

A REVISION OF THE WORD CATEGORIES
IN ZULU

by

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

SC	=	subject concord
OC	=	object concord
AC	=	adjective concord
RC	=	relative concord
EC	=	enumerative concord
PP	=	pre-prefix
RCP	=	real class prefix
CP	=	class prefix
PB	=	Proto Bantu
CV	=	consonant + vowel
V	=	vowel
(C)V	=	the consonant sometimes does not occur
C	=	consonant
p.t.	=	present tense
imm. p.t.	=	immediate past tense
rem. p.t.	=	remote past tense
f.t.	=	future tense
imm. f.t.	=	immediate future tense
rem. f.t.	=	remote future tense
aux.	=	auxiliary
form.	=	formative
refl. form.	=	reflexive formative
pos.	=	positive
neg.	=	negative
ind. nom.	=	independent nominal
dep. nom.	=	dependent nominal
def. verb.	=	deficient verb
refl. verb.	=	reflexive verb
1.s.	=	1st person singular
2.s.	=	2nd person singular
1.p.	=	1st person plural
2.p.	=	2nd person plural

> = changes into
/H/ or /' / = high tone; /FL/ or /^/ falling tone;
/LH/ or /V/ = rising tone.

Syllable without tonal mark indicates /L/ tone.

() around a phone, e.g. (e)li- indicates that the bracketed phone may or may not occur

! = downstep;

// = stress;

: = vowel length

* = hypothetical form

[] = "marking" in semantic structure.

S U M M A R Y

This work is an attempt to revise the classification of Zulu words into their respective word categories.

The material used in this research was obtained from publications and fieldwork.

Zulu is largely a tone language. However, Zulu tone is not uniform. It appears to be regional. We, therefore, use the tone dialect of the area to the north and north-west of Eshowe district. The distinction of tones or tone patterns is done by ear. Only difficult examples were tested in the language laboratory.

Since there is no perfect model for linguistic analysis, several approaches are integrated in this investigation as far as possible. Accordingly, we employed both the structural and the functional approach. Bantu diachronic linguistics as postulated by Meinhof and Guthrie also proved helpful. Very limited use is made of the techniques of transformational-generative grammar.

We follow the conjunctive approach to word identification.

In this research, Zulu words are classified into various grammatical categories by using the following four criteria: phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of words. The application of these criteria yields the following word categories:

1. Nominal Words

Noun

Absolute Pronoun

Demonstrative

Quantitative

Modifier: Adjective / Relative, Adverbial

2. Predicative Words

Verb

Copulative

3. Marginal Words

Infinitive

Verbal Relative

4. Non-Relational Words

Ideophone

Interjective

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Theme and Method of Research

1.1. Theme

This investigation attempts to set up a revision of the classification of Zulu words into their grammatical categories.

The term "word categories" is preferred to the current ones in Bantu languages, viz "parts of speech" and "word classes" respectively. The term "parts of speech", on account of its application to logic and metaphysics, see Lyons (1969, p. 3) in addition to language has a wider connotation than categories of grammar. It is obviously unsuitable. Further, the "parts of speech" system classifies the words of a language:

... on the basis of similarities and differences of inflectional and syntactic behaviour.

Cf. Hall (1965, p. 178)

Such a classification is not sufficiently elastic to satisfy the identification of words in Zulu. "Word classes" on the other hand, are stem classes. But Zulu words do not always coincide with stems.

1.2. Method of Investigation

This research is based on the written and spoken forms of Zulu. Zulu literature and grammars on various Bantu languages were scrutinised. Extracts from the press were tested on informants. Language usages on the radio were closely investigated. In order to establish tones or tone patterns that could not be determined by ear, tape records were made in the language laboratory of the University of South Africa and the University of Zululand and scanned afterwards.

We found this method to be adequate because only tones

that obviously distinguish one word from another are significant. In this regard, we have followed the example of Pike (1961, pp. 44-46) and Cope (1956, p. 9) who have made successful analyses of tones by ear.

Our informants were mainly selected from the students of the University of Zululand who come from various parts of Natal and Zululand.

1.3. General Survey of African and Bantu Linguistics

It is not necessary to review the efforts of the various Bantu linguists both in the field of descriptive and comparative linguistics because this task has been done very ably by Doke & Cole (1961). It is, however, important to take notice of the works of Meeussen, Coupez, de Rop and others in the Congo. For instance, Meeussen (1967, p. 67) considers the kind of prefix used in a word as indicative of the word category to which a word belongs. He accordingly determines four main word categories corresponding to nominal, numeral, pronominal and verbal prefixes. de Rop (1958, pp. 16, 32, & 33), like Meeussen, determines certain word categories according to the tones of the prefixes.

Prof. Guthrie (1961, p. 16), a leading linguist of "The London School" in Bantu languages has the following to say about determining word categories:

In the first place it is possible to correlate various types of syntactical units with the parts of speech of a language.

Thus, Guthrie views the sentence as the starting point in language description. His viewpoint is strongly supported by Westphal (1970, p. 386). Westphal (1958, p. iv) further maintains that:

Guthrie's approach allows the description of a language without reference to other languages, other techniques, meta-language and meta-techniques.

