<u>mabádle ábántwana</u> (let the children eat)
<u>úfúna úkúthi bádle ábántwana</u> (he wants the children to eat)

The first example shows the hortative (command) whilst the second shows the subjunctive expressing subordinate clause of purpose. The slight difference that exists in morphology is that the hortative attaches an auxiliary prefixal formative whilst the subjunctive has only the subject concord. So there is a morphological association between the subjunctive and the hortative with particular reference to

the endings of these verb forms. The imperative and the

subjunctive also show resemblance of the plural suffix e.g.

hámbáni nónke (go all of you)!
úfúna síhámbéni sónke (he wants all of us to leave)

In the dimension of semantic character, some scholars have

observed a certain correspondence between the subjunctive

(of purpose) and the command. Louwrens (1978 pp.276-7) after

giving Northern Sotho examples to support his claim says:

> In the light of these facts, it seems well founded
>
> to conclude that there exists a natural relation
>
> between "command" on the one hand and "purpose" on
>
> the other, which is expressed in Northern Sotho in
>
> the relation holding between imperative main
>
> clauses and subjunctive clauses. The actual
>
> marking of purposive clauses by means of the
>
> purposive clause marker gore is, therefore
>
> redundant in these syntactic environments.

While it is true that there is a semantic relationship

between the command and subjunctive clause of purpose in

terms of presupposition, it cannot be accepted, at least in

Zulu, that the clause marker is redundant. Both the command

and the subjunctive in particular contexts presuppose a

purpose to be fullfilled. In Zulu the conjunctive úkúze may

be used as a relation between the imperative/hortative and

the subjunctive. Such a relation has a semantic specification of 'purpose'. However in the succession of predicates a further semantic specification other than that of generalised 'purpose' is required. The relationship between the main predicate and the subjunctive of purpose is that of 'cause—result': the main predicate is the cause whilst the subordinate clause is the effect. This type of relationship does not obtain in a series of commands. As the subjunctive features in such commands, care must be taken not to take the conjunctive úkúze as optional or redundant because its omission has semantic consequences e.g.

hámba úkúze úbuyé masísha (go so that you come back soon)
hámba úbuyé masísha (go and come back soon)

In the first example there is a specification "cause-result" whereas in the second where úkúze is absent, there is no such specification. In the second example there is a series of commands in which case úbuyé is a subjunctive expressing covert co-ordination, cf. consecutivization.

3.2.5 Relative

The relative is a modifying clause that is distributionally nominal. It is derived from a nuclear 'predicative' clause by way of word formation rules. That it is a clause, implies the presence of a kind of predicate partially changed into a noun by prefixing the pronominal element la-. The

realisation of the presence of a kind of predicate in the
relative has lead some scholars, cf. Westphal (1946) and
Fortune (1955), to label it the 'relative mood'. It is,
however, found hard to accept the relative as mood (form
of predicate) because it is not only a word but can be a
construction consisting of more than one word e.g.

úmfána/óhámbayó/nángu (The boy who is going is this one) but
úmfána/ókúhámba kwákhe kuyadabúkisa/nángu (the boy whose
going is saddening is here)

In the first instance the relative óhámbayó is a single
word. But in the second instance the relative ókúhámba
kwákhe kuyadabúkisa is a construction consisting of three
words. In this regard it is even unrewarding to classify
the relative as a part of speech.

According to Welmers (1973 p. 420):

> A relative clause is a complete sentence
> nominalized by the addition of the specific
> suffix /-i   -i/ to the entire sentence. The
> sentence so nominalized is itself complete
> by virtue of including a subject pronoun, an
> object pronoun or a complement which refers
> back to (recapitulates) the antecedent noun.

The important thing about Welmers' definition is that he

views the relative as a sentence. Since 'nominalization' is often used as regards the relative, a further classification of nominalization is given in the light of this investigation. Nominalization as regards the relative is used in two senses. First, it refers to a clause that is used to expand the head which may be a noun, pronoun or copulative. This is then called <u>expansion nominalization</u> e.g.

<u>ízinkômó ézídlayó</u> (cattle that are grazing)

<u>zoná ézídlayó</u> (they that are grazing)

<u>yizinkômó ézídlayó</u> (it is cattle that are grazing)

Second, nominalization refers to 'replacement' i.e. a clause which 'replaces' the head. This type of nominalization is referred to as <u>replacive nominalization</u> e.g.

<u>ézídlayó</u> (those that are grazing)

<u>ngézídlayó</u> (it is those that are grazing)

In replacive nominalization, the head may be replaced in focus construction where the head occurs after a focussed relative e.g.

<u>ézídlayó ízinkômó</u>

<u>ézídlayó zoná</u>

In the latter case the clause is not an expansion proper but the head is in apposition as it were. It must be noted that

'replacement' as applying to replacive nominalisation is used in a special sense. It does not refer to a mechanical paradigmatic kind of replacement. But it involves that the head noun is <u>latent</u> or that it is in <u>apposition</u>. It also involves the <u>zero</u> head noun as when the indefinite concord <u>ku</u>- is used, cf. <u>kuhle</u> (it is well) vs <u>ókuhle</u> (that which is well).

As regards the formation of the relative, a good deal has been said within the framework of transformational analysis. Transformational grammar has at least two prominent theories along which the formation of the relative is explained. These theories may be referred to as 'matching' theory and 'promotion' theory. The 'matching' theory with its versions sees the matching of the NP of the matrix sentence by the NP of the embedded sentence in relativization. Under this conception of relativization the following sentence

<u>úmfána ógángayó úyáhleka</u> (the boy who is naughty is laughing) is transformationally formed from the deep structure:

<u>úmfána (úmfána úyáganga) úyáhleka</u>

The 'matching' theory takes identity of NP's into consideration. Hendrickse (1975) points out that co-referential NP must be adjacent to the antecedent before relativization can take place. 'Promotion' theory was developed by Schachter (1973). The 'promotion' theory introduces a dummy symbol Δ which

is an empty category. The NP of the embedded sentence is promoted to fill the dummy slot so that it becomes the subject of both the embedded sentence and the matrix one. Nkabinde (1978) has followed this line of analysis with reference to the relative in Zulu. Benji Wald (1970) dealing with the relative in Umbundu is of the opinion that the dummy symbol must be lexically filled. Both the matching theory and promotion theory may be good for European languages as well as some African languages, but are not relevant to Zulu.

The Dokean approach has it that there is a qualificative relative and a pronoun relative i.e. a relative as a qualificative and a relative as a pronoun. This assumption is based partly on a syntactic criterion and partly on a morphological criterion. As regards syntactic criterion the qualificative relative ceases to be a qualificative if it is placed before the 'substantive' or if it is deprived of the accompanying 'substantive' and then becomes the qualificative pronoun. Though Doke does not explicitly put it, the morphological criterion applies when the qualificative relative is capable of taking the prefixal formatives that are used in connection with the noun, then it becomes a pronoun e.g.

thiná siya kóhámbayó úmúntu (we are going to the person who is going)
thiná siya kóhámbayó (we are going to the one who is going)
ízingáne zikhulúma ngóhámbayó úmúntu (children are talking about the person who is going)

<u>izingáne zikhulúma ngóhámbayó</u> (children are talking about
the one who is going)

It will be noted that in the first two examples the locative
prefix <u>ku-</u> is used when the noun is placed after the relative
or when it is found without the noun it qualifies. In the
last two examples the instrumental <u>nga-</u> is used when the
noun is placed after the relative or when it is found without
the noun it qualifies.

On a closer look the division of a relative into the
qualificative and pronoun is plausible yet unnecessary. We
have stated that the relative is a nominal construction
derived by prefixing the pronominal element <u>la-</u> to the
indicative present tense. This goes to show that the
relative, though a clause, is nominalised (pronominal)
irrespective of its position or its co-occurrence with the
noun. On the other hand because of its similar distribution
with the noun it "qualifies", it undergoes certain
morphological constraints. It cannot take the prefixal
formatives normally taken by nouns, if it follows the noun
it 'qualifies'. This is to be expected because the noun
itself cannot take these prefixes if it occurs after the
relative, cf.

<u>thiná siya kóhámbayó úmúntu</u>
but not
*<u>thiná siya óhámbayó kúmúntu</u>

The case in point then is that the relative behaves like the noun in similar positions. It is pronominal not because of its position but because of the pronominalising element la-___ and its distribution. Though it is pronominal in character it still has the notion of modification. The 'qualificative' is therefore pronominal.

Sometimes the relative clauses are subdivided into restrictive and non-restrictive according to the absence or presence of pauses before and after the relative clause. The pause as a criterion of subdivision has been claimed in languages like English e.g.

(i)   Scholars who work hard are successful
(ii)   Scholars, who work hard, are successful

In (i) where there are no pauses there is an assertion that only a sub-group of scholars work hard. The implication is that there are more scholars than those in the sub-group that work hard, hence restrictive. In (ii) where there is a pause before and after the relative clause it is asserted that all scholars work hard. These claims as given by English sentences are hard to support in Zulu. Though a pause can be inferred from a relatively long length at the penult, it is a moot point in Zulu that it can have an interpretation given to it in English. Zulu has a different device of handling the problem of "only a sub-group of a class" and 'all of the class". It introduces a demonstrative to refer to "only a

sub-group of a class' and if there is no demonstrative it refers to 'all of a class', cf.

(i)   ábáfúndi lábo ábásébénza kanzima báyáphúméléla

(scholars who work hard succeed)

(ii)   ábáfúndi ábásébénza kanzima báyáphúméléla

(scholars, who work hard, succeed)

In (i) where there is lábo the relative restricts a sub-group of ábáfúndi whereas in (ii) it has no such restriction. But we shall not divide the relative clause into restrictive and non-restrictive on the basis of the use of the demonstrative. Our restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses will be based on the parameter of a concord.

The terms restrictive and non-restrictive are used in this study in a slightly different sense from the one in vogue as regards relative clause analysis in English. The concords may either be restrictive or non-restrictive, cf. Hlongwane (1976). The concord is restrictive when it expresses a restricted relation between the noun and the predicate as in úmfána úyáhámba (the boy is walking) where the subject concord u- has a one-to-one relation with the noun úmfána; in this case the subject concord is derived from the corresponding class prefix. At times the concord may be non-restrictive when it does not agree with the noun in a one-to-one fashion e.g. kúhámba úmfána (there walks a boy). The so-called "classificatory concords" cf. Doke (1955) are

in a way non-restrictive or at least partially restrictive.
The non-restrictive or partial restrictive use of the concord
occurs in cases of conjoined subjects and objects. Since the
relative is a sentential derivation, it may also involve the
restrictive and non-restrictive use of the concord. If the
relative concord does not agree with the noun that is
qualified, such a relative concord is non-restrictive. It is
non-restrictive in the sense that any noun qualified, in
similar position, may be used with that concord.

Note the following sentences:

(i)   <u>úmfána ábámbónayó ábántu úyáhámba</u> (the boy whom the
         people see is going)

(ii)   <u>úkudlá ábákúbónayó ábántu kúmnándi</u> (the food which
         people see is delicious)

(iii)   <u>ízingáne ábázibónayó ábántu ziyáhámba</u> (the children
         whom the people see are going)

In the above sentences the relative concord <u>aba-</u> is used with
nouns belonging to different classes and it is therefore
non-restrictive. However, the noun that is essentially
qualified is referred to by an object concord. At times the
choice of word order may throw the relativized noun and the
non-relativized noun together e.g. <u>ábántu úmfána ábámbónayó</u>
<u>úyáhámba</u>. The useful clue of ascertaining the noun that is
relativized or enlarged is to note the subject concord of the
predicate of the main clause. The noun that has a
concordial agreement with the predicate of the main clause is
the 'head' noun enlarged by the relative clause. For that

reason, úmfána in the above sentence is the 'head' noun. This means that ábántu is part of the relative clause. This also shows that the relative concord (cf. aba-) does not always refer to the 'head' noun. It becomes more intricate when the relativized noun is omitted and the one referred to by the relative concord is placed before the relative as in ábántu ábámbónayó úyáhámba. In cases as above, Prof van Rooyen (personal communication) says only one noun is qualified i.e. úmfána. The other noun i.e. ábántu is referred to by its relative concord. The qualified noun is also referred to by the object concord in the qualifying clause.

The relative may also be associated with another kind of focus constructions. Compare the following sentences:

úMkhíze úyíndoda ékhúlúphéléyo (Mr Mkhize is a man who is fat)

nguMkhíze óyíndoda ékhúlúphéléyo (it is Mr Mkhize who is a man that is fat)

In the first sentence úyíndoda is a nuclear copulative but in the second sentence the relative óyíndoda modifies the copulative nguMkhíze. The second sentence is a focus construction and the relative óyíndoda is associated with this type of construction. Though both óyíndoda and ékhúlúphéléyo are relatives, ékhúlúphéléyo is not a focus relative. The difference between a focus relative and a non-focus one is to be sought in pragmatic information where we have a question and answer pair. In the first sentence the pair would be set out as follows:

Q: úMkhíze únjani (How is Mkhize like)?

A: úMkhíze úyíndoda ékhúlúphéléyo

In this answer úMkhíze is taken for granted (old information)

and is therefore not focussed.   But if the pair is:

Q: ngubani óyíndoda ékhúlúphéléyo (who is the man that

      is fat)?

A: nguMkhíze óyíndoda ékhúlúphéléyo

it is clear the nguMkhíze is focussed and is new information.

The relative that modifies a focussed copulative may then

be called a focus relative because it is a necessary

ingredient of a focus construction.   The focus relative may

further be 'qualified' by another relative in which case we

have a sequence of a focus relative and a non-focus one.   It

will be noted that nguMkhíze is the focussing of the subject.

(For further remarks on focus construction vide Chapter 4).

If de-focussing of the subject is intended, the existential

copulative kúkhoná is used as the main clause and the former

main predicate used as a relative clause e.g.

ábántu bayangqóngqoza emnyango (people are knocking at the

door) but

kúkhoná ábántu ábángqongqózayó emnyango (there are people who

are knocking at the door)

In the first example the sentence is simple whereas in the

second it is complex.   Focussing or de-focussing of the

subject may result in simple sentence - complex sentence

contrast,cf.

úMkhíze úyíndoda (Mr Mkhize is a man)

(ng)uMkhíze óyíndoda (It is Mr Mkhize who is a man)

According to the transformational analysis the second example
is a cleft sentence.   In Zulu, subject focus is responsible
for the kind of a complex sentence as noted in the above
example.   On the other hand some kind of de-focussing or
indefiniteness is indicated by the existential predicate
kúkhoná as in kúkhoná úMkhíze óyíndoda (There is a Mr Mkhize
who is a man).   The subject concord kú- is a non-restrictive
and indefinite.

Certain facts emerge from the way the relative has been
treated above, viz

(a)   It is not necessary to explain the relative in terms of
      its antecedent in Zulu;   cf. Doke divides the relative
      into direct and indirect according to whether the antecedent
      agrees with the relative or not.   It must also be borne
      in mind that the relative concord based on the
      unrestrictive concord ku- cannot be associated with a
      particular antecedent, cf. non-restrictive replacive
      relative.
(b)   There is no need for direct/indirect distinction, cf.
      Doke;   neither is there any need for adjacency principle
      as proposed by Hendrikse (1975).

(c)   The relative concord is derived from the subject concord
      rather than from the class prefix. This implies that
      it is derived after the subject has been marked in a
      sentence. Such a sentence is then nominalized.

(d)   The relative may simultaneously qualify the noun
      belonging to the main clause and the other belonging to
      the subordinate clause.

(e)   The relative is pronominal by virtue of the demonstrative
      la- that is prefixed to the predicate and by its
      distribution.

3.2.6   Infinitive

The infinitive is in many instances a noun of class 15
because despite all the predicative characteristics it may
have, the class prefix ku- causes it mainly to occur in the
noun slot. Care must be taken, for instance, that it is
not the infinitive that is productive so as to have the
object concord or the verbal extension. It is the object
concord or the extension that comes first before the finite
predicate could be converted into an infinitive. In other
words the finite predicate that has an object concord or an
extension will retain it when it is converted into infinitive
through derivation. The crucial thing about the infinitive
is that it may occupy a predicate slot and ipso facto have
a predicative function. This is clearly seen where the
infinitive is a complement of an auxiliary predicate e.g.

wâthi úkúṁbúka káncáne (he just looked at him a little)

úcíshé úkúlímála (he nearly got hurt)

mûsa úkúhámba (do not go)

Such a function of the infinitive is also observed when it

succeeds certain predicates and this use is consistent with

the definition of serialization, cf. 1.4.7 e.g.

ngizofika úkúzóṁbóna (I shall come to see him)

wâbûya úkúzóhlala naye (he came back to stay with him)

In these sentences the infinitive is functionally a predicative

by virtue of its being the semantic replacement of the

participial and the narrative forms (prospective aspects) e.g.

ngizofika ngízóṁbóna (I shall come to see him)

wâbûya wázóhlala naye (he came back to stay with him)

It will be noted that both the participial and narrative

forms in these concatenations constitute serial subordinate

clauses because they describe as to purpose.

Once it has been established that the infinitive has two

functions, viz. nominal and verbal, then we need not look for

noun morphological characteristics or verb morphological

characteristics in it. Looking for such characteristics may

be misleading in some respects. It must be observed that the

verb stem which may have an extension or which may be

positive or negative can be converted into a noun stem through the process of word derivation e.g.

angikúfúni úkúhambéla éGóli (I do not like to go to Johannesburg) úkúngambóni úThémba kúyámjabhísa únina (not to see Themba, makes his mother sad)

In these examples the infinitives are nouns despite the fact that they have morphological characteristics of verbs like the extension,negative formation and object concord. The fact that they are nouns is proven by their ability to generate concord agreement in the predicate. When the infinitive generates concord in the predicate, its function is similar to that of all other nouns. Once more, nominals are not productive with regard to object concords. For instance the name of a person úMshiyéni (Mshiyeni i.e. leave him) is derived from mshiyéni (leave him) by adding class 1a prefix ú-. It does not mean that the object concord -m- signals productivity of personal names. The same applies to the infinitive as a nominal.

Finally it may be stated that the infinitive could be the basis for further word formation. The so-called future tense of the indicative is the result of the predicate sequences in which the infinitive has a predicate function. In such a case the predicates in sequence are amalgamated so that they form a word compound. In a compound predicate each predicate undergoes 'semantic shift' and

'grammaticalisation', cf. the indicative 'mood' having as its
input the main verb and the infinitive e.g.

ngiya + úkúhámba (I go + to go)

ngiyaúkúhámba (I am going to go)

ngiyókúhámba (I am going to go)

ngiyóhámba (I am going to go)

ngóhámba (I am going to go)

In this work, the term 'compound predicate' is reserved for
a derivation in which two or more predicates are combined
into a single predicate i.e. predicates merge into one
predicate. In cases where the auxiliary predicate is a
word on its own separate form the complementary subordinate
predicate as in wâthi úkúmbúka, the term complex clause is
used in which case it refers to a periphrastic predicate.