Accordingly, in Zulu, for instance, the subject and the object can be correlated with the noun and its various forms, the predicate with the verb, etc.

Whiteley (1966, p. 168) classifies sentences according to the occurrence or non-occurrence of the verbal unit. In this manner, he is able to distinguish between nominal and verbal words. The two categories are then each sub-divided according to their "shapes" to form sub-categories. For example, Zulu úyabóna (he sees) is a verbal unit. It can be sub-divided into the verb and the copulative when non-verbal words are used as verbals. But úmntwana (the child) in úmntwana úyabóna (the child sees) is a nominal. The nominal consists of the noun, pronoun and qualificative. The latter thus constitutes the sub-categories of the nominal.

Cope (1966, p. 94), a supporter of "The London School" set up three main word categories in Zulu, viz nominals, verbals and particles. These categories are largely based on morphological considerations. To Atkins (1950, p. 12), form and function are decisive in the classification of words into word categories.

Writing on Fula, an African class language, Arnott (1970, p. 6) says that grammatical categories must be based essentially on formal and not on semantic criteria. However, he contends that a complementary account of the word's regular semantic associations is important because words operate in a living language.

The preceding discussion aims to indicate, though very briefly, that the approach of the Belgians to the study of the Congolese languages on the one hand, and that of The London School to other Bantu languages on the other hand, is essentially different from that followed by linguists in the Southern Bantu area. The details need not detain us here.

1.4. Historical Survey of Nguni in General and Zulu in Particular

In respect of Xhosa, McLaren (1936) occasionally applies syntactic, morphological and semantic tests in classifying words into their grammatical categories, cf. McLaren (1936, p. 14) in his identification of the noun. Sometimes, he also takes phonological criteria into account, see his classification of the verb.

Louw (1963b, p. 23) appears to be sceptical about the classification of words into grammatical categories in Xhosa. He does not go into the question of classifying derivative words into grammatical categories. He prefers to confine his work to a statement of the morphological, syntactic, and semantic characteristics of words in order to assist foreign-language speakers to master Xhosa.

Ziervogel's method of classifying words into their grammatical categories as given in the preface of his Swazi Grammar (1952, p. xvii) is:

... not to force words into certain grammatical categories without at the same time keeping an open mind to the possibility that they may assume other forms and functions.

Accordingly, Ziervogel uses morphology, meaning and syntax in determining the word categories in Swazi.

The first serious attempts made in the writing of grammar on Zulu were those of John W. Colenso (1855) and Lewis Grout (1859). Grout's method (1859, p. 52) of classification is described by him as follows:

One very natural and summary division is that which reduces parts of speech to the two classes called Essential and Relational words.

In this way, Grout divided Zulu words into eight parts of speech, viz noun, adjective, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction and interjection. In addition, he (1859, p. 71) also identifies three cases, viz the genitive, the locative and vocative.

- E.g. genitive: íngubo yámi (my dress)
úmfána kaNgobése (Ngobese's son)
locative: úsébénza éndlini (he/she works in the house)
úmnnyathélê ozwanîni (he tramped on his toe)
vocative: nkôsi! (chief / king!)
Zódwa! (Zodwa!)

No significant changes were made by later Zulu grammarians, cf. Suter, Samuelson (1925), and Wanger (1917 and 1927). It was not until Prof. Doke entered the field that a new era of Bantu linguistics in general and of Zulu in particular was ushered in. Doke made a noteworthy breakthrough to the understanding of Bantu linguistics by his delimitation of the word. Although his definition of the word is inadequate (see 1935, p. 220), nevertheless, his isolation of the word largely based on intuition has placed the description of the Zulu language on a sound footing. His morphological and phonological analysis of the word has focused the attention of linguists on the fundamental difference between the structure of the Bantu word and the word in non-Bantu languages.

Doke also did pioneering work in the classification of words into "parts of speech" by setting up definite criteria for such classification. He recognises two criteria, viz

- (1) ... each complete word as representing some part of speech according to the work it does in the sentence, and
- (2) examining the six fundamental parts of speech "according to the form in which they appear." (see Doke, 1926, pp. 281-282)

1.5. Approaches To Linguistics Taken Cognizance Of

1.5.1. Structuralism

This work has drawn liberally on the views of The Prague School. In our opinion, Mathesius, the progenitor of this School, made a convincing plea for the synchronic approach to the description of linguistic phenomena. The amplification of this approach by later linguists such as de Saussure, Trubetzkoy, and Jakobson on the Continent and Sapir, Bloomfield, Pike, Gleason and others in America shed light on the problem of the unity of the elements of language as well as the fact that any item of language, e.g. the morpheme, phoneme, etc. serves a specific function. This refers to the so-called structural

and functional approach to linguistics, cf. Vachek (1966, pp. 6-7). In the Bantu languages, Cole (1961, p. 105) says:

One of the corner-stones of modern linguistics is the tenet that the grammatical system of a language is to be sought by reference to its own internal structure, to the exclusion of historical considerations or preconceptions based on other languages.