3.2.7 Further sub-division of modifying clauses

The modifying clauses can also be sub-divided according to
the collocational relationship of the qualificative and the
descriptive, hence qualificative and descriptive clauses.
The qualificative clause is based on the relative and in
this study it is therefore taken to be the collocational
designation of the relative clause, cf. 3.2.5 above. Of
particular interest with the relative as a qualificative
clause is its nominal status. For this reason it can derive
a copulative which can also be qualified:

<u>ngódlalâyó óngafûndi</u> (it is the one who plays who does not read)

<u>ngábáhlúphékayó ábácélayó</u> (it is those who suffer that beg)

<u>ngóbálékayó ósíndayó</u> (it is the one who runs away who escapes)

The relative (qualificative) copulative is qualified by a non-copulative relative. It must be borne in mind that the qualificative copulative (sometimes called 'descriptive copulative', cf. Cole 1975) still qualifies though it is qualified. In this case there seems to be a hierarchy of qualification. The collocational relationship may also establish another kind of clause, i.e. the 'directive clause' which is not actually modifying as the qualificative and the descriptive, cf. directive clause below.

A descriptive subordinate clause describes the predicate in the main clause and in that score it is dominated by the main clause. Ziervogel (1976 p. 145) regards descriptive clauses as adverbial clauses:

> Adverbial clauses are introduced by conjunctions, adverbs and auxiliaries, especially not derived from verbs.

It will be noted that the term 'adverbial' does not indicate collocational relation. We must be careful not to be led into thinking that a descriptive clause is always introduced

by a conjunctive or an adverb. There are those descriptive clauses that do not use conjunctives and those that do. Note those that do not use conjunctives:

úṁfána úhámba/úyádlá/ (the boy walks while crying)

báṁfícé/ékhâla/(they called at her whilst she was crying)

ungahámba/ngizodumála/(should you go, I'll get disappointed)

úbúkéka/njéngóngaphilîle/(he looks like the one who is not well)

The above clauses can be sub-divided into those expressing simultaneity (first two examples), conditionals (third example) and manner/degree/locative often indicated by kuna-, njenga-, kwa- and nganga- (last example).

Another form of a descriptive clause that does not use a conjunctive is a descriptive clause of place constituted by such words as phámbi(before), émva (after) and phézu (above) e.g.

sihlézi phámbi kwábásífundísayó (we are seated before those who teach us)

íbhanóyi lindíza phézu kókúdaliwéyo éṁhlábéni (a plane flies above what is created on earth)

íbhubêsi libhónga éduze kwézihlakazékayó ízilwane (a lion is roaring next to the dispersing animals)

The locative word (phámbi, phézu, éduze etc.) and the concord

ku- establish a 'possessive construction'. It will be noted that these clauses are descriptive locative nominals. The "possessive construction" phámbi kwábásífundísayó, phézu kókúdaliwéyo and éduze kwézihlakazékayó are in effect exocentric constructions.

The infinitive with a predicative function may supply a kind of descriptive clause of purpose in which there is no conjunctive (cf. 3.2.6) e.g.

úyáhámba úkúyómbóna (he is going 'in order' to see him)
úmfána úthengé íncwadi úkúyífúnda (the boy has bought a book 'in order' to read it)
bámniké íméndlela úkúmklómela (they have given him a medal 'in order' to praise him)

In these sentences the infinitive cannot be taken as a noun because it is not the term or argument of the preceding predicate.

Descriptive clauses that use conjunctives are quite diverse. In certain cases the conjunctives may be omitted. The conjunctives themselves have semantic significance and they are subordinating. These descriptive clauses may express condition, location, time, reason, concession, purpose and comparison:

(i)   Condition e.g. íngane íyákhála úma ílámbíle (a baby

cries if it is hungry)

(ii)   Location e.g. <u>ngiyathánda lápho éhlála khoná</u> (I like

the place where he stays)

(iii)   Time e.g. <u>ngizofika lápho éséqédîle</u> (I will come

when he has finished)

<u>akángibhaléli sélókhu áhâmba</u> (he does not write to

me ever since he left)

(iv)   Reason e.g. <u>akáṁhlúphi ngóba úyáṁthémba</u> (he does not

worry her because he trusts her)

(v)   Concession e.g. <u>úyásébénza nóma égûla</u> (he works

even though he is ill)

(vi)   Purpose e.g. <u>báyálima úkúze bávuné</u> (they plough so

that they may reap)

(vii)   Comparison e.g. <u>wénza njéngóba étshélîwe</u> (he does

as he was told)

Evidently there may be different ways of presenting a
descriptive clause. For instance a descriptive clause of
comparison may be presented in two ways: first by using
certain inflected conjunctives (<u>njéngóba</u>, <u>kónokúthi</u>, <u>kúnóma</u>,
<u>kúnokúba</u>) and second by prefixing such formatives as <u>kúna-</u>
<u>njenga-</u> to replacive relative clauses e.g.

<u>úmíle kúnokúba ásébênzé</u> (he is standing rather than working)
<u>úṁfána úzozúza kákhúlu kúnabavilaphayo</u> (the boy will gain

more than those who are lazy)

3.3   B.   COMPLEMENTING CLAUSES

Complementing clauses refer to those clauses that cannot be
specified as 'modifying'. The term 'complementing' is used
in a different sense from "complementary". "Complementary'
refers to a predicate that supports the auxiliary predicate
and as such it is a subclass of 'complementing' clauses.
Matthews (1981 p.169) uses the term "complement clause' for
what we call "complementing clause' (we choose complementing
because it is in accord with modifying in formation) and
points out that such a clause is established on the criteria
of "valency'. In this, we are in agreement with Prof
Matthews. We can therefore summarise the difference between
modifying clauses and complementing one as follows: modifying
clauses form an open class that can be excluded from the
larger sentence without disturbing the structural and
semantic set up of that sentence; complementing clauses
typically form a bounded system of opposition with the main
clauses and as such they complete a construction that lacks
either structural balance or semantic balance or both. On
these grounds it is observed that complementing clauses are
set out on dependency relations. We shall not, however, use
such terms as 'noun clause' and "substantive clause' for
reasons that will be obvious below. Complementing clauses
will be subdivided into directive clauses, complementary
clauses and indirect reported clauses.

3.3.1 Directive clause

This is the clause that is referred to by most linguists
as the 'noun clause', cf.Ziervogel (1976) or 'substantive
clause', cf.Doke (1955 p.32) and Cole (1975 p.436). Though
the term 'noun clause' has a long tradition linguists often
use it with the reservation that it is imprecise. It is
based on a pseudo-morphological principle in which a
subordinate clause is defined by its analogy with certain
parts of speech i.e. 'noun' or 'substantive', 'adjectival'
and 'adverbial' clauses. The term 'noun clause'
is untenable in several respects. First, it is not
consistent with collocational terms 'descriptive' and
'qualificative'. It is devoid of any semantic characterisation
between the main clause and the subordinate one. Second, it
makes an assumption that this clause replaces the noun which
is either a subject or an object as Doke (1955 p.32) says:

> We now come to what might be termed a study of the
> complex subject and object, in which the subject or
> object concerned is expressed by means of a
> subordinate clause employing one of the moods of the
> verb.

It will be noted that we may still have this type of a clause
even if there is a noun said to have been 'replaced' by the
clause and such a noun is not analysed as part of the 'noun'
clause e.g.

úmfána úcábángaúthishá/úkúthi úyázi/ (the boy thinks the
teacher knows)

úmamé úyázibóna ízingáne/úkúthi ziyáganga/ (mother sees
that children are being naughty)

It is therefore misleading to say that "the subject or object
is expressed by means of a subordinate clause". Third, in
terms of the parts of speech, we would expect to have
'conjunctive' and 'verb' clauses which in any case
grammarians seem reluctant to evolve.

Another approach is that adopted by Hendrikse (1975) which is
essentially evolved within the framework of transformational
analysis. He refers to a clause introduced by úkúba in
Xhosa as a sentential nominalization. He sees this as a
morphological derivation where úkúba is nominalizer functioning
as a 'feature carrier' for the subordinate clause. Hendrikse
(1975 p.163) says in this regard:

> The nominalizer ukuba exhibits the same prefix as
> that of class 8 namely, uku-. Obviously, if the
> sentential nominalizations can assume a class
> prefix, then this feature cannot be associated
> with any one of the constituents within the sentence
> boundaries. Thus the class prefix is associated
> with a sentential nominalization via the
> nominalizer ukuba.

He also shows that úkúba as a nominal can occur in a 'possesive construction' and can be inflected to be a 'locative'. We are in agreement with Hendrikse that úkúba has some characteristics of nouns. However, we do not accept his claim that úkúba can generate 'agreement', at least in the way he presents it, (note one of his examples on p.164: ukuba ndikuve uthetha njalo kuyendimangalisa) In such a case Hendrikse is arbitrating the question of an unrestrictive concord ku- by reference to the conjunctive úkúba which is a grammatical infinitive. A difference is to be drawn between a grammatical word and a lexical one. A grammatical word signals relationships, cf. conjunctive; a lexical word has lexical meaning, cf. infinitive from the verb. The lexical infinitive does generate agreement. Úkúba can generate 'agreement' if it still retains the meaning of auxiliary predicate -ba (to be) from which it is derived. In such a context úkúba has the copulative or adjunct as its complement e.g.

úkúba yisífundíswa úyákúthánda (he likes to be a learned one)
akákúfúni úkúba nje (he does not want to be like this)
úkúba mkhûlu émzimbeni kúyáhlupha (to be big in the body, is troublesome)

It would appear that Hendrikse's claim is that a clause could be named according to the morphological characteristics of a conjunctive. This is begging the problem because in essence it means that a predicate which is a subjunctive (in certain

cases an indicative) is named after an infinitive conjunctive. Such an analysis occurs because the predicative form happens to be introduced by an infinitive conjunctive and because the infinitive may alternate with the subjunctive in certain environments. It may also be noted that úkúze is an infinitive conjunctive but does not necessarily give rise to 'sentential nominalisation". The term "sentential nominalisation' may be applicable to the relative because it is a constituent occurring within a "NP'. It must also be pointed out that the conjunctive úkúba may be omitted. This weakens the claim that 'the class prefix is associated with a sentential nominalization via úkúba'. In cases of certain "construction" i.e. where more than one word is referred to by a categorial name, omission or deletion of a member constituent is not allowed. Cf. 'possessive construction' and 'relative construction' e.g.

phézu kwéndlu (on the house)

émva kwámi (after me)

ózandla zóndile (one whose hands are thin)

The last example above shows 'possessive construction' involving relativization. It is sometimes referred to as 'relative construction'.

The term "directive clauses" is preferred to "noun/ substantive clause" because it indicates collocational relationship and avoids the quick-sands of naming a clause

by a part of speech as this might lead us to call the
infinitive the substantive clause. The directive clause is
one to which the collocational drift is directed by the
valency of the main clause. It must be noted that the term
'directive' is sometimes used to refer to a particular non-
inflectional'case' or 'liaison semantic feature', cf. Chapter
1. When it is used in connection with a type of a clause,
it implies subordination and must be distinguished from
'case' use. There are three distinct directive clauses in
Zulu. First, there are those that employ conjunctives úkúthi
and úkúba and which are dominated mainly by what has been
referred to as 'factive' predicates. These are predicates
which amount to the assumption of fact i.e. they presuppose
the truth of the subordinate predicate. According to Young
(1980 p. 275) these predicates are distinct from others:

> Some reporting verbs are known as factive verbs since
> they have the interesting characteristic, when they
> dominate a reported declarative, that they presuppose the
> truth of the reported clause.

These are the predicates that have been also recognised in
Zulu, cf. Doke (1955 p. 32):

> These are used after verbs of saying, thinking,
> knowing, seeing, wondering, hearing, telling etc.,
> and indicate the fact or occurrence which is thought,
> seen, heard, told etc.

The directive clause employs the indicative and the hortative. The conjunctives úkúthi and úkúba are sometimes omitted e.g.

úyábóna úkúthi úzokhathála (he realises that he will get tired)

úyábóna úzokhathála (he realises he will get tired)

ngithémba úkúthi uyangithánda (I hope you love me)

óthishá bátshéla ízingáne úkúthi mazifûndé (teachers are telling children that they should read)

This directive clause may precede the main clause e.g.

úkúthi úzokhathála úyábóna (that he will get tired, he realises)

Though Doke recognised a particular class of predicates which we may call factives, it is to be noted that extensions play a big role in Zulu and as such may affect this kind of classification. The extension -el- when used in predicates make them take úkúthi or úkúba followed by the indicative or subjunctive. Here the fact is assumed as being the reason e.g.

úmsháyéla úkúthi úyádeléla (he hits him for the reason that he is rude)

ízingáne zijabuléla úkúthi ziyádlála (children are happy for the reason that they are playing)

índoda íphúzéla úkúthi íyáhlúpheka (the man drinks for the reason that he is suffering)

úmsháyéla úkúthi áfundé (he hits him for the reason that he
may read)

índoda ísébénzéla úkúba íhóle (the man works for the reason
that he gets paid)

Second, there are those directive clauses of purpose and they
are supplied by the subjunctive, cf. Cole (1975 p. 437):

> Substantival clauses of purpose, expressing desire,
> intention or command are introduced by gore, followed
> by the present subjunctive tense forms. Such
> clauses follow, and are functionally the objects of,
> verbs such as -batla, -rata, -bolêlêla, -laya,
> -kopa, etc.

It will be noted that though we accept the identification of
such clauses, we do not regard them as 'substantival'. In
Zulu these clauses are introduced by the conjunctives úkúthi
and úkúba. These conjunctives may be left out if the
directive clause follows the main clause. Should the
directive clause precede the main clause, the conjunctive is
never left out. Note the following sentences:

óthishá báfúna/úkúthi ízingáne ziphâsé/ (teachers want
children to pass)

úgogo úcéla/úkúba ngímsîze/ (grandmother requests that I
help her)

úgogó úcéla/ngímsîze/ (grandmother requests that I help her)

/úkúthi ziphâsé izingáne,/óthishá báyáfúna (that the children must pass, teachers want it)

In the last example the directive clause receives prominence and the conjunctive cannot be omitted.

The third type of the directive clause is based on the doubt or uncertainty of what is said. This is the converse of the first type which is based on the truth of what is said. The directive clause of doubt is introduced by the conjunctive nôma e.g.

angázi nôma úzofika yini (I do not know whether he will come or not)
ngitshéle nôma uyagula nôma awúgúli (tell me whether you are ill or not)

Unlike úkúthi and úkúba that may be omitted, nôma cannot. The directive clause using nôma must be distinguished from the descriptive clause of concession using nóma. In the case of the directive clause nôma follows a certain class of predicates recognised by Doke in the first type of directive clause. In this case we are thinking of predicates that have not taken extensions. So in the directive clause there is no significance of concession. There is a free choice of ordering with respect to the directive clause of doubt and the main clause, cf.

nôma úzofika yíní angázi (whether or not he will come, I do not know)

nôma uyagula nôma awúgúli, ngitshéle (whether you are ill or not tell me)

In examples such as ngitshéle nôma uyagula nôma awúgúli, it must be noted that, it is the first nôma that introduces the directive clause; the second nôma has a co-ordinative use.

3.3.2 Complementary clauses

The complementary clause completes the auxiliary clause. In fact the auxiliary predicate is an auxiliary clause whilst the complementary predicate is a complementary clause. It is the complementary clause that is subordinated to the auxiliary clause. The complementary clause may be the infinitive, indicative, participial or subjunctive e.g.

úphóse/úkúlímála/ (he almost got hurt)

úmáne/úyákhúlúma nje/ (he is simply talking)

údamáne/éhâmba/ (he keeps on going)

úmáne/áhambé/ (he simply goes)

It is noted that the complementary clause may follow the auxiliary clause in the infinitive, indicative, participial, or subjunctive e.g.

/úkúvele/úhambé kumbi (to simply go is bad)

/úzodamáne/émkhúmbûla (he will keep on remembering him)

bámbóné/élókhu/ékhúlûma(they saw him while he kept on talking)

báfúna/avéle/ámsháye (they want him to simply hit him)

The relationship between auxiliary clauses (or predicates) and

their complements may be expressed in two ways:

(a)   Syntactic relationship

(b)   Semantic relationship

3.3.2   (a)   Syntactic relationship

As has been stated elsewhere, the auxiliary clause may occur

without its complement, cf.

akazánge (he did not)

wábáyáthe, wehlúléka (he was trying, but failed)

músa (don't)

véle (of course)

Except for the second example, the auxiliary clauses above

are used interjectively. In the second example the complement

is omitted but there is no interjective use. Whether there

be interjective use or not when the complement is omitted

we have ellipsis. The leaving out of the complement is

determined by pragmatic information. If the complement is no

longer the new information it may be left out in discourse.

The word like véle is not truly an auxiliary clause if it is

without the subject concord. It is an adjunct derived from the auxiliary predicate, cf.

<u>uvéle ácúle</u> (she simply sings)
<u>úyácúla véle</u> (she shings, of course)
<u>véle úyácúla</u> (of course she sings)

In the first example <u>uvéle</u> is a true auxiliary clause. In the second and third examples <u>véle</u> is an adjunct and can be found before or after the predicate.

The important syntactic feature of the auxiliary predicate-complement relationship is the fixed sequential positions of these predicates. The auxiliary predicate precedes its complement and this word order is irreversible. Despite this irreversibility the auxiliary predicate and the complementary predicate are separable i.e. they can form a discontinuous sequence e.g.

<u>zilókhu ízingáne zidláládlala</u> (children keep on playing)
<u>údámáne úmúntu éngibúza</u> (a person keeps on asking me)

The auxiliary predicate conditions the form of the complementary predicate. The complementary may be found as the indicative (including the narrative tense), the participial, the subjunctive and infinitive e.g.

<u>úmfána údla ínyama úze úyáyíshíya</u> (the boy eats meat until he

leaves it)

<u>úmúntu wâmane wáhléka njê</u> (the person simply laughed)

<u>úmfána úlókhu éhâmba</u> (the boy keeps on going)

<u>báfíke bávuké baqéze bádle</u> (they, as a matter of necessity,
wake up, bathe and then eat)

<u>úcíshe úkúlímála</u> (he almost got hurt)

When the indicative is the complement of auxiliary predicate
-<u>ze</u>, it indicates an action that is realised as result of the
occurrence of the one preceding -<u>ze</u>. This shows that -<u>ze</u> has
a conjunctive use as well.This is clearly noticeable when <u>uku-</u>
prefix is used with it.It is also noted above that a series
of subjunctives may be complements of one common auxiliary
predicate. This means that among themselves they are co-
ordinated but they at the same time subordinated to the common
auxiliary predicate.

From a structural (syntactic) point of view the complementary
clause completes the clause that would be otherwise
elliptical. This is especially intriguing when the infinitive
is taken into consideration. The infinitive is morphologically
a noun. If it has to enter into morphological constraints of
nouns, it does so. This is more evident when as a complementary
clause it becomes a copulative. It is known that the
auxiliary predicate is normally not found in its passive
form. It does, however, happen with a certain class of
auxiliary predicates expressing a positive desiderative import
that the auxiliary predicate is found in a passive form, cf.

ízingáne zimélwe[ukúfúnda (children ought to read)

wená ufanélwe[ukúkhúlúma íqiniso (you ought to talk the truth)

In these instances the complementary infinitives have become
copulatives because of their relation with the passive
auxiliary predicate. They are not, however, clauses because
they have copulative forms; they are clauses because they
complete an elliptical construction and in this regard they
stand in paradigmatic relation with other full-fledged
predicate. In this regard it is noted that the complementary
clause is a structural support rather than an expansion of
another clause.

3.3.2 (b) Semantic relationship

The nature of semantic relationship between the auxiliary
clause and the complementary one can be stated in terms of
aspectual value and modality. There are three aspectual
values (they may be more) that are recognisable in auxiliary-
complementary predicate relations:

(a) Durative e.g. úlókhu áhlala ékhaya (he has been at home
     ever since)

     sélókhu báhâmba (they have left ever since)

     údámáne éhâmba (he keeps on going)

     újínge éngibûka (he looks at me now and then)

(b) Inceptive e.g. úsímze ahléke (all of a sudden he laughs/he
     simply laughs)

     úvéle asébénze (all of a sudden he works/he simply works)

bámáne bángibúke (they simply look at me)

(c)   Perfective e.g. úthúka éhámbîle (he goes once in a while)

úqábúkéla éhlékîle (he laughs once in a while)

The perfective aspectual value is accompanied by "occasional" notion, but all the same indicates the phase that has once been perfected.

Auxiliary predicates in Zulu may involve the notion of modality which refers to 'qualifications on the truth-value of the proposition which the speaker's utterance expresses", cf. Hubbard (1979, p.33). The speaker is committed to what he expresses mainly through the proposition of a predicate. The modal auxiliary predicate is used to give a certain colour or shade to the semantic content of the predicate as to the speaker's view of the relationship of the proposition and its actualisation. Modality involves inter alia the notions of necessity, possibility, obligation, prohibition, desire, and doubt, cf.

necessity: Izinkômó zivéle ziyábúdla útshani (cattle do

eat grass)

úqóndé úkúhámba (he wants to go)

possibility: angáhle afíke (he may come)

obligation: kúméle áhambé (he must go)

prohibition: mûsa úkúhámba (do not go)

desire: séngáthi angafíka (may he come)

doubt: hléze afíke (he might come)

Modality is often subclassified into epistimic and deontic
commitments. Epistimic modality often includes possibility
and impossibility. Deontic modality includes obligation,·
(desiderative) necessity, permission and prohibition. See
also 4.2

From a semantic point of view, Ponelis (1975 p.54) maintains
that the auxiliary predicate and its complement form a
single predicate:

> Gebondenheid het verskeie verskyningsvorme. Een
> daarvan is dat die semantiese verband tussen 'n
> onafhanklike en 'n gebonde modaliteitswerkwoord baie
> skraal is ... 'n Ander is die ondergeskikte
> semantiese status van die gebonde modaliteitswerkwoord:
> Zulu: ulibele ukukhala "Hy hou aan huil" Dit is
> een enkele predikasie en nie: Ulibele + Uyakhala
> "Hy het gedraal + Hy huil"

Clearly there is a strong semantic bond or cohesion between
the auxiliary predicate and its complement. This cohesion is
also expressed syntactically, cf. the fixed order of the
auxiliary predicate and the complementary predicate; these
two are usually found in a continuous sequence. Notwith-
standing the close semantic and syntactic bond existing
between the auxiliary predicate and its complementary
predicate, they ought to be regarded as separate clauses
because they have not morphologically merged into a single

word. What Ponelis gives as an example proving that the
auxiliary predicate and its complement are a single
predicate, is semantic domination. The auxiliary predicate
semantically dominates or controls its complement so that the
meaning of the complement is not as it would be if it were
not a complement. Semantic domination is accompanied by
syntactic constraint that may change the form of the
complement.

Other than semantic relations observed above, the complementary
clause may carry the notion of time that is indicated by the
auxiliary predicate. For instance when the indicative is a
complementary predicate its reference to time depends on
the preceding auxiliary predicate (cf. also non-deictic
reference in 1.7.2) e.g.

úgogo úmáne úyáhleka njê (the old woman is just laughing)
úbáthe úyángibámba, úyáhlúléka (he is trying to catch me but
he fails)
úzobathé úyángibámba, ahlúleké (he will try to catch me but
he will fail)
wâbathé úyángibámba, wâhlúléka (he tried to catch me but he
failed)

In the first and second examples the auxiliary predicate has a
deictic reference of the present time as indicated by the
present tense forms úmáne and úbáthé. The complementary
predicates úyáhleka and úyáhlúléka also have present time

reference not because of their form but because of their context
with the auxiliary predicate. The complementary predicate
úyángibámba in the third example has future time reference
because the auxiliary predicate locates time in the future,
and in the last example it has past time reference because
the auxiliary predicate locates time in the past.

In negative constructions either the auxiliary predicate or
its complement is made negative depending on the shift of
emphasis e.g.

úmáne ángahâmbi (he simply does not go)
akamáne áhambé (he does not simply go)

In the first example the complement is negated independently
of the auxiliary predicate whereas in the second example
the positive form of the complement is contextually negated
by the auxiliary predicate. The contextual negative complement
indicates semantic domination of the auxiliary predicate over
its complement. Cf. also Louw (1963).

Semantic ambiguity may arise as a result of actual predicates
being used as auxiliary predicates, cf,

íngane ísúka íkhalé (the baby suddenly cries)
isitímela sísúka síkhalé (the train starts off and whistles)

In the main, context as regards subjects used tells us that

ísúka in the first example is an auxiliary clause whilst

sísúka in the second example is an actual clause (main tense

of the indicative mood). Otherwise in an example like

ínyoni ísúka íkhalé

the meaning may either be 'the bird suddenly makes a noise'

or 'the bird starts flying and makes a noise'. This

ambiguity is raised by the fact that the form of the

auxiliary predicate and the actual predicate is identical.

In order to avoid this ambiguity the speech of many a Zulu

employs the predicate with an -e at the end to indicate the

auxiliary predicate, cf.

íngane ísúke íkhalé (the baby suddenly cries)

isitímela sísúke síkhalé (the train suddenly whistles)

ínyoni ísúke íkhalé (the bird suddenly makes a noise)

Whatever form of the auxiliary predicate is used it is

manifest that the auxiliary predicate is a clause of its kind,

that has undergone semantic and rank shifts.

3.3.3   Indirect reported clause

Indirect speech poses some semantic problems as regards the

nature of relation between the predicate of saying (reporting

predicate) and the predicate reported. The reporting about

the predicate creates predicate sequences i.e. the sequence

of the reporting predicate and the reported predicate. It

is a special kind of subordination in which the reported

predicate is not self-contained since its occurrence is dominated by a reporting predicate. The stem of the reporting predicate -thi (say) may be found in the present, past and future tenses e.g.

úthi úyáhámba (he says "that" he is leaving)
wâthí úyáhámba (he said "that" he was leaving)
úzothi úyáhámba (he will say "that" he is leaving)

The -thi may be in the stative aspect and then combine with any other aspect of the predicate e.g.

báthê báléle (they said they are asleep)
úthê úsáhámba (he said he is still going)
zithê sézihâmba (they said they were then going)

The reporting predicate can be separated from the reported predicate by the insertion of a noun or pronoun e.g.

úthê úmfána úsáhámba (the boy said he was still going)
úthê yená úsáhámba (he said he was still going)

The reporting predicate never comes after the reported predicate in subordination. It will be noted that indirect reported clause belongs to subordination whereas direct reported clause belongs to co-ordination, cf. serial co-ordination in Chapter 2. Unlike the direct reported speech, the indirect reported clause has no independent occurrence

as it is determined by the predicate of saying. Moreover the reported clause completes the elliptical construction and in this regard it is complementing.

Indirect speech has two types of negatives i.e. the one where the predicate of saying is negated and the other where the reported predicate is in the negative. The negation of the predicate of saying has its present, past and future tenses:

akâthi úyáhámba (he is not saying that he is going)
akathânga úyáhámba (he did not say he was going)
angêké áthi úyáhámba (he will not say he is going)

In the future tense the auxiliary predicate ngêké is used together with the predicate of saying. Sometimes the predicate -sho may be used in negatives in which case -thi becomes an infinitive thus creating subordination e.g.

akáshó úkúthi úyáhámba (he is not saying that he is going)
akashóngo úkúthi úyáhámba (he did not say he was going)

When the reported predicate is in the negative, the predicate of saying remains in its positive form e.g.

úthi akahámbi (he says he is not going)
úthi akahambánga (he says he did not go)
úthi akézuhámba (he says he will not go).

The choice of the negative to be used depends on the context
of utterance. This is of course applied to other predicate
sequences as well.

At times — thi may be found in the participial when it is
preceded by another predicate e.g.

ngizwé éthi úzofíka (I heard him say he would come)

When — thi is used with -sho, -sho precedes -thi in word
order. A degree of focus is achieved by using both predicates.
When these two predicates are used together they form serial
co-ordination in which tautology is involved. This shows
that serial co-ordination may have the reported predicate as
its subordinate clause e.g.

úyásho úthi úyáhámba (he does say that he is leaving)
wâsho wáthi úyáhámba (he did say that he was leaving)
úzosho áthi úyáhámba (he will say that he is leaving)

It must be noted that - sho on its own cannot be followed by
the reported predicate. Sometimes both - thi and - sho may be
subordinated if they follow a predicate of 'presupposition'
e.g.

ngizwé éthi úzofika (I heard him say he would come)
ngízwe ésho éthi úzofika (I heard him he would come)

In such instances both *éthi* and *ésho* are themselves subordinate.

3.4   NOMINALIZED AND PREDICATIVE CLAUSES

Besides classifying clauses by semantic or collocational and
some other syntactic criteria, they may be classified according
to co-occurence relations (distribution of constituents).
There are basically two co-occurence relations in a sentence, viz
nominal and *predicative* frames. The nominal clauses
may further be sub-divided into *subject*, *object* and *adjunct*
positions.   According to this method of classification there
are the following clauses:

1.   Nominalized clauses (Peripheral clauses)

   (a)   Subject clauses

   (b)   Object clauses

   (c)   Adjunct clauses

2.   Predicative clauses (Nuclear clauses)

3.4.1   Nominalized clauses (Peripheral clauses)

Nominalized clauses are based on the relative and functionally
we may have the following nominal clauses:

(i)   Subject clauses: the relative on its own acts as a
         subject, cf. replacive nominalization e.g.
         éziphílíléyo ziyádlala (those who are healthy are
         playing)

ézacileyo iyaqíjima (the one who is thin is running)

(ii)   Object clauses: clausal objects are relative clauses

that act as objects, also cf replacive nominalization

e.g.

úbabá úfúna óhámbayó(father wants the one who is going)

úbabá úfúna ókhútheléyo nóhámbayó (father wants the

one who is industrious and the one who is going)

(iii)   Adjunct clauses: the adjunct that is expanded may be

omitted and then its inflecting formatives are

transferred to the pronominal relative i.e. the

relative replacing an adjunct e.g.

úmshayé ngécíjîwe (he hit him with the one that is

sharpened)

úsébénza njéngóhlákániphíléyo (he works like the one

who is clever)

3.4.2 Predicative clauses (Nuclear clauses)

These clauses occur in central frames of sentences. This

means that they are actual nuclear clauses in contrast to

nominalised clauses that occupy noun frames, cf. Chapter 1.

Subordinate predicative clauses modify or describe the main

clauses. Since these have already been dealt with elsewhere

in this work (cf. earlier on in this chapter), it is

unnecessary to repeat them at this stage.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 <u>THE GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC FACTORS IN A CLAUSE WITH</u>
<u>SOME STRUCTURAL AND PRAGMATIC EVIDENCE IN THE SENTENCE</u>
<u>OF THE FOLKTALE</u>

The aim of this chapter is to reconcile the structural and
semantic regularities found in the system-sentences with the
structural and pragmatic evidence in the text-sentences. To
a large measure syntactic patterns or structural variations
are determined by the context of discourse. Definitive
statements can be made about the structure and the
communicative value of text-sentences. It has become clear
that some syntactic paradigms are untenable because they
have been recalcitrant as to the contextualisation of sentences.
Dealing with only decontexualised sentences (i.e. system-
sentences) is of value in securing certain regularities but
more insights can be achieved by incorporating text-sentences.
We shall first examine the clause of a system-sentence in
order to establish certain regularities. Secondly, it will be
shown how the regularities of system-sentences can be
influenced by the realities of pragmatic factors of the text-
sentences. As regards system-clauses, we shall mainly give
examples of complex sentence. But where necessary simple
sentences (understood as capable of forming subordinate or main
clauses) will be given for economy of explanation. In any
case,the term 'clause' is, in traditional usage, sometimes
applied to a simple sentence, i.e. a simple sentence is a
sentence that contains only one clause, cf.Lyons (1981 p.122).

4.2 THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF THE CLAUSE IN A SYSTEM — SENTENCE

There are two important dimensions of the clause structure in Zulu, viz forms and relations. The classification of clauses according to form naturally reconciles itself to predicate categories or the so-called 'moods' as well as relativization. The clause can therefore be named after the 'mood' of the predicate in that particular clause. Therefore we can have the following clauses: the infinitive, the imperative, the indicative, the participial, the subjunctive and the conditional cf.

the infinitive clause: úzofika/úkúzómbóna/ (he will come in order to see him)

the imperative clause: /hámbáni/níye ékhaya (go home)

the indicative clause: /úzohámba/ékhâla (he will go crying)

the participial clause: íngane íhámba/íkhâla/(the child walks crying)

the subjunctive clause: /úhambe kahle/úma sewuqedîle (may you go well after you have finished)

the conditional clause: úngitshele/angafika/ (tell me as soon as he arrives)

The grammatical categories of predicates, the so-called moods, can be explained in terms of speech-acts. Recently Lyons (1981 pp. 190-191) has linked the grammatical category of 'mood' with the notion of illocutionary commitment in the

theory of speech-acts. He states that statements, questions and commands are illocutionary forces which, other than expressing a proposition, also express a particular attitude towards it. Broadly speaking there are two such attitudes viz epistemic and deontic commitments. Epistemic commitment indicates that anyone making a statement is committed to the proposition it expresses in the sense that his behaviour must be consistent with the belief that it is true or false. His epistemic commitment may be absolute, tentative or conditional and then grammaticalized into the categories of indicative, participial or conditional 'moods'. On the other hand in deontic commitment, the speaker commits himself to an obligation or the necessity of some course of action. His attitude may be grammaticalized into the imperative and subjunctive. In the light of the explanation given above (as proposed by Lyons) one can then talk of epistemic and deontic clauses. The auxiliary predicates may also lend themselves into epistemic and deontic clauses since they are modal, cf. Chapter 3. Lyon's view is a commendable attempt to reconcile the theory of speech-acts to forms of predicates. However, it would be more satisfying, had Lyons given more types of commitments than only two. This would also entail the notion of presupposition because to analyse the condition of commitment will also be to analyse the condition of the utterer's meaning.

From a grammatical point of view the relative may be subdivided into simple and periphrastic classes. The simple

relative involves one word derivation i.e. the relative is derived from the nuclear predicate by prefixing the <u>la</u> demonstrative element. The periphrastic relative involves more than one word derivation i.e. one word derivation is not sufficient for the construction of a relative clause. Note the following:

<u>înjá/ékhónkóthayó/ífíle</u> (the dog which barks is dead)
<u>úmfána/ónja yakhe íyákhónkótha/úhámbîle</u> (the boy whose dog barks is gone)

In the first sentence the simple relative <u>ékhónkóthayó</u> is derived from <u>íkhónkótha</u> and such a derivation is self-sufficient as a relative. On the other hand <u>ónja</u> in the second sentence is not a complete relative since it is not derived from a nuclear predicate but is directly from a noun <u>înjá</u>. So <u>ónja</u> still requires the support of the nuclear predicate before the relative can become predicative. In this instance the seemingly nuclear predicate <u>íyákhónkótha</u> is in fact a portion of the relative. This involves periphrasis in derivation, hence periphrastic relative clause.

The clause structure may resolve itself to relations. Relations have even more far-reaching implications than forms. Grammatical relations may be classified as follows:

1. Co-occurrence
2. Substitution

3. Arrangement

4.2.1 Co-occurrence

In a representational sentence a word of different category or part of speech requires the occurrence of a word of another category. This is largely a matter of noun-verb/copulative oppositions. In Zulu where the subject concord is a necessary predicate's formative, the co-occurring noun (subject) may be omitted depending on the marshalling of utterances in discourse. Co-occurrence in the clause is expressed by the subject, predicate and object, cf. Hlongwane (1976) for the explanation of these terms. The grammatical relations known as subject and object are often regarded as arguments of the predicate i.e. the predicate is taken as the nucleus or datum point around which one or two or three arguments may be found. There is possibility of expanding the subject or object and the predicate itself, and this establishes the hierarchy of items in the sentence, cf. substitution below. The properties of subject-predicate-object relations are transitive and non-transitive structures. Properly speaking, transitivity and non-transitivity are properties of a clause rather than of a predicate. A clause with no traceable object is intransitive or non-transitive whilst a clause with an object is transitive. The parameter for clause transitivity or non-transitivity is the number of places or slots which can be allowed by the predicate in that particular clause. A one-place predicate allows the subject slot to be filled in while

a two-place predicate allows the subject slot and the direct object slot to be filled in. A three-place predicate allows the subject, direct object and indirect object. In Zulu, the predicate may be used in a clause in such a way that it is a zero-place predicate. Note the following:

zero-place predicate: /kúmákháza/úma sékúhlwîle (it is cold when it is dark)

/kúhánjíwe/ngoba akúkho muntu (there 'they' are gone because there is no one)

one-place predicate: /úmfána úyáhámba/kódwa háyi manjé (the boy is going but not now)

two-place predicate: /úmfána úhámbísa íncwadí/úkúze báfundé (the boy is sending a book so that they read)

three-place predicate: /úmfána úhámbíséla úbabá íncwadí/ ngoba úyáyífúna (the boy is sending a letter to the father because he wants it)

The explanation of the predicate according to the place of arguments is sometimes referred to as the valency of the predicate. In other words the valency of the predicate determines how many participants (arguments),if any,the construction must have. The occurrence of the participants depends on the valency of the predicate. For this reason, the subject, direct object and indirect object are known as having dependency relations, cf. Matthews (1981 pp. 96-101).

Co-occurrence relations may also be observed in government.
We have to note that in concord-relationship the different
parts of speech involved in the relationship have the same
property which is a grammatical category of singular or
plural:

<u>úmúzi wakhe</u> (his house):   the noun and the possessive have the
                                same property of singular

<u>ngumúntu óhámbayó</u> (it is a person who is going):   the
                                copulative and the relative have
                                the same property of singular

<u>ábántu báyáhámba</u> (people are going) the noun and the predicate
                                have the same property of plural

In government-relationship the grammatical category (singular
or plural) is not a property of one of the parts of speech
involved e.g.