There is merit in the approach described above because it enables the investigator to describe a language in terms of itself. It is an empirical approach. For the purpose of this study, however, historical and comparative linguistics constitute an important supplementary aid in the resolution of many complex problems. To disregard the importance of historical and comparative linguistics is to deny the factor of development in language as well as the fact that a language may resemble other languages in certain respects.

Further, as Jakobson (1962, p. 1) says:

...language...cannot be analyzed without taking into account the purpose which that system serves.

This is an important observation. It refutes the neo-grammarians' linguistic methodology of viewing the sound law of a language as operating without exceptions at a given time. Jakobson puts the social character of language into proper perspective and recognises the importance of viewing the overlapping between territorial and functional linguistic patterns from a broad purposive basis. Jakobson's warning must be heeded in order to avoid the pitfall of forcing certain conclusions in order to submit to certain sound laws.

We also take notice of the structuralists' conception of language as a system of systems with mutually dependent facets, cf. Vachek (1966, p. 29):

izinkomó zakhé ezimbili zilahlekile

(two of his cattle are lost)

Concordial agreement between the words in the above sentence indicates the dependence of syntax on morphology.

úyahámba but uyahámba
(he is going/walking) (you are going/walking)

The latter examples illustrate how meaning depends upon tone.

1.5.2. Diachronic Linguistics

Bantu diachronic linguistics as postulated by Meinhof and Guthrie offers an invaluable clue to many problems. The identification of proto-forms of words as well as the morphological structure of proto-Bantu are of immense help to Bantu language study. Guthrie even gives his attention to tone. However, diachronic syntax has not received sufficient attention. Nevertheless, the available data in PB has been used to good effect in this study especially where synchronic analysis fails to explain certain intricate problems.

1.5.3. Transformational-Generative Grammar

The views of the transformational-generative grammarians and generative semantics as postulated by Chomsky, Lee, Lakoff, McCawley and others have been taken into account in so far as they throw light on certain problems. But, as a rule, the methods of these grammarians are not applied in this investigation. In our view, it seems premature at this stage to apply the techniques of transformational-generative grammar in this study. Our reasons are that:

1.5.3.1. Current grammars in Zulu are based on notional considerations to a very large extent. And, as Westphal (1970, p. 386) points out, the premises of notional and transformational grammars are similar, i.e. they are determined by traditional disciplines rather than facts of the language as a totality. Using grammars with such premises is likely to impede rather than facilitate our investigation. Lyons (1966, p. 226) also finds categorial grammar to formalise certain general syntactic notions more neatly and economically than transformational grammar.

1.5.3.2. Transformational-generative grammar has not yet been applied extensively in the Bantu languages. To the best of our knowledge, Talmy Givon (1970) tried it in Bemba, Voeltz (1971) treats a very small facet of 'agreement' in Xhosa, and Lanham (1971) discusses the deep-structure of noun phrases in Nguni. However, its principles have not been fully worked out. Employing the techniques of transformation to this study would, therefore, be tantamount to writing a new grammar in Zulu. This is not the purpose of this research.

1.6. Word Identification

This study must be viewed as purely an effort to reconcile and systematise the various classifications of words into word categories that are in vogue in Zulu in particular and in the Bantu languages in general. Our classification is but one possible way of determining word categories. Indeed, there are several possible approaches to the subject. The history of the study of word identification in Zulu reveals two main approaches. These are the disjunctive/semi-disjunctive approach and the conjunctive approach. The former approach has largely been eliminated, leaving the latter approach as the only recognised manner of word identification in Zulu at present. There are merits and demerits in each of the given approaches. However, no evaluation of them is attempted here. A brief basis of each approach is given below.

The disjunctive approach towards word identification mainly rests upon the recognition of certain elements of language units as distinct and independent units. For example, personal pronouns in what was generally known as the nominative and accusative case (i.e. the subject and object concords), the relative pronoun (currently known as the relative concord), verb stems, auxiliary formatives, negative formatives and possessive concords, are all regarded as independent words. The nouns, adjectives, locatives, demonstratives and pronouns have their prefixes joined to their respective stems. In the latter categories, the prefix plus a stem constitute a word. On the other

hand, the infinitive and the auxiliary verb have their prefixes joined to the simple and auxiliary stem respectively by means of a hyphen. The complementary verb stem of an auxiliary verb is joined to its concords and other prefixal formatives in a similar manner. Stuart (1906) insists strongly upon the latter method of using hyphens between the prefixal formative and the auxiliary verb stem as well as in the complementary verb and the infinitive prefix and its stem. The 1883 and 1924 editions of the Zulu translation of the Holy Bible have good examples of the disjunctive approach to word identification which, in its own turn, produces a classification of the vocabulary into word categories. Grout, Callaway and Stuart were the chief advocates of the disjunctive approach to word identification.

Examples of disjunctive and semi-disjunctive word identification:

U ya m bona umuntu e hlakanipile emisebenzini yake na?
U ya kuma pambi kwamakosi; e ngemi pambi kwabafokazana
nje.