<u>úsháywé ngabántu</u> (he is hit by people):   the predicate and the
                                the copulative do not contain the
                                same property i.e. the predicate is in
                                singular while the copulative is
                                in plural

<u>báya ésikóléni</u> (they are going to school):   the predicate is
                                in plural while the locative is in
                                singular

<u>úmsháyé ngamátshe</u> (he hit him with stones):   the predicate is
                                is in singular while the instrumental

is plural

Government is indicated by the morphological inflection of

the noun so that it is a copulative, a locative, an

instrumental and so on. In this regard it is noted that there

may be an overlap between government and inflectional case.

4.2.2 Substitution

In a narrower sense, substitution illustrates sets of words

substitutable for each other in the same clause structure.

In this sense we often speak of the same 'substitution class'

when words belong to the same part of speech. In a broader

sense substitution illustrates substitutability of a single

word for a group of more than one word. Simply, this means

the expansion of any of the following: subject, object and

predicate. An expanded item illustrates the notion of

hierarchy, which is explained as follows by Guthrie (1961 p.2):

> If a linear strip is expanded, the original strip
>
> could also be regarded as a contraction of the
>
> expanded variety ... The limiting size of strip may
>
> be termed the 'nucleus', and from the nucleus as a
>
> starting-point it is possible to arrange expanded
>
> varieties in order of increasing size, so that each
>
> strip can be regarded both as a contraction of the
>
> one below it and as an expansion of the one above
>
> it. Such an arrangement may be termed 'hierarchy' of

strips ...

Sometimes the terms 'exocentric' and 'endocentric' are used
to explain the hierarchical nature of constructions in terms
of distribution i.e. exocentric construction is one whose
distribution is not identical with that of any of its
constituents; endocentric construction is one whose
distribution is the same as one or more of its constituents,
cf. Lyons (1968). For example úmfána wakhe (his boy) is
endocentric whereas phézu kwéndlu (on the house) is exocentric.
Put simply, this means that an endocentric construction may
be replaced by one of its immediate constituents, cf. úmfána
wakhe by úmfána. An exocentric construction is one which
cannot be replaced distributionally by any of its immediate
constituents.

Substitution may also be explained in terms of cohesion and
colligations (word groups or syntagms). There is therefore nominal
colligation as well as verbal colligation. Nominal colligation
involves co-ordinative and subordinative constructions e.g.

/úmfána nentómbazâne/báyádlála úma béjabûle (the boy and the
girl play when they are glad)
/úmfána ómncane/úyádlála ngoba únempîlo (the young boy is
playing because he is healthy)

The construction úmfána nentómbazâne is co-ordinative whilst
úmfána ómncáne is subordinative. Apposition is another

nominal colligation we often come across e.g.

/úShaka, íNkÔsi/wâyéyíqháwe úma sékúliwa (Shaka, the king,

was a good warrior when it was time of war)

There is some controversy amongst grammarians as to whether

apposition involves modification or co-ordination. We shall

not enter into that controversy here. Suffice it to say that

apposition has a place apart from both modification and

co-ordination and is associated with prominence. Apposition

is marked by co-referentiality. Verbal colligation consists

of the predicate and its modifiers. When modifiers are

secondary forms, government forms the colligation, cf.

úmfána/úhámba mânjé/ngóba úsélámbîle (the boy goes now because

he is hungry)

úmfána/úvéla ésíkóléni/ngóba sésívalíwe (the boy comes from

school because it is closed)

4.2.3 Arrangement

Arrangement refers to positional relations that are observed

as word order in clauses. The Zulu clause that can be

characterised as a two place construction has a whole range of

possible word orders. Note the possible word orders in the

main cluase of the sentence

/úmfáná úsháya ínkomó/úma ídla úmmbila (the boy hits a cow

when it eats maize):

S-P-O: <u>úm̀fána úsháya ínkomó</u> (the boy hits a cow)

O-P-S: <u>ínkomó úyáyísháya úm̀fana</u> (*the cow he hits it the boy)

S-O-P: <u>úm̀fána ínkomó úyáyísháya</u> (*the boy the cow he hits it)

O-S-P: <u>ínkomó úm̀fána úyáyísháya</u> (*the cow the boy hits it)

P-S-O: <u>úyáyísháya úm̀fána ínkomó</u> (*he hits it the boy the cow)

P-O-S: <u>úyáyísháya ínkomó úm̀fána</u> (*he hits it the cow the boy)

It must be pointed out that the passive construction or clause
is essentially one-place, cf.

S-P- adjunct : <u>ínkomó ísháywa nqum̀fána</u> (the cow is hit by
the boy) i.e. the subject <u>ínkomó</u> is followed by the predicate
<u>ísháywa</u>, then the predicate is expanded by the addition of an
adjunct-copulative <u>nqum̀fána</u>. The passive construction in
which there is a subject illustrates a non-transitive clause.
Certain passive constructions have the object slot filled in
e.g.

<u>kúhánjwa índlela</u> (there the journey is walked)

This goes to show that though the passive construction is one
place, such 'one-placeness' may reflect either a non-transitive
clause or a transitive one.

It is seen above that there are six possible ways of
arranging subject, object and predicate in Zulu. This suggests

that Zulu has a relatively free ordering of subject, object
and predicate. This freedom of word order is possible when
the object includes its concord in the predicate. On the
other hand, the non-restrictive subject concord ku- (i.e. it
is not restricted to any particular noun) makes word order
fixed e.g.

/kúhámba úmúntu/ngoba séngídiníwe (there a person goes because
I am now angry)
/kúdlálwa íbhola/ngoba ílanga líbálele (there soccer is played
because the sun is shining)

It will be realised that in the two examples above, there is
no choice of placing the noun before the predicate in the
main clause. The nouns úmúntu and íbhola are fixed in that
position. We may therefore assume that particular kinds of
concords are important in securing freedom or fixity of word
order. If for instance we compare:

kúdlálwa íbhola (there soccer is played) and
líyádlálwa íbhola (soccer is played)

it will be noted that in the second construction there is a
subject slot signalled by the subject concord, the subject
itself appears after the predicate and this indicates freedom
in the choice of word order.

Of late a great deal has been said about word order, following

especially Greenberg's article on the universals of word

order in 1963. Some generalisations on word order are strained

because they are based on an inappropriate premise viz system-

sentence. It is known that system-sentences are linguists'

abstractions or theoretical constructs postulated in order to

account for well-formedness or ill-formedness of potential

utterances. This means that system-sentences are not the

product of actualised utterance. Since they are controversial

theoretical constructs, so too will be any generalisation or

universal that builds on them. This is the problem with

Greenberg's word order universals and Chomsky's transformational-

generative grammar. The question of 'basic' or 'predominant'

or 'normal' word order in a Zulu clause is a moot point

because it is established within the framework of a system-

sentence. So often we hear of 'the change of basic word

order" and this is system sentence-orientated. It must also

be remembered that while the concept of basic ordering may apply

in English it may not apply in Zulu. Variation of word

order of the clause ought to be viewed as a matter for

utterance or pragmatics. Text-sentences or clauses are

therefore crucial in word order typology. Once this is taken

into consideration, it is usually possible to determine at

least in Zulu that a particular order is unmarked or marked

in terms of non-focussed/non-emphatic vs focussed/emphatic

constructions. In Zulu there is high correlation of word

order and pragmatic functions. This shows that grammatical

relations cannot be fully explored unless they are related to

pragmatic functions and liason semantic features.

We assume that it is more tenable to talk of word order ranges
in a clause than to talk of change of word order. Word order
ranges indicate option of arrangement of words in a clause or
sentence. The choice of arrangement or juxtapositioning of
functional frames constitute a kind of word order. Contextual
and pragmatic factors may demand different orderings of
words. It is a kind of word order chosen by different
individuals or by the same individual at different contextual
or pragmatic situations that establishes a set of sentences.
The set of sentences are differentiated by different word
orders and these sentences are base generated, neither of them
is derived from each other. Brame (1978) develops a theory
of functional interpretation to account for different word
orders and he dispenses with transformational model. His
model is quite tenable.

4.3   SEMANTIC FEATURES IN THE CLAUSE

Semantic features are mainly relational i.e. they indicate
how the participant (noun/pronoun) is involved in the event
or state (predicate). They are called features because they
refer to a noticeable property of semantic relationship
between arguments and predicates. At the highest level of
analysis, these features can be handled in binary terms, cf.
(+ causation), (- causation); (+ event), (- event). We

shall consider two kinds of semantic features viz liaison
semantic features and situational semantic features.

4.3.1 Liaison semantic features in the clause

For fuller specification of liaison semantic features, see
Chapter 1. It may be added that these features are a means
of capturing the hierarchical nature of the semantic structure
of noun-verb relations in a clause. The high level of the
semantic hierarchy is based on the features of causation,
(+ causation) and non-causation (- causation). The predicate
specified with the feature (+ causation) will have agentive
as a logical feature in the middle of the hierarchy. In the
lower level of the hierarchy, the instrumental will be the
next logical semantic feature. We need not specify the
ontological differences between agentive and instrumental i.e.
whether or not the agentive refers to animate and the
instrumental to inanimate. The instrumental is specified
after the agentive has been specified e.g.

isíhlahla sibulála ízitshálo ngézimpánde úma síkhúla (the
tree destroys vegetables with its roots when it grows)

The noun isíhlahla is specified as agentive though it is
inanimate and then ngézimpánde is specified as instrumental.

It is to be noted that (+ causation) is initially not
directly associated with causer i.e. a noun causing something

to happen on another noun. But it indicates that (+causation)
is associated with an initiator e.g.

/úḿfána úyácula/úma éthânda (the boy does sing when he likes)

The initiated event (action/process) may require the patient.
The patient is stated semantically as a noun that undergoes
an event so that it excludes syntactic objects which are mere
'ranges' e.g.

patient: /úḿfána úsháya ínkomó/éhlúphayo (the boy hits a
cow that is a problem)
range: /úḿfána úcúla ículo/élímnándi (the boy is singing a
song that is pleasant)

Thus ínkomó is a patient whilst ículo is a range. This means
that úcúla ículo is a collocational range whose internal
relationship is different from that of usually expected
collocation like úsháya ínkomó. In a predicate specified as
(+causation) the feature patient belongs to a lower level of
hierarchy. But in a predicate specified as (-causation),the
feature patient is higher up the hierarchy.

4.3.2 Situational semantic features in the clause

The term 'situation' is used by both Comrie (1976) and
Lyons (1977) to cover aspectual differentiation as well as
such phenomena as action, process, event and state. It is

adopted in almost the same fashion in this work. In the
first place, a difference must be drawn in the nature of
situational features and liaison ones. Situational features
are not inter-clausal but intra-clausal i.e. they are
resident in a particular predicate. Initially we may make
a binary format between states and non-states. According to
Lyons (1977 p. 483) a state ("static situation") is

> one that is conceived of as existing, rather than
> happening, and is being homogeneous, continuous
> and unchanging throughout its duration.

Once states have been identified it is not difficult to
identify non-states. Scholars have tried to sub-divide
non-states into acts, action, process and event. Since the
dividing line between such categories is so tenuous and
indeterminate, the non-states are simply designated as
events (i.e. something conceived of as happening and dynamic)
in this study, cf.

<u>índoda íyáfúnda</u> (the man is learning) : event
<u>índoda ífúndîle</u> (the man is learned) : state

Events normally select nouns with agentive and instrumental
features as their arguments if they are one-place whilst
states select nouns which are patients as their arguments.

The situational features are associated with the strict

subcategorisation frame of the predicate. The predicate
which is specified as a state willoften be one-place (or
intransitive) i.e. it will require the subject which is mainly a
patient e.g.

úbabá úléle (father is asleep)

úmfána úhlêzi (the boy is seated)

uthisha úfúndîle (the teacher is learned)

It will be noted that the state is associated with
(-causation) and in this regard it favours the occurrence of
secondary nouns (adjuncts) after the predicate. Such
secondary nouns often express instrumental, locative and
agentive relationship e.g.

úbabá úléle ngesísu (father is asleep on his stomach)

úmfána úhlêzi éndlini (the boy is seated in the house)

úmúntu úkháthéle !amáséla (*the person is tired by thieves
i.e. the person is tired because of thieves)

The predicate which is specified as non-state (event) will
often be two-place or three-place i.e. it will require the
subject and one or two objects. This would mean that the
clause is transitive and is associated with (+ causation) e.g.

úbabá úbóna úmamé (father sees mother)

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

The subject is often the agent whilst the object is the patient. The generalisation about situational semantic features is that the predicate, all things being equal, has frame preferences that account for its logical relations with nouns (or arguments). In the last example both úṁfána and ímalí are patients.

4.4   STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE IN A FOLKTALE

Though the term 'structure' has been used differently by different scholars(cf. especially 'structuralist poetics'), in this study it is simply employed with reference to a sentence as a grammatical construction. This implies that units in a sentence are systematically combined. We have to note these units and examine how they combine in the text-sentence. It must be pointed out that in the past most grammatical descriptions have been concerned with system-sentences or sentences chosen by the linguist in order to support his line of analysis. The aim in this section is to establish a structural analysis of sentences in a particular context. A caveat is to be advanced as regards a text-sentence of the traditional Zulu discourse. Is the notion of the sentence the same in traditional discourse as in modern logical discourse with European influence? What makes the smallest significant unit of thought in traditional Zulu discourse: is the boundary the same as that of the modern European sentence or is it a unit larger than that? Clearly, the placing of sentence boundaries is a somewhat arbitrary device that is

convenient as a point of departure in a narrative discourse in Zulu. This is supported by the fact that the same narrator may break the discourse differently when called upon to narrate it again. The narration of a tale depends on a particular moment of delivery and such extrinsic factors like the kind of audience and the degree of participation it holds play a big rôle. It is well-established that in order to appreciate the folktale fully one has to watch the narrator performing and listen to the narrator per se. The concern of this study is to look at the linguistic side of the tale. The folktale is chosen because it offers the more extended oral narrative than, let us say, the riddle or the proverb. The folktale that is chosen is ITSHE LIKANTUNJAMBILI and is common among the Zulus. Due acknowledgement is hereby made to Mbata and Mdhladhla, the authors of UCHAKIJANA BOGCOLOLO from which the tale is taken. The text of the folktale is in Appendix I.

We have noted that system-sentences are established by the linguist in order to account for distributional regularities. These sentences are grammatically well-formed and are not context dependent. Grammatically well-formed sentences are rarely found in narrative discourse. Most sentences in the narrative are bound and fully understood with reference to some fuller given or old information in the text. These sentences may be reduced in form (elliptical), pronominalised and be sequential. We shall therefore divide discourse sentence according to certain structural patterns. In the narrative the sentences may either be _free_ or _bound_. Free sentences

are often defined distributionally as grammatically complete
but most important they are fully spelt out and are
self-contained. In this regard they tie in with system-
sentences. Bound sentences are taken to be those which may be
grammatically incomplete or which cannot initiate discourse
without placing them in their proper context. They are often
not self-contained and some units found in these sentences
are not fully spelt out semantically. It must be pointed out
that bound sentences may either be grammatically complete or
grammatically incomplete. For instance, a sentence beginning
in nokho-ke (well) or kwâthi (and then) or a sentence in which
the subject concord is used without the subject would be
marked as structurally complete if it is distributionally
balanced. Clearly, such a sentence though structurally
complete is bound because of certain sequence markers.
Grammatical incompleteness is observed in ellipsis which
indicates reduced, fragmentary and completive sentences.

It is necessary to give examples of free and bound sentences
from the folktale. This is done in order to show structural
variations as found in discourse sentences as against
regularities of system sentences. We shall therefore divide
our sentence types into:

1. Free sentences
2. Bound sentences: these may further be divided into
   (a) Sequential, which is noted by the sequence markers of
       some kind which show that the sentence is additive;

this may include sentences marked by pronouns or
concords without the identified co-referent in the
same sentence

(b)   Elliptical, which is truncated or incomplete
structurally i.e. the unit considered to be obligatory
in terms of structure may be omitted.

4.4.1   Free sentences

Free sentences are those sentences that are fully spelt out
grammatically and semantically. These sentences can occur as
complete utterances without ambiguity, The occurrence of
such sentences is very limited in a Zulu folktale. In fact
in a folktale a free sentence is restricted to a particular
position. It occurs as the initial sentence and introduces the
narrative,cf,

1.   Kwasukela: inkosikazi yayakulima

The sentence as a whole is a double one. The predicates that
are co-ordinated are kwasukela and yayakulima. It will be
noted that the co-ordinated predicates do not use the same
tense form. The first predicate is in the remote past tense
whilst the second one is the narrative tense. The way in
which the narrative tense is used (i.e. occurring after the
remost past tense of indicative) indicates that the second
clause is bound to the first one. The full specification of
time is not found with the narrative tense but with the basic

tense of the first predicate. On the whole, however, the
double sentence is viewed as a free sentence with an
introductory function.

4.4.2 Bound sentences

It has been noted that bound sentences may be sub-classified
into sequential, and elliptical sentences. The main feature
of bound sentences is that they are non-isolate. Unless one
knows the context in which they occur, they are ambiguous and
less meaningful. We shall then briefly examine each kind of
a bound sentence in the context of a folktale and in so doing
we will be looking into the nature of a clause in narrative
discourse.

4.4.2 (a) Sequential sentences

The sequential sentences may be marked by certain words or by a
particular tense form. Here are examples from the folktale of
sequential sentences that are marked by certain words or
clitics:

16. Ithe isifika indoda yayingasayiboni lena eyixoshayo,
     yadame isibamba iyeka nje. (Cf. also 30, 42 and 47)

28. Njalo-ke ekuseni nantambama umame ajingane evula embizeni
     afinyanise sekugcwele. Awavube-ke, kudle yena
     nowakwakhe, izingane zingawezwa nangephunga amasi. (Cf.
     also 29)

36. "Kahle, mnawami, ngisafunda samthanyama" (Cf.also 39 and
43)

66. Ngakusasa waphuma futhi uDemane wayofuna ukudla.

In 16 the supported clause/auxiliary clause ithe indicates
that this sentence is temporally bound with the preceding one
i.e. sentence 15. The temporal significance of ithe is 'by
the time' or 'when'. In 28 njalo-ke and awuvube-ke the words
are marked by the enclitic -ke. Doke (1955 p.170) notes that
-ke has a 'functional significance' of a connective. This
is true because this -ke as it occurs with the initial word of
a bound sentence it connects the sentence in which it occurs
with the preceding one. The word kahle in 36 is a kind of
interjective and is contextual in the sense that it is a
response clause. It is a response to the preceding sentence.
In 66 ngakusasa has temporal significance indicating the
chronological order of events in time. In this regard the
sentence introduced by ngakusasa has a predicate which as
an event takes place after the event indicated by the predicate
of the preceding sentence.

In 16 ithe as an auxiliary clause is supported by isifika
(participial). As shown above, the auxiliary predicate
ithe has time significance i.e. 'when' or 'by the time'.
Moreover it serves to introduce the sentence as a conjunctive.
This shows that ithe has dual structural explanations, viz
it is a supported clause as well as an introducing connector.
This is also true of

30. Kuthe ... beyohlakula ...

42. Ithe ... isisukile yahlala egumeni phezulu ...

47. Kuthe kusathi tabutabu ...

In all these instances the supporting clause is the participial.

It is to be noted that as a connector, the -thi auxiliary verb
stem is mainly found in the present perfect tense. It is
surprising why the narrator does not make this auxiliary verb
stem take the narrative tense. It appears that the use of
-thi in the perfect tense as well as being a connector brings
contrastive prominence to bear on that predicative syntagm as
against the one that is signalled by the narrative tense. The
sentence having the perfect tense or the stative perfect may
then be called a contrast sentence and it often encodes a new
episode.

In the folktale given there is quite a number of bound
sequential sentences that use the third person subject concord
without the accompanying subject in the same sentence. The
subject concord is in the narrative tense e.g.

58. Bazichoba, bazichoba izingane zaze zalala .

65. Wabona esetheleka phezu kwezinkomo ziklabile okhalweni,
     wakhetha enye inkabi wayigquba wabuya nayo, wafike
     wayihlaba,wangena nayo etsheni, bosa badla.

In 58 the subject concord ba-, is used without the

accompanying subject in the given sentence. The subject
itself is recoverable from the context of the folktale. In
65 the subject concord <u>wa-</u> is used with a number of successive
predicates and there is also no explicit subject in the sentence.
This means that in 58 and 65 the subject concords are anaphoric
as they behave pronominally. Later in this chapter when we
look into the pragmatic perspective of a sentence, we shall
try to give the reason why the subject is omitted in some
sentences while it is not in others.

The tense form, as has been noted, can mark the sentence as
sequential. The narrative tense form in a folktale makes the
sentence sequentially bound. It must be realised that the
question of tense in discourse has been discussed by
structuralists (dealing with poetics) as one of the major
dimensions of the narrative i.e. narrative as a story. For
instance Gérard Genette (1980 p.29) says:

> My starting point will be the division put forth in
> 1966 by Tzvetan Todorov. This division classed the
> problems of the narrative in three categories: that
> of tense, "in which the relationship between the
> time of the story and the time of discourse is
> expressed"; that of aspect "or the way in which the
> story is perceived by the narrator"; that of mood,
> in other words, "the type of discourse used by the
> narrator".

Though Genette is directing his discussion to written discourse,
it must be realised that the oral story-teller has to make a
distinction, unconsciously perhaps, between the time of the
story and the time of narration. In an oral narrative discourse
like a folktale the tense system is simplified by the over-use
of the narrative tense form in the main clauses. The reasons
for the excessive employment of the narrative tense are
threefold: it is dramatic i.e. it is vivid and creates the
atmosphere of simultaneous narration; it is connecting i.e.
it connects sentences; it is non-deictic in terms of time.
Sometimes the subjunctive form is used in the folktale. It
is however, rarely used in the folktale because it creates
some temporal complications though it may have a connecting
use, cf.

29.   Awavube-ke, kudle yena nowakwakhe, izingane zingawezwa
       nangephunga amasi

In this sentence the subjunctive refers to a habitual event.
Some modern writers of prose adroitly handle the connecting
use of the subjunctive, cf. Ntuli in Imicibisholo.

4.4.2 (b) Elliptical sentences

As has been indicated elsewhere in this investigation,
elliptical sentences are considered to be structurally
incomplete in terms of the distribution of obligatory
constituents. It has also been pointed out that many of the

elliptical sentences encountered are those that are responses,
sometimes referred to as "completive" sentences. In the Zulu
folktale we rarely come across elliptical sentences because the
nature of discourse does not permit their use except in direct
speech of the characters found in the tale. Elliptical
sentences are much more a matter for interlocutors engaged in
a discourse of some kind where there is verbal exchange. In
sentence 36 of the folktale there is a dialogue between
Demane and Demazana and we therefore find an elliptical
response from Demazana: Wathi uDemane: "Demazana, Demazana
nansi inyoni kababa imuka." "Kahle, mnawami, ngisafunda
samthanyana." We have noted under sequential sentences that
kahle is a response sentence though we were looking at it as
sequential to the preceding sentence.

Bound sentences can further be subdivided in terms of cohesive
links that act as disguised connectors. The disguised connector
may be a particular tense or an enclitic or formative or an
auxiliary predicate. The basic division that can be
established is as set out below.

(a) Clarifying connection. The main function of this
     connection is to clarify the movement of events in the
     story line. It is mainly supplied by the narrative
     tense, the enclitic -ke and by forms of words like
     ngakusasa, cf. 28, 66 and 58.

(b) Contrasting connection. The main function of this

connection is to signal the turn of events from one

episode to another. In the folktale given it is mainly

supplied by the auxiliary predicate -thi that is used

as a kind of contrastive connector, cf. 30, 42 and 47.

4.5 DOUBLE/MULTIPLE AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

Having noted the structural variations, it may be useful to

examine how clauses combine to make double/multiple and

complex sentences in a folktale.

4.5.1 Double or Multiple sentences

The clauses in double or multiple sentences of a folktale may

combine by employing the following constructions:

(a) Parataxis

(b) Parenthesis/Apposition

(c) Consecutive

4.5.1 (a) Parataxis

In a traditional narrative discourse all too often clauses are

combined paratactically. In the folktale different forms of

paratactic combinations can be noted, cf.

(i)   Ordinary parataxis

(ii)   Repetitive parataxis

(iii)   Parallelistic parataxis

These paratactic combinations are to be expected if we take
into consideration that a folktale is a piece of literature
and as such it employs every artistic device that can enhance
its aesthetic value.

(i)   Ordinary parataxis

This kind of parataxis is without any artistic embellishment
of structure. Clauses are simply combined in a loose sort
of way. Note the following sentences in the folktale:

1. Kwasukela: inkosikazi yayalima .

48. Akwabuza, kwadumela wona kwawufaka emphandeni kwazibekela .

64. Ekuseni ngakusasa umfana wahamba wayofuna ukudla, kukhona
     inkungu .

It will be noted that the paratactic clauses in the above sentences
are mainly   shown by a comma pause. A comma pause is,
however, not restricted to paratactic clauses, cf. consecutive
clauses below.

(ii) Repetitive parataxis

Repetitive parataxis refers to repetition of clauses within the
sentence. Verbs of movement or action may be repeated as
found in the following sentences:

2. <u>Yalima, yalima, kwafika inyoni</u> ...

15. <u>Yabaleka, yabaleka inyoni yaze yafika emzini wazo zonke</u>

   <u>izinyoni</u>.

58. <u>Bazichoba, bazichoba izingane zaze zalala</u>.

62. <u>Zahamba, zahamba, zahamba zaze zafika etsheni</u>

   <u>likaNtunjambili</u> ...

The clause may be repeated twice or three times. The tense of the

predicate in the repeated clause is usually in the narrative.

In the middle of the folktale, the narrative tense is more

exploited than the past tense. In a system-sentence, the

narrative tense naturally follows the remote past tense as

in the structure where the consecutive notion is expressed, cf.

<u>úmfána wâvúka wáhámba</u> (the boy woke up and went)

But in the middle of the folktale, the sentence can start

with the narrative tense though past time is intended because

the remote past tense has already been used at the beginning of

the first paragraph, viz <u>kwâsúkéla</u>.

The paratactic double/multiple sentence using a sequence of

repeated narrative tenses is actually a device of indicating

protracted action. It may be added that a narrative tense is

more dramatic than the ordinary past tense. Since the delivery

of a folktale is full of drama, the use of the narrative tense

cannot be more appropriate. The juxtapositioning of structural

frames by the narrator can therefore bring about just the

desired effect. From the structural point of view the repeated narrative tenses form parallel combination (i.e. co-ordination) of clauses but lexically this indicates quasi- co-ordination.

The repeated narratives are a kind of composition formula. This construction has a musical structure; it establishes a kind of rhythm that is so necessary for the vitality of a tale. Perhaps that is why Anozie (1981, p. 258) says:

> Discourse in Africa moves in cadences with measured
> timbres and sometimes, depending upon which language
> is spoken, a convoluted texture of words, sound and
> meaning. This sung and human discourse in Africa
> which descends upon the hearer or listener in the
> form of a verbal tapestry, and appeals as if its
> sole aim is to unify or eliminate all oppositions
> between time and space, gods and men, cannot be
> seriously thought of as a sentence-based discourse
> system.

It has already been intimated that the breaking up of traditional narrative discourse into sentences in the cast of modern fashion smacks of arbitrariness. This becomes clearer when we pause to consider that the repeated narratives do not form logical development of thought in the way of chronological ordering of clauses. One of the aims of using repeated narratives is to create rhythm which in actual delivery is often accompanied by bodily movement. Sometimes the vocative may be repeated, cf.

35, 38, 42, 62, 70 and 74:

"Demazana, Demazana, nansi inyoni kababa imuka!"

"Litshe likaNtunjambili, litshe likaNtunjambili sivulele

singene."

We take it that the vocative has a clausal status because it has
a predicative value.   It may also be noted that consonants
in different clauses may be repeated, thus creating alliteration,
cf. 7 Kwasa ngakusasa umame waphindela ensimini ... where s
forms alliteration.

(iii) Parallelistic parataxis

In this parataxis there is parallelism. Parallelism refers to
an element of constrast in successive clauses accompanied by
structural balance in the position of words as parts of speech,
cf. 3, 8, 12, 13 and 17:

Amagejana mbe, mbe, mphinyana phogo, phogo.

... olinywa ngamavila, ongalinywa izikhuthali.

"Wabamba mina, wayeka yena?"

Parallelism is often accompanied by rhythm. This means that
rhythm is more marked in parallelistic parataxis than it is in
repetitive parallelism. It will be noted that rhythm is
established by the quantity of syllables the words in question
have, the tonal cadences, and the caesuras between words or
clauses. Rhythm is also more marked in ideophones than

ordinary verbs. This is because ideophones are more dramatic than ordinary verbs. In the paratactic construction <u>amaqejana mbe, mbe, mphinyana phoqo, phoqo</u> there is rhythm that vitalises narration. Ideophones are often picturesque. No wonder then that the repeated ideophonic constructions are associated with the function of "rhetorical underlining and enhancement of the narrative." These clauses have aesthetic value. In parallestic parataxis not involving ideophones, there is no dramatisation yet the effect of parallism has literary value, cf. ... <u>olinywa ngamvila, ongalinywa izikhuthali</u> and "<u>Wabamba mina, wayeka yena</u>?" Parallelism plays an important rôle in Zulu oral literature.

Sometimes rhythm is associated with metre. Metre has been defined as regular patterning in verse based on syllabic stress or quantity. In Zulu the question of stress is not to be over-estimated because it is not a pronounced phenomenon; and at that 'stress' is fixed and cannot be expected to have any literary value. Notwithstanding the presense of some kind of metrical balance in ideophonic constructions as found in the folktale, such metre is unintentional and is not deliberately evolved. Parallelistic parataxis involving ideophones is appealing to the ear. Ideophonic repetitions are stock and ready-made clauses like a song in a folktale. They are untutoredly cast in suitable metrical form for them to be memorable. They are therefore a device of oral formulaic composition. Since they are meant to be heard rather than read, they are cast in frozen syntax (arbitrary juxtapositioning

of structural frames) as to be striking to the ear. Note
for instance that amagejana has an initial vowel whereas
mphinyana has no initial vowel and both nouns do not generate
the subject concord via the auxiliary predicate. In other
words the nouns are simply juxtaposed to ideophones for them
to be striking and pleasing to the ear.

4.5.1 (b) Parenthesis or Apposition

Parenthesis or apposition is akin to parataxis in that both
indicate clauses loosely combined without any connector.
However, in parenthesis/apposition though the clauses are
grammatically parallel, the added clause is not grammatically
essential. In parenthesis clauses are cross-referential rather
than repetitive in a straightforward way. Note the following:

47. Kuthe kusathi tabutabu, kugijima, kwahlangana nomvemve.
68. Yalobiza inhliziyo kaDemazana, ilobizela amanoni.

In 47 the clause kugijima is in apposition to kusathi tabutabu.
It is inserted or parenthesized in the sentence just for
greater clarity but is not grammatically essential. In 68 the
clause ilobizela amanoni is in apposition to the preceding
clause. In this kind of appositional construction there is
some overt repetition of the same predicate, cf. yalobiza ...
ilobizela. However this repetition may be paratactic, it is
also appositional because the whole clause ilobizela amanoni
is already implied in the text. It must also be noted that the

tenses of the two predicates i.e. yalobiza and ilobizela are

not the same. The first is the narrative whilst the second

is the present tense of the indicative. We may point out

that appositional construction is associated with pleonastic

co-ordination. From the lexical point of view parenthesis is

not a true co-ordinative construction because, it involves

co-referentiality. Sometimes nouns may be in apposition to a

copulative followed by a qualificative, cf.

26. Lendoda nomkayo babenezingane ezimbili: umfana nentombazane.

in which umfana nentombazane is in apposition to babenezingane

ezimbili.

4.5.1 (c) Consecutive

Like paratactic constructions, consecutive constructions are

common in Zulu folktales. We have already noted that the

main difference between paratactic and consecutive constructions

is a syntactic one viz they differ in the degree of cohesion

between clauses, so that the consecutive predicate may be

syntactically unstable. Closely cohering clauses are

determined by fixed choice of ordering. The clauses in a

consecutive construction do not offer free choice of ordering.

Note the following sentences in the folktale:

5. Yabuya inkosikazi yaya ekhaya, yafike yabikela umyeni wayo

   imihlolo eyiveleleyo.

25. <u>Yalungiswa kahle imbiza, yabekwa emsamo, yafakwa phakathi inyoni, kwazitshekelwa</u> ...

37. <u>Yesuka inyoni yahlala emnyango</u>.

40. <u>Yesuka inyoni yahlala egumeni</u> .

55. <u>Bathula emlonyeni, bahobela omkhulu umlilo, balola izinsungulo bazifaka kuwo, zasha zabomvu</u>.

65. <u>Wabona esetheleka phezu kwezinkomo ziklabile okhalweni, wakhetha enye inkabi wayigquba, wabuya nayo, wafike wayihlaba, wayihlinza, wangena nayo etsheni, bosa badla</u>.

It will be noted that in the above sentences, consecutive clauses are shown by a comma pause except sentences 37 and 40. In the above sentences the consecutive consists of the succession of narrative tenses. Some of the sentences may of course include other constructions e.g. 5 includes serialisation cf. <u>yabuya inkosikazi yaya ekhaya</u>.

Under double/multiple sentence, we may find the co-ordinating conjunctive. In the selected folktale such a conjunctive is observed in:

69. <u>Waginiginisela, kodwa bala ubulukhali</u>;

The conjunctive <u>kodwa</u> has an adversative significance. It is to be noted that co-ordinating conjunctives do not abound in Zulu folktales. As regards comparable clauses in the sentence of a folktale, combination is chiefly achieved by parataxis. The style of the folktale is not elaborate; it is easy-

moving,and prefers a simple type of joining.

There is avoidance of the conjunctives in sentences.

4.5.2 Complex sentences

In the complex sentence there is divergent combination of clauses. The following constructions may be found in the complex sentence of a folktale in Zulu:

(a) Expansion

(b) Support

These terms appear to fit in well when one describes the structure of a sentence in discourse rather than terms such as 'qualificative', 'descriptive' and 'complement' which are somewhat notional.

4.5.2 (a) Expansion

It will be noted that here the term 'expansion' is used to cover both the qualificative and descriptive clauses. As regards the qualificative clause (relative), the expanded construction involves the head unit which is expanded by a clause. In terms of the nuclear clause which is obligatory, the clause expanding the head unit is distributionally optional and is therefore subordinate and not self-contained. It must be noted that expansion and subordination are in a

way similarly used though we prefer to reserve expansion for
the particular structural shape of a textual sentence. Note
the following:

8. Umhlabathi kadade lona, olinywa ngamavila, ongalinywa
    izikhuthali!
77. Umfana wafinyanisa sekusele amaqashana angemangaki nje.

In 8 the expansion clauses are olinywa ngamvila and
ongalinywa yizikhuthali. In this sentence the relative clauses
occur after the copulative that has already been expanded by
non-clausal units kadade and lona. In this instance the head
unit is copulative and as such need not co-occur with a
nuclear clause because the copulative itself is nuclear. The
successive relative clauses establish perfect parallelism i.e.
there is perfect contrast, cf. olinywa vs ongalinywa and
ngamavila vs izikhuthali. Such parallelism establishes a
rhythmic pattern, cf. parallelistic parataxis above. In 77 the
relative clause angemangaki nje expands amaqashana and it does
not establish parallelism of any sort. Expansion involves
distributional substitution in which a certain constituent is
distributionally enlarged by addition of modifiers. Such
modifiers are characteristically optional. This optionality
must not be confused with optionality of subject and object
once their concords are assigned in the predicate.

Descriptive clauses expand nuclear clauses. It will be noted
that nuclear clauses which are taken as main clauses are

usually stable i.e. they are capable of occurrence in
unexpanded form as complete sentences. Descriptive clauses
may be effected either by a conjunctive or zero conjunctive.In
the case of the zero conjunctive the participial is often the
expansion descriptive clause, cf,

57.   Nonina wabiza intombazane esho njalo.

It is noted that esho njalo is an expansion participial
clause juxtaposed to nonina wabiza intombazane. The conjunctives
in the expansion are subordinating e.g.

78.   Wabuza ukuthi inyama yenze njani ...

The conjunctive ukuthi in this instance combines the main clause
in which the narrative tense features, and the subordinate
clause with the subjunctive.

4.5.2 (b) Support (or complement)

Guthrie (1961) uses the term 'support' in the sense of
co-occurrence i.e. one part of speech requires the occurrence
of another different part of speech in sentence formation.
Here 'support" is used slightly in a different sense. It is
used to refer to the complementary clause which requires the
supported clause. Unlike in the expansion construction, the
supported clause is mainly unstable and is incapable of
occurrence in an unsupported form as a complete sentence

(barring extremely rare cases). This implies that the main clause cannot stand alone without the supporting clause. Because of this, there is strong cohesion (bond) between the main clause and the supporting one. The semantic or collocational term for supported clause is <u>auxiliary</u> clause whereas the one for supporting clause is <u>complementary</u> clause. Note the following:

16. <u>Ithe isifika indoda yayingasayiboni lena eyixoshayo</u>, <u>yadame isibamba iyeka nje</u>.

21. <u>Yathi kla, amasi inyoni</u>.

28. <u>Njalo-ke ekuseni nantambama umame ajingane evula embizeni</u> <u>afinyanise sekugcwele amasi</u>.

In 16 <u>ithe</u> and <u>yadame</u> are supported clauses whilst <u>isifika</u> and <u>isibamba</u> are supporting ones. In 21 <u>kla amasi inyoni</u> acts as a supporting clause for <u>yathi</u>. In 28 the clause with <u>ajingane</u> is supported by <u>evula embizeni</u> whilst <u>sekegcwele amasi</u> and <u>afinyanise</u> are co-ordinated.