(Amazwi Ahlakanipileyo: Chap. 22, v. 29)

OR

Ngi nga cita iTempele li ka Nkulunkulu
(Stuart, 1906, Appendix)

OR

Konje ni pume kungati nge sela ni pete izinkemba ne
zinduku ni-ze ku-ngi-bamba?
(Stuart, 1906, Appendix)

According to Stuart (1906, p. 9):

... the divider (of words) is the meaning or shade of meaning with which words are invested, not concord ... nor yet accent ...

Stuart (1906, p. 7) also implies that the disjunctive approach facilitates reading. Facility in reading, however, appears to be mostly achieved where elements of Zulu words are matched with English words with a more or less identical meaning.

The method of identifying words according to the conjunctive approach is mainly based on phonological, morphological and syntactic considerations.

1.6.1. Phonological Features of a Word

One of the criteria used by Louw (1963a, p. 26) is that of demarcating words according to word juncture. This is essentially a conjunctive approach. Juncture occurs when two juxtaposed vowels do not result in vowel coalescence nor vowel elision, thus indicating that the vowels concerned belong to two independent units.

E.g. úmfána úyasébénza

(the boy works / is working)

ínsizwa izithathile izinkwa

(the young man has taken the loaves of bread)

The ultimate vowel of the first word in the first and second examples above, does not coalesce with the initial vowel of the second word in each case.

Phonetic elision occurring in quick speech in Zulu also serves a word boundary marker in the conjunctive approach. The elision of the terminal vowel of a word necessitates the joining of the prefixal formative occurring after it to the relevant stem:

ílemb' éléq' amány' amálembé

(the hero that surpasses other heroes)

Compulsory vowel coalescence only takes place within a word. See Doke (1968, p. 23) for a general discussion of vowel coalescence.

(<u>ísítsha</u>) sa + <u>íngáne</u>	>	<u>séngáne</u>
(the baby's dish)		(of the baby)
(<u>úbubí</u>) ba + <u>úmuntu</u>	>	<u>bómuntu</u>
(a person's ugliness)		(of the person)

Doke's (1968, pp. 27-28) identification of the word according to its capability of being pronounced alone as well as the presence of a main stress (though largely a practical method) can also be regarded as a conjunctive technique of word identification.

1.6.2. Morphological Features of a Word

In the conjunctive approach to word identification, the combination of certain elements of linguistic units are considered to form words. The formatives of words bear a certain relationship towards one another. Doke (1935, pp. 11-12) refers to the irreversibility of prefixal formatives in relation to the verb stem:

ú - ya - thánda
(he /she loves / likes)

This method can be extended to apply to the relationship of other types of prefixal formatives towards their respective stems in the other word categories. This tallies with Ziervogel's (1959, p. 28) observation viz that a word:

... is a compound of formatives following each other in a prescribed order.

Ziervogel (1954, p. 30) also says that:

The division of words is based on the root with its pre- and suffixes, not on stress...

1.6.3. Syntactic Features of a Word

The following tests of word identification applied by Guthrie (1970) essentially correspond with the conjunctive approach:

1.6.3.1. The recognition of the stability of a word, i.e. the capability of a word to stand by itself as a complete sentence, cf. Guthrie (1970, p. 8):

úmuntu?
(a person?)
ziyahámba
(they are going)

1.6.3.2. The possibility of interpolating an independent unit, like that determined according to par.

1.6.3.1. above, between segments in juxtaposition. If the

segments that have been separated do not hamper the realisation of completeness in communication and in their syntactic structure, then they can each be regarded as complete words:

<u>deda mfána!</u>	but	<u>deda, ziyahamba, mfána</u>
(give way, boy)		(give way, they are going, boy)
<u>simbóníle ízolo</u>		<u>simbóníle úmuntu ízolo</u>
(we saw him yesterday)		(we saw the person yesterday)

1.6.3.3. If a segment of a sentence is replaceable by a grammatically similar and distinct piece, such a substitute can be regarded as a complete and independent piece, vide Guthrie (1970, p. 10):

<u>úthengê ímóto (énhlé)</u>	but	<u>uthengê ímóto (éndála)</u>
(he bought a beautiful car)		(he bought an old car)
<u>éndála</u> is a complete piece replacing <u>énhlé</u>		
<u>ngiboléke (induku)</u>	but	<u>ngiboléke (yoná)</u>
(lend me the stick)		(lend it to me)
<u>yoná</u> is a complete piece in place of <u>induku</u>		

In his "syntactic principle", Van Wyk (1967, pp. 239f.) also gives attention to syntax as a means of identifying words. In this regard, he contends that the constituents of the sentence are subject to the conditions of concordial relationship.

1.6.4. Relation Between Phonology and Morphology

The structural components of a word in Zulu can be examined in two ways, viz by analysing its segmental constituents on the one hand, and its supra-segmental constituents on the other hand. The two sets of constituents jointly make up the meaning of a word. Each of these sets is made up of certain elements. However, this bipartite division of the word is purely for purposes of analysis. Otherwise, the word is an entity made up of phones and prosodic elements.

1.6.5. Phonology in Relation to Word Categories

Tone, length and some sound characteristics and changes may

serve as a guide in the classification of word categories.

Tone is both grammatical and lexical in Zulu; it is also contrastive and relative in pitch. This confirms Pike's (1961, p. 3-4) observation on tone languages. Our interest is focused upon grammatically contrastive tone in this study. This is simply referred to as contrastive tone in the rest of the thesis.

Contrastive tones (tonemes) are either low or high, see Cole (1955, p. 54) and Ziervogel (1959, p. 25). Tonemes are useful in differentiating the words of various word categories from one another, cf. disyllabic demonstratives and absolute pronouns which are /HL/ and /LH/ respectively; AC's and RC's which are /HL/ and /HH/ respectively. This will become apparent in the text of the thesis.

Zulu tone appears to resolve itself into various "tone dialects". This makes generalisation based on tone complicated. The tonal variants in Zulu (whose exact magnitude has not yet been ascertained) appear to defy systematisation. In the circumstances, we deem it expedient to use only one of the tonal variants. This variant is based on the area roughly to the north and north-west of Eshowe district. We have chosen this variant solely because of our familiarity with it. We, however, believe that whatever variant is employed consistently will yield more or less similar results as our own. Consistence appears to be the important consideration in this regard.

The indication of tone followed in this thesis does not differ much from that followed by Cope (1970) except that /L/ is left unmarked; /H/ is represented by ´ and falling tone by ˘. Downstep occurring in a context of ín(C)v...¹⁾ is unmarked in the broad tonal transcription because N is sufficient indication of it. The mark /!/: is only used to distinguish

1) N is the nasal of class 9 and (C) is the initial consonant of the stem which may or may not occur. ý is a vowel with high tone.

downstep which occurs at the beginning of a word, e.g. intúlo (it is the salamander).¹⁾

Although Cope (1970, p. 115) discusses the influence of depressor consonants, he does not refer to any depressors which can make a high tone completely low, e.g. úyibónile (he saw it) but úzibonile (he saw them).

Tones of CP's occurring before a high or falling tone are indicated as hlHL or hlFL respectively, e.g. ísifundo (a lesson), ísikhòndla (lair, place).

Unchecked length on the penultimate syllable of the last or only word in a sentence is a common characteristic of statement and exclamation sentences. However, not all words are amenable to this intonational behaviour. For instance, ideophones and interjectives do not show any evidence of this:

ámádoda áyáli:ma (men plough)

áyáli:ma (they plough)

khúlú:ma (speak)

but gulukudu (to start with fright)

máyê (expressing alarm)

Whereas CP's and AC's contain nasal consonants in certain classes, SC's in corresponding classes do not have nasals. This implies that sound changes in initial consonants of stems only occur in nominals and never in verb stems. Further, the fact that the demonstrative and the demonstrative copulative commence in the consonant l and n respectively is an indication that these sounds may serve as a guide in the classification of words into their various categories.

1.6.6. Morphology in Relation to Word Categories

The central formative of the word is the root. The root is the basic formative, i.e. the nucleus that contains the

1) This manner of indicating downstep is done at the suggestion of Prof. J.A. Louw. Prof. Louw further tells me that this way of indicating downstep is in agreement with the method followed by Mr. D. Rycroft of S.O.A.S., London. In the given example it would be represented as intúlo. Rycroft refers to this phenomenon as low voicing.

lexical meaning. In Zulu, the root is central both in importance and in the distribution of formatives in the word in its relation to the peripheral formatives, viz the prefixal and suffixal formatives.

The "simplex" and "extended" roots, see Guthrie (1970, p. 90) in verbs have suffixes added to them to form stems. The roots occurring in the other word categories also terminate in suffixes to form stems. In some cases, the root coincides with the stem, e.g.

-ntu , -fu , -khwe , cf.

ísintu , ífu , úmukhwé

(mankind/human kind) (a cloud) (shade/covering)

In Zulu, the stem does not occur as "...a free form", cf. Bloomfield (1933, p. 178). It is always bound. However, the ideophone and the imperative are not "bound".

Prefixes occur before the root. We identify three types of prefixes in Zulu, viz

1.6.6.1. Basic class prefixes. These are independent prefixes that do not depend upon prefixes of other words for their existence. They are not determined by other prefixes and thus have no structural relationship with the "original" prefixes of other words. They are limited by class. ísi- in ísízwe (a nation); úku- in úkufá (death) are independent prefixes.

1.6.6.2. Concordial class prefixes: Concordial class prefixes are determined by the basic class prefixes. Consequently, they cannot exist independently of the basic class prefixes. Concordial class prefixes are, however, indispensable in the structure of certain types of words, cf. lí- in lífíle (it is dead), óku- in ókubí (evil). Atkins (1950, p. 20) calls concordial class prefixes dependent prefixes.

1.6.6.3. Additional non-class prefixal formatives. Additional non-class prefixal formatives have no relationship whatsoever with either the basic or concordial class prefixes.