Finally it may be stated that the grammar of traditional discourse is somewhat poetic. In a folktale the narrator is aware of beats and lengths of repeated clauses. With this in mind he juxtaposes the structural frames in such a way that rhythm is constituted. So there is an interplay of tone, vowel length and pause to create a melodic sentence. Linking of clauses by parallism establishes balance and opposition. There is a grammar of parataxis and frequently used clauses. In

the exigencies of performance, the narrator re-creates his tale
but the basic pattern is observed, a formula for composition.

4.6 PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE IN A FOLKTALE

In pragmatic analysis of the sentence in the folktale, we
look into how new and old information can influence sentence
grammar. We also look into what types of clause or sentence
constructions can be effected as a result of the communicative
value. We shall therefore examine the following:

1. Old and new information in the sentence of a folktale
2. Topic construction
3. Focus construction
4. Existential construction

4.6.1 Old and new information in the sentence of a folktale

The terms 'old' and 'new' are better explained in terms of
discourse or text. It has already been noted that some
sentences would not be appropriate as the first sentence in a
folktale. This suggests that sentences in a text are bounded
and that some sentences assume information already given by
preceding sentences. Old information is the information that
has already been given in the text. In terms of a sentence
such information is reflected in items that are assumed and
therefore not included at all or partially included by the
use of proforms or anaphoric markers. New information is the

information that is spelled out in full as it is taken to be
unknown by the listener or reader. The items carrying new
information are typically available in the sentence in
question. Sometimes the form assumed by a particular item
may yield a clue as to whether it is an old or new information.
This is also true of the ordering of items in a sentence.

Brown and Miller (1980 p. 359) say:

> Given information need not always be overtly referred
> to in text. It may be information 'given' in the
> sense that both participants share it as speakers of
> the same language, it may be cultural information
> shared between members of a linguistic community, or
> it may even be the information privately shared
> between two individuals.

So while we assume that old or given information may be found
in the text it is true that such information may not be in
the text but is known from a cultural context. In the folktale
old and new information may be divided according to:

(a)   Use of a particular tense form in the clause

(b)   Anaphora and cross-reference in the clause

(c)   Ordering of the subject and predicate in the clause

4.6.1 (a) <u>Use of a particular tense form in the clause</u>

There are two tenses that are important as regards old and new
information in the sentences of a folktale. These tenses
are the past tense (remote) and the narrative tense of the
indicative. The past and narrative tenses are not used any
how in the folktale. It will be noted that the past tense of
the indicative is used very sparingly in the folktale. It is
pre-eminently the first sentence of a folktale that uses the
past tense. Note the first sentence of the folktale chosen:

1. <u>Kwasukela: inkosikazi yayakulima</u>.

The clause <u>kwasukela</u> is in the remote past tense of the
indicative. The folktale relates the occurrence of the past.
The narrator must therefore make it clear that the setting
of the story is in the remote past. This he does with the
introductory clause. Perhaps the main function of the introductory
clause <u>kwasukela</u> is to tell the audience as to when the
event took place. The first clause has therefore deictic
time reference and is bound up with new information. In the
folktale the clause <u>kwasukela</u> is an introductory coda which
signals the start of discourse and as such is explicit in
time reference. This clause is therefore associated with new
information in terms of temporal reference.

The introductory coda clause paratactically combines with a
contracted clause <u>yayakulima</u> which takes the tense form of a

narrative. This shows that even in the first sentence the
narrative tense is used provided it is not the initial clause.
The contracted clause <u>yayakulima</u> is derived from two predicates
in sequence viz <u>yaya ukuyolima</u>. The two clauses merge and
the infinitive undergoes some contraction by eliding <u>u</u>- and
-<u>yo</u>-. The function of this contracted clause appears to be
the setting up of the narrative scene. It is more dramatic and
effective than the sequence of <u>yaya ukuyolima</u>. Barring the
contrastive clause using the perfect tense, and the quotative
sentence, practically all the sentences or clauses after the
introductory clause, use the narrative tense. The use of
the narrative tense as bound up with old information is to
recount a procedure i.e. the narrator uses this tense to
express a series of steps in the story line. As has been
noted above this use can be accompanied by repetitive listing
of the same event. The strategy of the repetition of the
same verb (cf. 2, 15, 58 and 62) is coupled with the pragmatic
function of focus, see below.

We have noted in 4.3.2 that the sentences starting with the
perfect tense auxiliary predicate (cf. 16, 30, 42 and 47) occur
at strategic places to surface new episodes. Since this
tense marks new episodes it is coupled with new information.
The quotative sentence is also of particular significance
because it may carry the present tense of the indicative, the
subjunctive, the imperative, the interjective and the
interrogative. Note the following:

Sentences 17 and 52 contain questions; sentences 2, 8, 12, 32, 39 and 50 contain interjectives, sentences 6, 36, 38 and 43 contain the indicative, and sentences 20, 30 and 56 contain imperatives of some sorts. According to Waltz (1976 p.42) the quotative sentence

> encodes speech attribution and awareness attribution, i.e. the content of a speech or a state of consciousness (awareness) is given, and the content or state is attributed to some speaker, knower, etc.

Simply stated, this means that the narrator for the nonce, dissociates himself from the narrative time and allows the character to speak according to time related to the particular character. This has the effect of tense variation and newness of information.

4.6.1 (b) Anaphora and co-reference in the clause

Anaphora generally means pronominal reference. Pronominal reference usually includes the absolute and demonstrative pronouns. In Zulu it, over and above the absolute and demonstrative pronouns, includes the 'qualificative' and the concords (subject and object). It may be argued that even the qualificatives have pronominal concords and as such pronominal reference is implied even before we talk of the omission of the co-referring noun or its placement after the qualificative. For our present study we shall only deal

with anaphora as it relates to the subject concord. Lyons
(1977 pp.659-660) says:

> Underlying the notion of anaphoric reference is the
> principle of substitution, in the sense in which
> Bloomfield and his followers use the term
> 'substitution'. But there are, in fact, two different
> ways of defining the notion of anaphoric reference.
> We can say, as we have done in the previous paragraph,
> that the pronoun refers to its antecedent;"

First,the nature of pronominal reference in Zulu as regards
concords is different from,that of, let us say English. In
Zulu the concord is a marker for agreement between the noun and
verb or other category. Second, the concord offers freedom in
the choice of word order in a sentence so that for instance the
subject may follow the predicate. When the concord is used
the noun itself may be left out. It should be expected that
in discourse when the noun is an old information it is left
out and only its concord used. Contrary to our expectation,
it is noted that the noun and its concord may be used in the
text even if the noun is already given. In such a situation
the noun and its concord establish explicit co-reference,
agreement aside. Explicit co-reference in this regard
indicates rich semantic content as gainst lean semantic
content of the concord alone. The crux of the matter then is:
Why does the narrator of a tale choose rich semantic content
(explicit co-reference) at a place where lean semantic

content would have been chosen?

First, let us look at the instances where the anaphoric concord is used without the noun, once that noun is old or given. Note the following in the tale given:

2. Yalima, yalima, kwafika inyoni yathi ...

12. Yafika engacushwayo yathi:...

23. Yabuya nayo lenyoni yaya nayo ekhaya .

In 2 the noun inkosikazi has already been given in the foregoing sentence. This noun is specified as the subject and in the succeeding sentence it is anaphorically represented by the subject concord of the narrative tense ya-. In 12 inyoni is no longer used because it is known from the preceding paragraphs, and so the subject concord i- is included in ya-. Again in 23 only the concord ya- is used because indoda is given information. All this is in accord with the expectation that old information may be omitted in the text. The implication is that lean semantic content is preferred at certain places because fuller information is recoverable from the preceding text-sentences.

In narration, the speaker at strategic points prefers rich semantic content instead of lean semantic content supplied by the subject concord only. Note the following:

5. yabuya inkosikazi yaya ekhaya, yafike yabikela umyeni

wayo imihlolo eyiveleleyo.

15. Yabaleka, yabaleka inyoni yaze yafika emzini wazo zonke izinyoni emhlangeni .

62. Zahamba, zahamba, zahamba izingane zaze zafika etsheni likaNtunjambili.

In 5 inkosikazi is used even though it is now known from the text. The same applies to 15 and 62 where inyoni and izingane are respectively known or given information. One salient point observed is that once the subject is known, it mostly appears after the predicate. Co-reference in the text or discourse can be seen as a kind of re-identification of the subject. The reasons for re-identification or re-mentioning in discourse are as follows:

(i)   The narrator wishes to draw attention to what he regards as the topic i.e. the listener must be aware all the time what the talking is about. There may be different topics in discourse and at every strategic place, the text-sentence must reveal the relevant topic. In this case co-reference ties in with topic as an assertion about reference.

(ii)   The narrator wants to avoid ambiguity as regards referents that are found in discourse, especially if referents have similar subject concords.

(iii)   If there are intervening incidents and referents, the narrator looks at these as distractions and therefore wants to re-identify the noun after a distraction of

some kind.

It turns out to be an urgent matter that the notion of anaphoric concord and co-referring noun need an enriched model of grammatical analysis within discourse. The conventional treatment is that anaphoric concord makes the inclusion of co-referring noun (subject or object) optional. The question of 'optional constituent' raises problems of explanation because it does not fall in line with the exigencies of discourse. A speaker or narrator does not just leave out a constituent out of his own accord - discourse channels him when and where to leave out a certain constituent in a sentence. Waltz, cf, Longacre (1976 pp. 140-1), puts this neatly when he says:

> Moreover, the plot structure determines the speaker's choice of grammatical units. This implies, therefore, that there are in fact no optional grammatical units. That is, a given grammatical unit is required in certain contexts and is necessarily absent in other contexts.

We agree with Waltz that context determines the presence or absence of a particular grammatical unit (See sentences 3, 12 and 23 in the folktale where the subject is absent but present in 5, 15 and 62).

4.6.1 (c) <u>Ordering of the subject and predicate in the clause</u>

This has already been touched upon in (b) but it is worth
some more attention because of the problem of word order in
general. The narrator has a choice whether to place the
subject before or after the predicate. Ordering is
discourse based. Though ordering is an output manifested in a
sentence, it is regulated or constrained by discourse. This
suggests that ordering is a stylistic choice rooted in
discourse. We may again consider the sentences given in (b)
i.e. 2, 5 and 22. In all these sentences the subject comes
after the predicate. This happens when the subject is old or
given. According to Bolinger, cf. Givón (1979 p. 301), there
is a correlation between giveness and 'theme' as he says:

> Givenness is an aspect of the thematic organization of
> a sentence. What is given is the theme, or part of
> it. The normal position of the theme is at the
> beginning. If it is postposed, it tends to be
> marked — in English — by reduced volume and/or lower
> pitch.

Though in this study we cannot speak of 'normal position', it
is clear that the grammatical subject often ties in with
'theme' or what we shall call <u>topic</u>, cf. below. Such a subject
may occur at the beginning of the sentence or after the
predicate. It turns out to be the case in Zulu discourse that
it is not legitimate to attribute "normal" or "transformed"

status to either of the orderings.

Louwrens (1980 p. 98) has also observed in Xhosa the pragmatic
importance in the ordering of the subject and predicate as
he says:

> Die regsverplasing van subjekte kan dus tewens
> vertolk word as a pragmatiese reël waarvolgens
> diskoerstemas in Xhosa op die voorgrond gestel,
> of te wel gefokuseer word.

However, we cannot accept that the subject occurring after the
predicate is focussed. The subject in such a position is
background or old information whose importance is de-
emphasised. It need not also be assumed that the language is
moving from S V O to V S O word order. Our assumption is that
Zulu discourse offers the choice between S V O and V S O
orderings and this has ever been so. When the subject is
old or given information the preferred word order is V S.

4.6.2 Topic construction

Many scholars associate topic with theme in analysing the
distribution of information in discourse. It appears that
theme is connected with 'point of view' i.e. the channelling
or distribution of information chunks from the speaker's
point of view with the resultant prominence or contrastiveness
of certain information units. In this study the term 'theme'

will not be associated with topic because its effect is a
matter for focus. As regards topic, various definitions have
been given but they seem to agree that topic is what the
sentence or discourse is 'about'. We shall limit topic to a
clause or sentence, though the paragraph and the whole
discourse may have topic. At once this suggests that there
is a hierarchy of topicality. Trithart (1979 p.24) talks
of   three levels of topicality and then says of the third
level:

> A third level of topicality refers to the topic of
> a sentence. In subject-prominent language (Li and
> Thompson 1976) such as English and Bantu, the topic
> of a sentence and the grammatical subject tend to
> coincide. Normal sentential word order tends to
> place topics before nontopical or new information.

We are in agreement with Trihart that the grammatical subject
coincides with the topic. However, the subject in Zulu may
be logical and still be associated with the topic, cf.

kúhámba úmfána (there goes the boy)

In this sentence úmfána is the topic occurring after the
predicate. This indicates that the topic subject need not
always generate the subject concord.

In literature quite a great deal has been written on topic or topicalisation as a pragmatic factor of a clause, though the notion of topic has not been applied to the Zulu clause to any appreciable extent. We shall not pursue topic as a factor in a clause any further.

As regards complex sentences, some clauses could be regarded as topic. Such clauses carry old information as against clauses that carry new information (comment). Cf.

16. Ithe isifika indoda yayingasayiboni lena eyixoshayo
47. Kuthe kusathi tabutabu, kugijima, kwahlangana nomvemve

It has been noted that ithe and kuthe though auxiliary predicates have a conjunctive significance. It is particularly this conjunctive significance that associates the whole complex clause in which -the occurs with old information. In 16 ithe isifika indoda is an enlargement of what is already known viz the chasing of the bird. The clause ithe isifika indoda is therefore the topic whilst yayingasayiboni carries new information, hence the comment. In 47 kuthe kusathi tabutabu, kugijima, is also the topic. It is to be noted that kugijima is a clause in apposition and is therefore a kind of paraphrase of the preceding clause. The clause kwahlangana nomvemve is the comment. It appears to be the case that the topic is usually the subordinate clause whilst the main clause is the comment.

4.6.3 Focus construction

Focus refers to a pragmatic operation of asserting a
constituent in a sentence by singling it out for contrast,
hence making it prominent or stand out in importance. The
most common type of focus construction in Zulu is repetition
of a constituent and in this way augmenting its importance
in relation to other constituents in a sentence. Such
repetition may be overt or covert. This implies that focus
is achieved by lexical tie-ups of some sorts. Overt
repetition refers to the repetition of the constituent as it
is or with some modification in its form. Covert repetition
refers to a concealed repetition of a constituent by way of
adding a different lexical item whose meaning is similar to
the asserted constituent. In the folktale chosen three
types of focus constructions have been identified, viz

(a) Repetition of predicates

(b) Use of the associative absolute pronoun with its
     co-referring noun

(c) Use of the ideophone with its cognate predicate

It must be noted that focus is a sub-category of prominence.
Other sub-categories of prominence will be given on p307 and in the
conclusion (i.e. the last chapter).

4.6.3 (a) <u>Repetition of predicates</u>

In a folktale very often one comes across the overt repetition
of narrative tense forms. Such repeated forms indicate
protracted events. More importantly the repetitions seem
to draw the listener's attention to what the narrator sees as
a development of plot.   In this respect the repeated
narrative tense forms express a kind of focus, cf.

15. <u>Yabaleka, yabaleka inyoni yaze yafika emzini wazo zonke</u>
     <u>izinyoni emhlangeni</u>.
62. <u>Zahamba, zahamba, zahamba izingane zaze zafika etsheni</u>
     <u>likaNtunjambili</u>.

In 15 the narrative predicate <u>yabaleka</u> is repeated twice
whilst in 62 the predicate <u>zahamba</u> is repeated thrice. By
repeating the predicate the narrator is securing the attention
of the listener to a particular predicate, thus bringing that
predicate into prominence. This kind of repetition is overt
or explicit. In effect the explicitly repeated clauses give
rise to focus construction. There are degrees of focus. With
verbs or predicates indicating movement, when they are
repeated twice, they indicate appreciably long distance and
time over which the event (action) is carried out (moderate
focus) cf. 15 above. When such predicates are repeated thrice
they indicate very long distance and time (strong focus) cf.
62. Some narrators may even repeat predicates five times in
order to show extremely strong focus.

4.6.3 (b) <u>Use of the associative absolute pronoun with its</u>

<u>co-referring noun and accompanying clauses</u>

When the absolute pronoun is used with its co-referring noun, the noun receives focus. This is also true of the associative absolute pronoun using <u>na-</u>. Note the following sentence in the folktale:

23. <u>Yabuya nayo lenyoni yaya nayo ekhaya</u> .

The use of <u>nayo</u> together with <u>lenyoni</u> expresses some kind of mild focus. If no focus was intended <u>lenyoni</u> could have been left out. The other way of de-focussing <u>lenyoni</u> would be to prefix <u>na-</u> directly to it so that it is <u>nalenyoni</u>. It must be pointed out that the demonstrative <u>le</u> is not a focus strategy but is a strategy for definiteness i.e. it makes the noun definite. The use of the associative absolute pronoun with its co-referring noun is a sort of covert repetition. Such repetition enhances the status or importance of a noun in contrast to other constituents in the sentence.

The covert repetition of clauses associated with co-reference may be explained this way:

$$a_1 \quad b_1 \quad c_1 \quad a_2 \quad b_1 \quad c_2$$

23. <u>Yabuya nayo lenyoni yaya nayo ekhaya</u> .

a_1 a_2 = verbs of motion are repeated

b, b, = comitatives are repeated

c, c₂ = deictic features repeated (i.e. demonstrative vs
locative)

It will be noted too that in this sentence there is some
structural balance and we can talk of some kind of parallelism.

4.6.3 (c) Use of the ideophone with its cognate predicate

So often the ideophone is taken to be the descriptive i.e. it
describes the predicate. Looked at closely, it will be
realised that when the ideophone is used with its cognate
predicate it expresses more than just mere description. It
expresses a kind of concealed repetition. This implies that
the ideophone has meaning that is similar (though not the
same) to its counterpart predicate, hence cognate predicate.
There is therefore a difference in informational meaning
between an ideophone used with its cognate predicate and an
ideophone that is used without its cognate predicate. The
ideophone used with its cognate predicate is richer in meaning
and makes the predicate more prominent, cf.

31. Wazibukula nebala uDemazane wafica kugcwele amasi ethe swi.
47. Kuthe kusathi tabutabu, kugijima, kwahlangana nomvemve.

In 31 the ideophone swi complementing ethe is used with the
predicate kugcwele. The ideophone swi expresses "full to the
brim" whilst the predicate kugcwele means 'full'. There is

therefore some repetition of meaning which expresses focus on the predicate. In 47 the ideophone tabutabu means to 'run clumsily slow' whereas kugijima simply means to 'run'. These two then express related meaning and as such indicate focus. It is therefore maintained that the use of the ideophone together with its cognate predicate expresses a lexical tie of some sort and in this regard it is a covert repetition denoting focus.

Other than focus constructions observed in the folktale, there can be thematic and emphatic prominence. Thematic prominence often coincides with topic though they are not identical. Thematic prominence is essentially associated with the initial position of the sentence. The word that is placed first in the sentence is thematic and is often uppermost in the speaker's mind, cf.