They occur in addition to either of the above-mentioned prefixes and are, as a rule, not governed by considerations of class. Whereas the basic and concordial class prefixes are indispensable in the composition of most Zulu words, additional non-class prefixes are not. -ya- in ngiyathánda (I love/like), cf. ngithánda; -singa in úsinganina (foster mother), cf. únina (his/her mother).

Additional non-class prefixes mainly indicate tense, facet of application (loosely called 'aspect'), potentiality, negation, emphasis, comparison as well as the locative, the copulative forms of the noun, pronoun and qualificative.

Whereas certain words have clearly discernable prefixes, i.e. basic class prefixes and additional non-class prefixes on the one hand, there are words whose prefixes are not analysable through the usual means in the present state of our knowledge. Whiteley (1960) calls the words with prefixes which can be easily determined variable and those which cannot be determined through the usual means, invariable. These terms are useful in so far as they concern the occurrence or non-occurrence of prefixal formatives. They lead to confusion when the so-called invariable words become variable through the incorporation of suffixes, cf. hluthu (act of jerking/wrenching) but hlúthúla (cause to jerk/wrench) or nini? (when?) but kúnini? in a sentence such as kúnini wahámba? (When was it you left?). Consequently, for purposes of this study, words with prefixes that can be determined through the usual means are called relational words because their basic class prefixes enable them to be related to other words through concordance. The words whose basic class prefixes are not analysable through the usual means are called non-relational words. The latter words cannot be related to other words through concordance.

1.6.7. Syntax in Relation to Word Categories

The sentence is defined variously by different linguists. The following definitions of the sentence are acceptable to us:

A maximum construction in any utterance is a sentence.
see Collinson (1948, p. 320)

And,

A sentence is a grammatical form which is not in construction with any other form: a constitute which is not a constituent. (Hockett, 1962, p. 199)

These definitions are well summarised by Robins (1968, p. 194) in the words:

The sentence is a free linguistic form, and the word is its minimal version.

The latter definition shows conclusively that syntax must be inclusive, i.e. it must study both the structure of the sentence and that of the word. See also Langacker (1973, p. 9).

A sentence generally consists of one or more words.

Hence, sentences are made up of words. The word or words so used must satisfy certain norms of completeness in their structure, meaning and in their relationship towards each other (if more than one word is used in a sentence). Therefore, a sentence is not a mechanical arrangement of words that comprise it. Nor is it a mere co-operation of its phonological and morphological make-up, cf. Krámský (1969, p. 12).

Our study of the sentence is directed more towards the component unit(s) of the utterance, i.e. words rather than towards the sentence as such. We want to know how the word or words form(s) the construction called the sentence. Consequently, we shall pay more attention to the characteristics of words as they feature in the sentence. Their function is of paramount importance. We use the term "function" in the sense that Langacker quoted by Dik (1968, p. 28) used it, viz

By function is meant the particular office or role of one distinguishable part of a construction type in relation to other parts of the same sentence.

Each word in a sentence occupies a certain position in relationship with other words in the same sentence. Such relationship may be intimate or remote, see Whiteley (1966, p. 86). Hence, one can speak of immediate constituents where there is controlled relationship between any two words in a

sentence, cf. Whiteley (1966, p. 90):

ámazwí ákhe ámahlé

(his good words)

lézi-zingáne ézincáne

(these young children)

ákhe is more closely related to ámazwí than ámahlé;
likewise lézi is closer to izingáne than ézincáne.

ámazinyó ámhlophé qwâ

(snow-white teeth)

indaba émbi kángáka

(such a bad piece of news)

qwâ /qwâá/ and kángáka are more remotely related to the noun than the qualifier in each case.

In Zulu, the so-called conjunction, the ideophone and the interjective have no concordial relationship with other words in the sentence. In respect of the conjunction, Ziervogel (1961, p. 192) makes an important observation, that the conjunction is often followed by a particular mood. This characteristic of the conjunction will be explored more intensively in the relevant section of this investigation.

Words that occur primarily in the post-verbal position usually bear no concordial relationship with the subject of the sentence. Consequently, although adverbs have typical prefixal formatives, they are not governed by the class of the noun that governs the pronoun, the qualificative or the verbal predicate.

The fact that the ideophone mainly occurs in proximity to surroundings in which a qualificative or a descriptive (adverb) is found suggests some relationship between itself and these "parts of speech" and thus requires further investigation.

The interjection is capable of being used as a complete sentence. Further, there appears to be some close structural, and up to an extent, functional relationship between the interjection and the ideophone. These points will receive more attention in a later chapter.

Further, Doke (1968, p. 97) maintains that the change in the order of words in the sentence results in a change of the part of speech of words so transposed. (cf. the qualificative)

On the contrary, Ziervogel (1959, p. 70) contends that the qualificative "still qualifies a noun" regardless of its position in relationship with the noun in the sentence, or the absence of the noun for that matter. Ziervogel (1961a, p. 218) further maintains that:

The various qualificatives are not bound up with a specified position, either alone or after the noun they qualify...

Ziervogel's view is confirmed by Westphal (1958, p. 9).

The classification of certain nouns as adverbs (when used as locatives) or as copulatives (when used agentively), or as possessives (when used as qualifiers) requires further investigation. Is this not just a form of "declension" of the noun? If not, is there any justification for giving precedence of function over other criteria of classification? Louw (1971) seems to offer a clue to the re-classification of these words by using case.

1.6.8. Meaning and its Relation to Syntax

Meaning is an elusive facet of a word. It lacks the physical means whereby the other three facets of a word, viz morphological, phonological and syntactic criteria can be tested empirically. In fact, as Gleason (1961, p. 64) correctly asks:

...is not our chief interest in language its use as a means of conveying meanings?

Robins (1968, p. 184), Lyons (1969, p. 438) and other linguists criticise the employment of meaning in determining word classes. Francis (1967, p. 69) expresses his dissatisfaction as follows:

...the most subjective element of language.

Gleason jnr. (1965, p. 116f.) claims that definition based on meaning would only satisfy the least critical reader. He contends that meaning-based parts of speech, no matter how well established, cannot serve the grammatical statement of a language.

On examining the foregoing views, the linguist would be led to believe that meaning is jettisoned for ever. But, on the other hand, he may take comfort in the following contrary opinion:

... men geen enkel taalfeit kan verklaren zonder er direct of indirect betekenissen bij te betrekken.

Cf. De Groot (1964, p. 264)

According to Dik (1968, p. 257):

... all units and expressions carry grammatical information.

Further, Dik (1968, p. 260) says:

... natural language is first and foremost characterised as 'meaningful'...

Our interest is focused upon the meaning of words in their function as units in the sentence, and not in their meaning in general terms. After all, all words of a language can be classified into names of things and words adapted to denote relationship between words, cf. Sandmann (1954, p. 159). In the Bantu languages, according to Guthrie (1961, p. 16):

... it is possible to correlate the various types of syntactical unit with the parts of speech of the language.

In discussing meaning in connection with Swahili verbals, Whiteley (1969, p. 112) say that:

... the meaning of a given radical may be the function of co-occurrent S (for subject) and O (for object).

For the purpose of this investigation, grammatical meaning will signify the words bear to one another. Meaning will be employed as a fourth criterion to determine the word category to which a word belongs in addition to examining the criteria of morphology, phonology, and syntactic characteristics of a word. Where possible, the devices of form evolved by Fries to establish meaning will be used. Fries found word-order, function words, inflections, and formal contrasts helpful means for ascertaining the part-of-speech meaning of a word, see Hudspeth & Sturtevant (1967, p. 71).

1.7. Summary

The design of our investigation is based upon the formal analysis of words, i.e. an examination of both the morphological and phonological components of a word. Firstly, the phonological characteristics of a word are investigated and these are matched with the morphological features. It is established whether or not sound changes occur on the root, prefix or the suffix. The tonemes are reconciled with the formatives of a word.

Next, is the examination of syntactic characteristics. The use of words in the sentence, i.e. their position in the sentence as well as their relationships to one another is examined. When the relationship of words have been determined in this manner, they will be compared with the basic forms whose classification has been determined by examining the form of the word.

Lastly, meaning will be determined, i.e.

... the part-of-speech meaning (that is) ...
meanings which have accrued to the various parts of
speech out of their usages and which have become
associated with the part of speech itself...

Cf. Alexander (1969, p. 71).

The part-of-speech meaning is then compared with the classes of words determined according to the procedure described above.

It is hoped that the procedure outlined above will yield a hierarchical pattern of main categories, categories, sub-categories, etc.

CHAPTER 2

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND
OTHER RELATED WORDS

2.1. Introductory Remarks

2.1.1. The segmental and supra-segmental constituents of words are analysed in order to determine the characteristic features of the various types of words. Sound changes within words as well as significant contrasts in tones serve as an aid towards the characterisation of the various sets of words.

2.1.2. The various formatives of words are helpful in the classification of words into their respective categories. Hence, prefixal and suffixal formatives together with their stems are examined in order to establish relationships, where these occur, for the purpose of grouping words into categories.

The phonological and the morphological criteria of words are treated together in this investigation. This facilitates the exposition of the subject.

2.1.3. Nominal words are treated separately from verbal ones, see Chapter 1, p. 3 for the explanation of nominal and verbal. Further, according to the morphological structure of the words, relational words are analysed separately from non-relational ones. (see Chapter 1, p. 16 for an explanation of relational and non-relational). However, relational words can, for practical reasons, be further sub-divided into simple or base forms and derived forms. Simple or base forms consist of a prefix or concord plus a stem: úmúzi (village) cf. úmú- + -zi. Derived forms consist of base forms which incorporate one or more additional non-class prefixal formatives together with their concomitant suffixal formatives where these occur: kúneyómúzana (than that of the small village) < kúna- + ya- + úmúzi + -ana. Occasionally, some derived forms occur without

some or other formative contained in a word in its base form. On the other hand, certain words consist of a non-class prefixal formative plus a simple stem: kakhûlu (much) < ka- + -khûlu împí (an army) but împána (a small army) where the terminating vowel is omitted.