úmfána úsháya ínkomó éhlábáyo (the boy hits a cow that gores)
ínkomó éhlábáyo úyáyísháya úmfána (*the cow that gores, he- the boy hits it)
éhlábáyo ínkomó úmfána úyáyísháya (*that gores, the cow the boy hits it)
úyáyísháya úmfána ínkomó éhlábáyo

In the first example úmfána is thematic whereas in the second ínkomó is thematic. The relative éhlábáyo in the third example is thematic. For that matter the predicate itself may be thematized when all other units come after it, cf. the

last example. It will be noted that in the first and second
examples theme coincides with topic. Emphatic prominence on
the other hand, is mainly achieved by certain formatives, cf.
auxiliary -ya- and the extension -isis- e.g.

úyábóna úkúthi úzolimála (he does realise that he is going
to be hurt)
ngithánda úkúthi lénto ngiyíhlolisíse (I want to make it a
point that I examine this thing thoroughly)

Emphatic prominence indicates assertion or intensification
as expressed by the predicate.

4.6.4 Existential construction

The existential construction is brought about by the non-
anaphoric concord ku- in Zulu. The pragmatic use of this
construction is to 'supply the lowest level of discourse
presuppositionality', cf.Givón (1979 p,66). Givón notes that
such sentence constructions are uttered in contexts where the
speaker does not presuppose anything about the hearer's
familiarity with the referent, since he is then introducing
it for the first time. We have noted in a Zulu folktale this
is supplied by the introductory coda: 1. Kwasukela. The
existential clause is very restricted in its distribution in
discourse as it has the duty of spelling out in full deictic
time and no assumption is made that the hearer is informed.

Existential construction is particularly important in that pragmatically it involves a clause which introduces topicality as well as background information. Distributionally the clause kwasukela precedes a clause with neutral or unmarked word order viz inkosikazi yayakulima. It follows then that the clause yayakulima is part of existential construction. There are two main characteristics observed by Givón (1979(b)p.72) which we would like to re-affirm:

1. It distributes most frequently at discourse - initial position, thus indicating that it is used in discourse contexts in which the least shared background of common knowledge is presupposed by the speaker.

2. In all subject-first languages which have this device, the characteristic word order of existential-presentatives is V-first.

Discourse analysis (pragmatics) is allied to context meaning. In fact, Lyons (1981 p.195) sees text or discourse and context as complementary and quotes J R Firth[1] as saying:

The basic assumption ... is that any text can be regarded as a constituent of context of situation.

We take it that features like ellipsis, anaphoric concords,

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1) Synopsis of linguistic theory

pronouns, connectors, tense and word order ranges make
text-sentences context-dependent. As Firth points out, context
is for sure more embracing than text or discourse. Meaning
may be seen in the context of culture as a whole.

Discourse analysis offers some revealing and significant
statements in the study of syntax.It tries to indicate why a
particular sentence construction is used instead of another.
One can describe a verb form found in a particular clause
but the question remains as to when and where is that
particular verb form used. It may easily be said that a
pronoun replaces a noun but in discourse it is found that a
pronoun may be used with its co-referring noun and the
question is, why do we use pronouns alone in some sentences
while in others we use these pronouns together with their
co-referring nouns? One often talks of the change of word
order in a sentence but,is it actually change of word order
or is it that there are different word orders from which the
narrator/writer can choose? All these problems are answered
by syntax that is text orientated.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

In dealing with the clause in the Zulu sentence, different
dimensions of language have been treated. We have been
forced to treat morphology, syntax, phonology and semantics
of the clause in Zulu. Obviously some dimensions have been
more emphasised than others. This is because of the
inclination of the investigation. There is a syntactic
inclination in the whole investigation. In order to
understand syntax, it is essential that meaning is included.
Morphology has clarified certain areas which have been
lop-sided because of the imposition of the methods that may
work for European languages but not for Zulu, cf, the derivation
of the relative clause. As for morphology and syntax one of
the most difficult problems is whether we should say words
determine sentences or sentences determine words. Most
linguists appear to accentuate a sentence as a starting point.
Guthrie (1970 p.5) says:

> We must surely begin with the facts of the language
> in question and the most fundamental of these facts
> is the sentence not some theoretical 'parts of
> speech'.

Robins (1964 p. 223) falls in line with this argument as he says:

> In taking the word as the basic grammatical unit one
> may say that the heart of grammar is that part which
> deals with the patterned interrelations of words in
> the sentence of a language, and with the means of
> analysing them and stating them systematically. This
> is the traditional province of syntax, and it may
> reasonably be claimed that syntax is the most
> important part of grammar.

Westphal (1970 p. 386) also agrees with this:

> The basic data of any language are its sentences.

As regards the clause, certain linguistic principles must be
shown how they operate. In the end these principles show that
system-and text-sentences are not necessarily mutually
exclusive. There is reason to believe that a paradigm or
theory that excludes text-sentences is bound to meet with
serious problems. At the same time the study of text-sentences
must not prevent us from creating out-of-context sentences in
order to explain certain linguistic issues. The two types
of sentences, then, appear to be complementary to the linguist.
In this investigation it has been found that three phenomena
are important in the study of a sentence, viz structural
regularities, functional relations and meaning. Attached to
these three important phenomena, are other additional phenomena
viz diachronic process, syncretism, opacity and characteristics

of the main and subordinate clauses.

5.2 STRUCTURAL REGULARITIES

It appears proper to regard the representational sentence as
a structured whole. Sentence structure is often explained in
terms of distribution of constituents. Distribution is better
explained by grouping constituents into a kind of a pattern.
In distribution we are seeking after general structural
frames necessary for sentence formation. In a representational
sentence distribution may be shown as follows:

Nominal group	Verbal/Copulative group	Nominal group
úmfána	úsháya	ínkomó
(the boy	hits	a cow)
úmfána ówélusayo	údámáne ésháya	ínkomó ngénduku
the boy who looks after	keeps on hitting	a cow with a stick
cattle		

It is noted that analysing the sentence into categorial groups
or classes viz   nominal and verbal/copulative classes,
enables us to allow for substitutions and expansions within
each categorial class. A group of words may substitute a
single word and still that group of words falls in the same
category as a single word. This kind of substitution may
also be explained in terms of expansion i.e. a 'head' is
expanded when it is modified by another word.

It is necessary to point out that in a representational sentence, the nominal class is optional and depends on text rules. The verbal/copulative class is obligatory and is often signalled by concord (agreement formative). Under strict subcategorization of the copulative there are two subclasses i.e. the one capable of taking the subject concord and the other incapable of taking the subject concord, cf. the deictic copulative and the agentive copulative occurring after the passive. This also leads us to the conclusion that clauses can be subcategorized into transitive and intransitive structures according to whether they allow objects or not. The verb may also govern the form of the succeeding nominal e.g.

úsháya ngénduku (he hits with a stick)
úsháywa ngumúntu (he is hit by a person)

In the first instance ngénduku is governed by the non-passive verb whereas ngumúntu is governed by a passive one.

Users of language become accustomed to the distributional patterns of the constituents in the sentence. The natural grouping of words in the sentence by the speaker and his/her recognition of the mutual syntactic expectancies that hold between words, establish syntactic regularities. It is desirable that once these syntactic regularities have been ascertained, an economical and consistent statement of explanation is made about them. Bloomfield (1933) discovered an economical and consistent way of accounting for syntactic

regularities in sentences. Up to this day his account still
commands respect among scholars. In his account distribution
of constituents can be explained in terms of endocentric and
exocentric constructions. The endocentric construction is
one whose distribution is comparable to one or more of its
constituents. This would mean that in an endocentric
construction one constituent is typically obligatory and the
other is typically optional. The exocentric construction is
one whose distribution is not comparable to one or more of its
constituents. Simply stated, in an exocentric construction
there are no optional constituents because the construction
is reduced to its barest minimum of the required constituents.
We uphold Bloomfield's interpretation of distribution despite
the bordering problems attached to it. Endocentric construction
can up to a degree capture syntactic regularities as found in
co-ordination and subordination.

In co-ordination construction, the constituents have
comparable distribution. As regards double sentence, the
clauses that are linked are looked upon as constituents that
have comparable distribution. This regularity makes an
assumption that sentences are not always structurally similar.
Some have more structural frames than others; still others
prefer to use less structural frames though they have
potentially more frames (the unused frames are often said to
be understood and recoverable from context). It is also to
be accepted that some sentences are isolates (cf. system-
sentences) whilst others are non-isolates (cf text—sentences).

It must be expected that linked sentences cannot always retain
their former syntactic-semantic independence i.e. linked
sentences must abide by certain constraints. All this is
proof of the fact that though there are syntactic regularities
in co-ordination sometimes they are not immediately resolved.
Note the following:

úmfána úyásébénza kódwa émíni kuphêla (the boy works but during
the day only)

In terms of grammatical balance, émíni kuphêla does not have
corresponding distribution with úmfána úyásébénza. It is
observed that úmfána úyásébénza can be considered as an
isolate sentence whereas émíni kuphêla is a non-isolate sentence
or clause. This goes to show that distribution cannot only be
explained grammatically but also textually. Textual analysis
of a double sentence involves cross-references within the
sentence itself. This leads us to the conclusion that
co-ordination is much more a matter of textual configuration
than of a grammatical one.

Endocentrically, subordination is looked upon as a construction
which has the same distribution as one of its constituents.
A subordinate clause is distributionally comparable to the
'head' or main clause e.g.

úmfána ósébénzayó úyáphúmélela (a boy who works succeeds)

In this case ósébénzayó has the same distribution as úṁfána.
The relative clause ósébénzayó is the nominal because it
shares the same distribution with úṁfána. In the sentence
úṁfána úhámba édlâla (the boy walks playing) édlâla has the
same distribution as úhámba. Because úhámba is a predicate
acting as the 'head/main clause' édlâla must also be the
predicate, which acts as a 'modifier'. Unlike co-ordination
whose members have comparable distribution taken separately,
subordination takes the head or main clause together with the
modifier or subordinate clause as having the same distribution.
This syntactic regularity is resolved in a straightforward
way.

As was observed with co-ordination, subordination cannot
always be resolved distributionally in a straightforward way.
This is particularly observed in the sequence of an auxiliary
predicate and a complementary one. Note the following:

úṁfána úmáne úyákhúlúma njê (the boy is simply talking)

In this case it will be observed that úmáne is a sort of a
'determiner' because it is the determiner of úyákhúlúma, cf.
Matthews (1981 p.64). Accordingly úyákhúlúma is expected to
be the main clause whilst úmáne is a subordinate one. This
is a bordering problem which need not override other syntactic
and semantic criteria. In terms of distribution úmáne is the
'head' while úyákhúlúma is a necessary support of the 'head'.
This brings us to the conclusion that the 'head' need not

only be modified but also to be supported or complemented i.e.
úyakhúlúma completes the 'head' structure (main clause) which
otherwise would be unbalanced or elliptical. Complementing
subordinate clauses are of three kinds viz   the directive, the
complementary and the reported clauses e.g.

úmfána úcábánga úkúthi úyázi (the boy thinks that he knows)
úmfána úmáne úyákhúlúma (the boy is simply talking)
úmfána úthé úyákhúlúma (the boy said that he was talking)

5.2.1 Structural representation of a double sentence
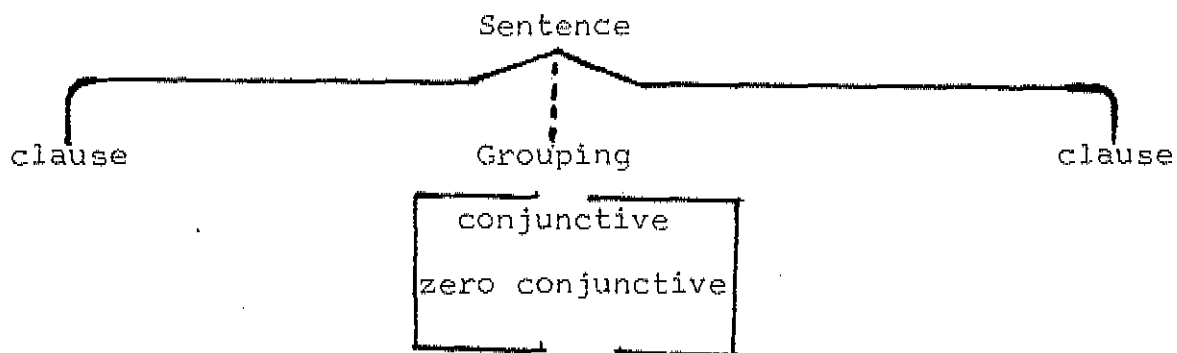
Note:

1. The clauses that are grouped together or combined have

    comparable distribution. Grouping or combination of

    clauses is effected either through a conjunctive or zero

    conjunctive.

2. The predicates in the two clauses may belong to different

    'moods'/ 'categories' irrespective of whether there is a

    conjunctive or zero conjunctive, cf.

conjunctive (kôdwa):

úmfána úyádlá kôdwa éngalambîle (the boy is eating but he

        ↓   ↓   is not hungry)

  indicative   participial

zero conjunctive:

vúka   úhambé (wake up and go)

  ↓   ↓

imperative subjunctive

3. The predicates in the clauses may belong to the same 'mood'/
'category' but such 'mood'/'category' need not have the
same tense or aspectual form whether there be a conjunctive
or zero conjunctive, cf.

conjunctive (képha):

úmfána úyáhámba képha úzobúya (the boy is going but he will

        ↓   ↓   come back)

  present   future
  tense   tense

zero conjunctive:

úmfána úhámbê úhámbîle (the boy is gone for good)

    ↓   ↓

  short   long
  perfect perfect

4. As regards grouping of clauses by a conjunctive, one of the
clauses may be reduced by omitting the predicate, cf.

úmfána úyásébénza kanti noyîse nqókúnjalo (the boy is
working and his father "does" likewise)

5.   The clauses that are grouped by zero conjunctive are
      structurally of three types:

      (i)   The clauses contain predicates that belong to the
                   same 'mood' or 'category' and these predicates
                   are repetitions that may differ as to tense or
                   aspectual form;   this may be referred to as
                   repetitive construction:
                   úmfána úhámbé úhámbîle (the boy is gone for good)
                              │   │
                              │   │
                              ▼   ▼
                            short   long
                            perfect   perfect

                   úmfána wâhámba wáhámba, wákhathála (the boy walked
                              │   │
                              │   │   and walked and
                              ▼   ▼
                          past tense   narrative tense   became tired)

      (ii)   Each clause contains a predicate that is not
                   necessarily fully inflected and therefore the
                   clause need not stand by itself as an
                   independent sentence.   The first clause may not
                   be independently negated.   This is referred to as
                   a consecutive construction:
                   uvúka áhambé (he wakes up and go)
                   akavúki áhambé (he does not wake up and go)

      (iii)   Each clause contains a fully inflected predicate
                   so that each clause can stand by itself as an
                   independent sentence.   Each clause can be

independently negated. This is referred to as
a paratactic construction:

úyásébénza, úyáphúmúla, úyálála (he works, he
he rests and he sleeps)

akasebénzi, akaphumúli, akaláli (he does not
work, he does not rest and he does not sleep)

(a) Functional (syntactic) characterisation of structural evidence

(i)   There may be free choice of ordering of clauses with
        predicates belonging to the same 'mood'/'category'
        irrespective of whether there is a conjunctive or
        zero conjunctive, cf.

        conjunctive (kôdwa):

        úyádlá kôdwa akasúthi (he eats but he does not get
        satisfied)

        akasúthi kôdwa úyádlá (he does not get satisfied but he
        eats)

        zero conjunctive:

        úyásébénza, úyáphúmúla, úyálála (he works, rests and
        sleeps)

        úyálála, úyáphúmúla, úyásébénza (he sleeps, rests and
        works)

(ii)   As regards clauses with predicates belonging to
        different 'moods'/ 'categories' or tense/aspectual
        forms there is fixed choice of clause ordering if there

is zero conjunctive, cf.

<u>úvúka áhambé</u> (he wakes up and leaves)

<u>úhámbê úhámbîle</u> (he is gone for good)

<u>wâvûka wáhámba</u> (he woke up and left)

(iii)   There is fixed choice of ordering as regards the

        reduced/elliptical clause; the elliptical clause

        always occurs after the grammatically full clause, cf.

        <u>úmfána úyáhámba kanti noyîse ngókúnjalo</u> (the boy is

        walking and his father 'is doing' likewise)

(b)   <u>Collocational characterisation of structural evidence</u>

<u>Zero conjunctive grouping</u>

(i)   Paratactic constructions are collocationally loosely

        associated e.g.

        <u>úyásébénza, úyáphúmúla, úyálala</u> (he works, he rests

        and he sleeps)

(ii)   Clauses having predicates that belong to different

        'moods'/'categories' often cohere closely and may

        express <u>consecutive</u> events or states e.g.

        <u>vúka úhambé</u> (wake up and leave)

(iii)   Clauses having predicates that belong to different

        'moods'/'categories' often cohere closely and may

        express <u>habitual</u> events or states e.g.

        <u>uvúka áhambé</u> (he wakes up and leaves)

(iv)   Clauses having predicates that belong to the same

'mood'/ 'category' often cohere closely and may give

rise to focus e.g.

úhámbê úhámbîle (he is gone for good)

These clauses are repetitive; the second clause

repeats the idea already expressed by the first.

Sometimes the repeated clause may be couched or

concealed in a totally different lexeme e.g.

akasháyi uyaxébula (he hits thoroughly)

(v)   Clauses having predicates belonging to the same 'mood'/

'category' may not cohere closely and may express

protracted event e.g.

wâhâmba wáhámba, wáhámba, wakháthála (he walked

'continually' and became tired)

Conjunctive grouping

(i)   additive (fúthi)

úyácula fúthi úyásína (she sings and dances)

(ii)   adversative (kôdwa, képha)

úyâdlá képha akasúthi (he eats but he does not get

satisfied)

(iii)   alternative (nóma)

uzohámba nóma uyathánda nóma awuthándi (you will go

whether you like or not)

úyásébénza nóma áphúmule (he works or rest)

(iv)   illative (ngákho-ké)

úyásébénza ngákho-ké úzophuméléla (he is working

therefore he will succeed)

5.2.2 The general nature of co-ordination in Zulu

In dealing with co-ordinate clauses, it has been noted that in Zulu, traditional treatment of co-ordination is not sufficient. In the first place co-ordination is not merely resolved by the presence of a conjunctive. In Zulu co-ordination covers the whole gamut of clause combinations that have been hitherto referred to as predicate sequences, consecutive, serialisation and parataxis. Consequently it is posited that the nature of clause co-ordination in Zulu differs from that of European languages, like English. However, there are still certain problems connected with co-ordination in Zulu. It might well be that in a language like Zulu, subordination could possibly be a subdivision of co-ordination, cf.

úyádlá ébése éhâmba (he eats and then goes)
úyádlá áhambé (he eats and then goes)

On a higher level éhâmba is co-ordinated to úyádlá because of the co-ordinating auxiliary predicate (conjunctive).[1] But on a lower level éhâmba is subordinate by virtue of the fact that it is a complement of an auxiliary predicate. On a higher level áhambé is co-ordinated to úyádlá because it has the same interpretation as the sentence with ébése. On a lower level it may be said that áhambé is subordinate because as an event, it takes place after the first has taken place so that its occurrence depends on the occurrence of the first event or action. In such cases it must be amply demonstrated that

1) The subordinating auxiliary predicate -bese has historically developed a sense of co-ordinating conjunctive.

subordination is based on priority of occurrence or on whether a subordinate clause has a preferred position after the main clause or not. Our general conclusion is that there are areas in clause relations where the dividing line between co-ordination and subordination becomes rather indeterminate and tenuous.Lexical tie-ups also offer problems of explanation. For this reason it would be more appropriate to subdivide co-ordination into

(a)   <u>Full-fledged co-ordination</u>. This includes conjoining co-ordination as well as paratactic co-ordination. The hall-mark of this kind of co-ordination is that each clause is syntactically more or less self-contained or stable, and depending on the logical meaning of predicates there is relatively free choice of ordering of the cluases, cf.

<u>úmfána úyádlá kódwa akasúthi</u> (the boy eats but does not get satisfied)

<u>úmfána akasúthi kódwa úyádlá</u> (the boy does not get satisfied but he eats)

<u>siyasebenza, siyadla, siyaphumula</u> (we work, we eat, we rest)

<u>siyaphumúla, siyasebénza, siyadlá</u> (we rest, we work, we eat)

Even here the matter is not so straightforward and easily settled as it appears. With the exception of the

illative, the putative co-ordinating conjunctives seem to
to be very illusive as to their co-ordinating capacity.
This is because their position is not fixed, cf.

úyáhámba kôdwa úyágula (he is going but he is ill)
úyáhámba úyágula kôdwa (he is going but he is ill)

Such conjunctives are even more illusive when they allow
the succeeding clause to be the participial, cf.

úyáhámba kôdwa égûla (he is going though he is ill)

The case in point is that it is very probable that the
'conjunctive' is not co-ordinating but it is simply a
form of adjunct (cf. introductory conjunctives) that
can appear between or after the predicates that are
otherwise in continuous sequence, cf.

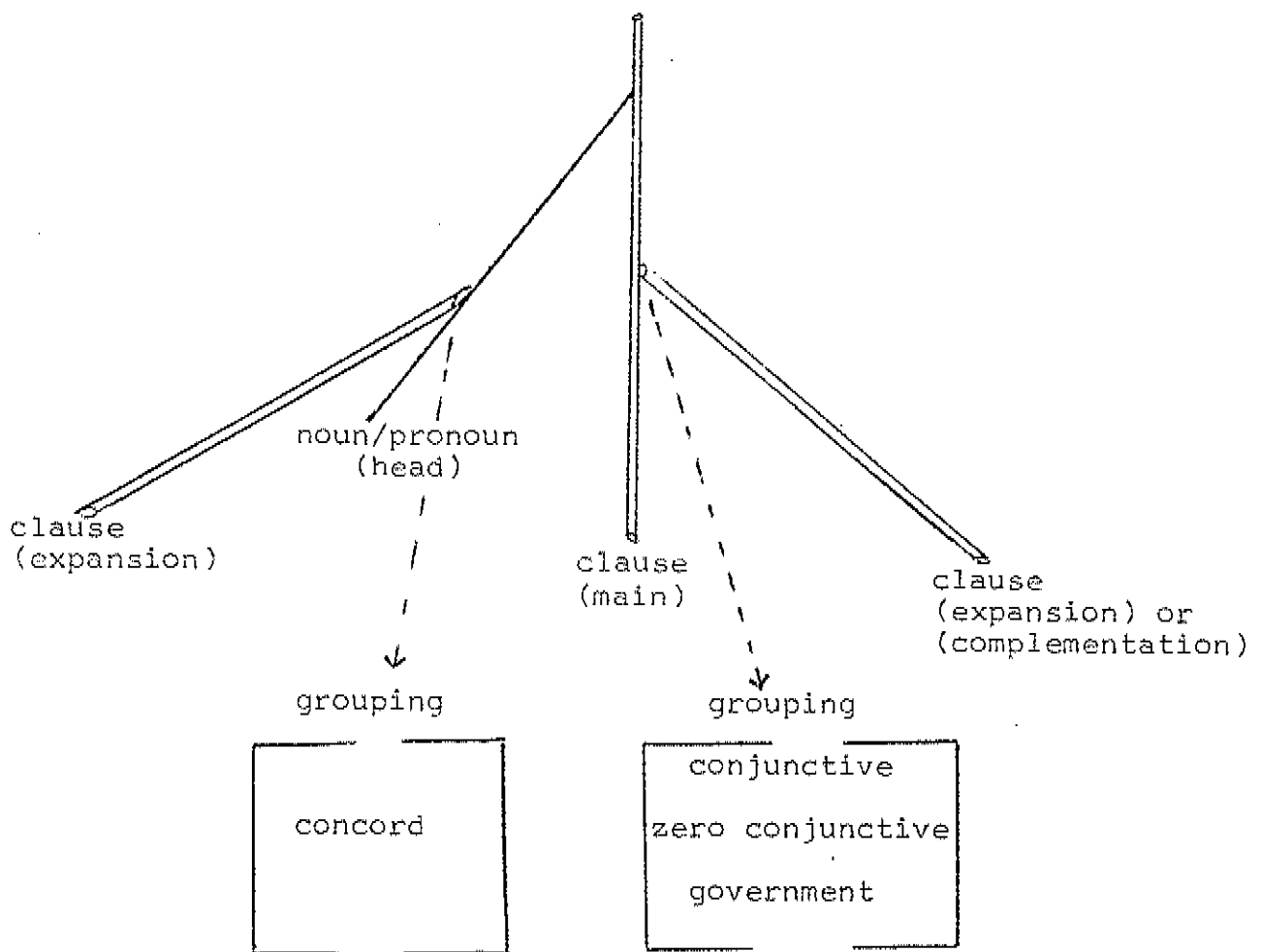úyáhámba úyágula kôdwa
úyáhámba égûla kôdwa

In the first example there is paratactic co-ordination if
there is a pause between the clauses or the simultaneous
subordination if there is no pause. In the second
example the participial expresses simultaneous subordination.
Our conclusion is that conjunctives like kôdwa have dual
interpretations in the language viz they are conjunctives
as well as adjuncts; if they are interpreted as

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conjunctives they may either be co-ordinating on a higher level and subordinating on a lower level, cf. also 2.3.1

(b)   Marginal co-ordination.   This includes consecutive and serial co-ordination as well as clauses joined by bése or its other form and joined by nóma followed by the subjunctive.   It will also include co-ordination marked by lexical or semantic tie-ups.   In this co-ordination either syntactic or semantic factors or both make the clauses more interdependent than the previous one, cf. úmfána úvúka agêze (the boy wakes up and then bathes) úmfána úgíjíma údlúla íkhehla (the boy runs "surpassing" the old man) úmfána úvúka bése égêza (the boy wakes up and then bathes) úyásébénza nóma áphúmule ntámbáma (he works or rest in the afternoon) úmfána úhámbe úhámbíle (the boy has gone for good)

Marginal co-ordination on the one hand allows us to view predicates or clauses that are not self-contained in a new perspective (cf. bése égêza);   on the other hand repetitive constructions are given a structural perspective of being co-ordinate (cf. úhámbe úhámbíle)

Considering full-fledged and marginal types of co-ordination, it may be said the co-ordination of clauses is coherent text. It involves more than the clauses interpreted as isolates. There is an interaction of structural patterning, pragmatic factors and cognition of the language system.

5.3   STRUCTURAL REPRESENTATION OF A COMPLEX SENTENCE

1.   The 'head' segment or unit may either be a noun or pronoun.

The main clause may be enlarged in two ways i.e.

either by expansion or complementation. Expansion implies that

the segment or   unit being expanded should be typically

self-contained, that is, capable of occurring in an

unexpanded form. Complementation suggests that the

segment or unit being complemented is not self—contained

and obligatorily requires the support of the complementing

segment, cf, auxiliary predicate and complementary

predicate. In terms of this study it is worth noting

that both the auxiliary predicate and the complementary

predicate are structural segments that have a place

apart though semantically they form a kind of complex

unit because of closely-knit cohesion. The auxiliary

predicate and complementary predicate are grouped by zero

conjunctive and are regarded as separate clauses.

2. The main clause may be grouped with the expansion clause

    through three processes viz conjunctive, zero conjunctive

    and government.

    conjunctive (e.g. úma)

    úmfána úyásébénza úma éthânda (the boy works if he likes)

    zero conjunctive

    úmfána úhámba édlâla (the boy walks while playing)

    government

    úmfána úya kwábásébénzayó (the boy is going to those who

    work)

3. The main clause is grouped with the complementary clause

    through zero conjunctive e.g.

    úmfána úsúke ákhalé (the boy simply cries)

    úmfána úsúke úyákhala nje (the boy is simply crying)

    It should be pointed out that a particular auxiliary

    clause does not necessarily demand a complementary

    clause with a predicate in a particular form.

4. The head noun or pronoun is grouped with the expansion
   clause through the concord, cf. the relative clause e.g.
   úmfána ófúndayó úphúmúle (the boy who reads is resting)
   yena ófúndayó úphúmúle (the one who reads is resting)

(a) <u>Functional (syntactic) characterisation of structural</u>
    <u>evidence</u>

(i) There may be free choice of ordering between the main
    clause and the expansion clause if there is a
    conjunctive e.g.
    úmfána úyásébénza úma éthánda (the boy works if he
    likes)
    úma éthánda úmfána úyásébénza (if he likes the boy
    works)

(ii) There is relatively fixed choice of ordering between
     the main clause and the expansion clause if there is
     a zero conjunctive e.g.
     úmfána úhámba édlála (the boy walks while playing)

(iii) The sequence of an auxiliary predicate and a
      complementary one may be interrupted by an insertion
      of a non-predicate. This is also true of full-fledged
      predicates that are linked by zero conjunctive e.g.
      úsúke yena ákhalé (he simply cries)
      úmfána úbóna ínkomó ídla (the boy sees a cow grazing)
      It should therefore be pointed out that segments
      which are not stable may be interrupted which goes
      to show that they are structurally discrete entities.

(iv) There may be a free choice of ordering between the head noun/pronoun and the expansion clause in the concord grouping.

(b) <u>Collocational characterisation of structural evidence</u>

(i) There may be temporal significance between the main clause and the expansion clause if there is a conjunctive e.g.

<u>úmúntu úyófika lapho úbabá éséhâmba</u> (the person will come when father leaves)

(ii) There may be causal significance between the main clause and the expansion clause if there is a conjunctive e.g.

<u>úṁfána úyáhámba ngoba équla</u> (the boy is leaving because he is ill)

(iii) There may be a conditional significance between the main clause and the expansion clause if there is a conjunctive e.g.

<u>înjá ízozaca úma béyincísha úkúdlá</u> (the dog will become thin if they stint its food)

<u>ngábe bayagíjima úkúba alíbalêlé</u> (they would be running if it were not hot/shining)

(iv) There may be a concessive significance between the main clause and the expansion clause if there is a conjunctive e.g.

<u>úmúntu úyásébénza nóma équla</u> (a person works even though he is ill)

(v)   There may be a comparative significance between the
        main clause and the expansion clause if there is a
        conjunctive e.g.

        Íngane yénza njéngóba úyisé énza (the child does as
        the father does)

(vi)   There may be a locative significance between the main
        clause and the expansion clause if there is a
        conjunctive e.g.

        úmfána úya lápho éhlâla khoná (the boy is going to
        where he stays)

(vii)   There may be a purposive significance between the
        main clause and the expansion clause if there is a
        conjunctive e.g.

        índoda íyásébénza úkúze íhóle (the man works so that
        he gets paid)

(viii) There may be a directive significance between the
        main clause and the expansion clause if there is a
        conjunctive e.g.

        índoda íyábóna úkúthi sékúhlwîle (the man sees that
        it is dark)

(ix)   If there is zero conjunctive there may be a
        simultaneous significance between the main clause and
        the expansion clause e.g.

        íngane íhámba ídlâla (the child walks crying)

(x)   Between the main clause and the supporting clause
        there is a modifying and complementary significance e.g.

        íngane ísúke íkhalé (the baby simply cries)

(xi)   There may also be a conditional significance between

predicates that are juxtaposed e.g.

<u>ungahámba ngizokulándela</u> (should you go, I will follow
you)

Cohesion plays a big role in subordination. It can cause an
auxiliary predicate and its complement to fuse or merge and
become one compound predicate, cf.

<u>ngibé ngibôna</u>   <u>béngibôna</u> (I have been seeing)

This idea seems to link with what Entwistle (cf. 1.4.1)
noted with parataxis and subordination. If predicates are
in sequence the succeeding one may change its form or tone
if it coheres closely to the preceding one, cf. the participial
e.g.

<u>úhámba ékhâla</u> (he goes playing)
<u>báhámba bédlâla</u> (they go playing)

Cohesion has a bearing on the form, phonology and status of
clauses.

The relative as a form or construction offers some problems
of analysis in Zulu. Are we entitled to over-estimate the
importance of the antecedent or head unit in our definition of the
relative clause? Are we to regard the antecedent as part of
the main clause or as part of the relative clause? In Zulu
it is not worthwhile to magnify the importance of the presence

of the antecedent in the relative clause. The relative clause can exist without the antecedent e.g.

/ókúngapheli/kúyáhlola (that which does not come to an end is ominous)

If there is an antecedent at all, that antecedent may be part of the main clause if it is its subject. Sometimes the antecedent may be part of the relative clause if the antecedent is the subject of that relative clause, cf.

úmúntu/ízingáno ézímbíngelélayó/uyáfika nje (the person whom children are greeting is just arriving)

In the above sentence úmúntu is part of the main clause whereas ízingáne is part of the relative clause. The question of word order has also to be considered; it will not be appropriate to talk of antecedent when the subject and object are placed after the relative e.g.

ézímbíngélélélayó úmúntu ízingáne, úyáfíka nje (* the one whom they are greeting person children is just arriving)

This goes to show that in Zulu the correlation between word order and grammatical relations (subject, predicate and object) is very low, unlike in English where it is very high. This suggests that Zulu has relatively free word order, consequently to define or explain the relative clause in

terms of antecedent or head unit is unsatisfactory.

In terms of formation, the relative is coupled with
derivational morphology or what is known as lexical
morphology. The demonstrative la- that is prefixed to the
indicative is a derivational or lexical formative. It is
derivational because it derives a nominal out of a predicate
though this is not, totally class-changing. In the second
instance, it is lexical because it is a process for the
formation of a new word. We may explain this in the following
convention:

$$V \longrightarrow R = \left\{ \underline{la} - + V \rightarrow R \right\}$$

The symbol V stands for verb or copulative and R stands for
relative; the verb becomes a relative by the prefixing of a
la- formative. This goes to show that the formation of a
relative follows word formation rules though it has a sentential
status. In Zulu transformational rules are repudiated
because they are sentence rules. The relative formation rule
as proposed above is concerned with the simple relative i.e.
the relative derived from the verb or copulative. The
periphrastic relative i.e. the relative which is composed of
more than one word uses the la- as a prefix to a noun followed
by possessive + stabilizing verb or copulative,cf.

úmfána ónqubo zákhe ziláhlékîle, úhámbîle (the boy whose
clothes are lost, is gone)

The relative is: óngubo zákhe ziláhlékîle and even here
there is word formation rule though it is slightly modified.

5.4   MEANING IN CLAUSES

Meaning in clauses has been looked into from two main angles
viz   descriptive theory of meaning and pragmatic theory of
meaning.   In certain areas it has been necessary to invoke
the presuppositional and propositional theories of ⌐⌐⌐
meaning.

5.4.1   Descriptive theory of meaning

This theory of meaning involves three kinds of features:

(a)   Situational features: events (action;   process) and
      states
(b)   Liaison semantic features: causation and non-causation
(c)   Delimiting features: human vs non-human, concrete vs
      non-concrete, animate vs non-animate.

5.4.2   Pragmatic theory of meaning

Pragmatic theory of meaning overlaps with the contextual
theory   of meaning.   However, the contextual theory of
meaning aims at explaining meaning from a wider spectrum
including cultural or social behaviour.   The pragmatic theory
of meaning aims at explaining the internal organization of

information within a sentence as result of the constraints of discourse. This inevitably includes the study of how the sentence relates with another in the entire discourse, the so-called function of the sentence in discourse. Comrie (1981 p.56) defines the pragmatic theory of meaning as follows:

> By pragmatic or discourse roles, we refer to the different ways in which essentially the same information, or the same semantic content, can be structured differently to reflect the flow of given and new information.

There are three main pragmatic operations found at the clause or sentence level:

(a)   Topic constructions: the topic mainly coincides with the subject of a clause but sometimes the clause may be the topic in a complex sentence.

(b)   Prominence constructions: this is further divided into two classes:

(i)   Focus prominence: contrastive prominence given to information that is not assumed or presupposed; this may also involve what is sometimes referred to as 'thematisation' i.e. placement of a word that is uppermost in the speaker's mind in the initial sentence position.

(ii) Emphatic prominence: intensification or
assertion; it is mainly achieved by the use of
certain formatives e.g. the auxiliary -ya-,
object concord and extension -isis-.

(c) Existential constructions: involving the non-anaphoric
concord ku- that forbids the topic subject to be in the
initial position of the sentence. Cf. also opacity in 5.7.

5.4.3 Presuppositional theory of meaning

Although presupposition is often disregarded in the theory of
meaning, it must be mentioned that sometimes linguists employ
it unwares and perhaps without mentioning it. For instance
Whiteley (1969) when he was talking about transitivity and
entailment, he was using the presuppositional theory.
Entailment means that sentence A presupposes the truth of B;
a transitive construction presupposes the truth of its
intransitive counterpart. In our investigation we have noted
that presupposition operated in the following areas:

(a) Consecutivization: the paraphrase of the consecutive
construction is rendered by the insertion of bése between
the predicates.

(b) Utterance meaning: certain 'moods' or predicate
categories are based on illocutionary force or utterance-
meaning and they tie in with the theory of speech acts,
cf. statement, command and wish or intention which are

often indicated by indicative, imperative and subjunctive respectively; to analyse the condition of an illocutionary force presupposes the analysis of the utterer's meaning.

(c) Complementing clauses: in the directive clause, the factive predicates presuppose the truth of the subordinate predicate; auxiliary predicates presuppose the occurrence of the complement.

(d) Elliptical clauses: the elliptical clause or sentence entails the full clause or sentence i.e. the elliptical clause has the same paraphrase as the full clause.

(e) Relative clauses: in focus constructions involving the copulative and the relative, where the relative becomes the shared contextual presupposition between interlocutors e.g.

ngubáni óhámbayó (who is going)?

ngumfána óhámbayó (it is the boy who is going)

The relative óhámbayó is the shared pressuposition as noted in the focus construction.

5.4.4 Propositional theory of meaning

The proposition of a clause refers to the semantic content of a clause or to what a clause refers to. This has been observed mainly in two areas:

(a) Conditionals: simple conditionals, hypothetical conditionals and counterfactual conditionals.