2.1.4. It is cumbersome to discuss the criteria of all types or sets of words together. Accordingly, characteristics of words that share common features are discussed together. For example, words which share the features: prefixal formatives plus stem are treated simultaneously. This procedure yields two main types of words:

2.1.4.1. Nominal and verbal words

2.1.4.2. Non-relational words

2.1.5. It is convenient to deal with nominal words separately from verbal ones. Nominal words are discussed in this chapter, leaving the verb and the copulative for a separate discussion in Chapter 3. Similarly, non-relational words are treated in Chapter 4.

2.2. The Noun

2.2.1. In its base form, the noun conforms to the morphological pattern: class prefix + root + terminative, see Ziervogel (1959, p. 54):

<u>í</u> sikhwílí	:	<u>isi-</u>	=	class prefix
(fighting stick)- <u>khwil-</u>			=	the root
		<u>-i</u>	=	terminative

The class prefix

2.2.2. Like in Xhosa, cf. Louw (1963b, p. 26), the class prefix in Zulu consists of a pre-prefix plus a real prefix. Further, the class prefix consists of a VCV combination of phones:

úbúlwane (inhumanity / nature of animals)

2.2.3. The class prefix may consist of a V. Its toneme is /h/.

úbabá (father)

úgógo (grandmother)

The toneme of disyllabic CP's is generally /hh/ except where the CP occurs before the initial vowel of a stem with either a high or a falling tone (see par. 1.6.5. above).

Further, voiced consonants occurring in the class prefix tend to lower the toneme of the second syllable in which they occur,

see Cope (1970, p. 115):

ísíhlalo (seat / chair)

ámábelé (corn / sorghum)

úbúthuthá (folly)

but ízínzozí (accidents / severe wounds)

ízímpaphé (feathers)

2.2.4. The contracted class prefix has a contracted toneme, see Cope (1970, p. 120):

índúna /ííndúna/ cf. ízindúna (headmen)

ógógo /óógógo/ cf. ábogógo (grandmothers)

2.2.5. Nouns also occur without the pre-prefix when they enter into certain relationships with other words in the sentence. Such nouns will be discussed at the relevant place when syntax comes under review, cf.

!madoda cf. ámádoda (men)

bafána cf. ábafána (boys)

These nouns have low tone on the prefix.

N.B. Our tone dialect see Chapter 1, p. 13 is different from Mzolo's (1968, p. 199) in respect of nouns without the pre-prefix. For example, according to him:

úmuntu > * muntu and not muntu

ísíhlalo > * síhlalo and not síhlalo, etc.

Covert Nouns

2.2.6. Under syntax, it will be shown that certain nouns cannot be used as subject or object of a sentence. Further, they are incapable of generating concordial agreement between themselves and other words in the sentence:

<u>phákathí</u>	(inside)
<u>phézulu</u>	(up in the sky / on top of ...)
<u>ízolo</u>	(yesterday)
<u>ímpéla</u>	(really / the crux of the matter)

2.2.7. Some of these nouns have lost their original form through the omission of the pre-prefix.

<u>kuqála</u> (long ago)	cf. <u>úkuqála</u> (to begin)
<u>mathûnzi</u> (in the late afternoon)	cf. <u>ámathûnzi</u> (shadows)
<u>mathupha</u> (at close quarters)	cf. <u>ámáthupa</u> , etc. (knuckles)
<u>nxâ</u> (if)	cf. <u>inxâ</u> (portion)
<u>mhla</u> / <u>mhlana</u> (on the day that)	cf. <u>umûhla</u> (day)
<u>nyaka</u> / <u>nyakana</u> (on the year that)	cf. <u>unyâka</u> (a year)

2.2.8. Covert nouns with typical PB class 14 prefixes are found in Zulu. However, in Zulu, nouns with the PB class 14 prefixes, like those of class 16, do not generate sentence concordance:

<u>buhlwa</u> (in destitution)	cf. <u>ihlwâ</u> (a termite)
<u>bukhomá</u> / <u>bukhomó</u> (at close quarters)	cf. <u>umkhomó</u> (a whale)
<u>bulanzi</u> (in want)	cf. <u>ubulanzí</u> (destitution)

The Infinitive

2.2.9. The infinitive is essentially a noun. Doke (1968, p. 61) calls it a verbal noun. This is confirmed by Van Eeden (1956, p. 237) who says that the infinitive is primarily a noun on account of its form and partly due to its function. Ziervogel (1959, p. 85) also holds a similar view about the infinitive. These opinions are best summarised by Gowlett (1967, p. 142) when he says:

Morphologically the infinitive is a noun,
while syntactically it may be both a noun
and a verb.

2.2.10. We accordingly proceed to analyse the phonological and morphological characteristics of the infinitive.

The CP of the infinitive consists of a VCV combination of phones where V is always a u and C a k:

úku- in úkuhámba (to walk)

úku- in úkusébénza (to work)

2.2.11. The CP of the infinitive shows that it is a noun. Further, under syntax, it will be shown that the prefix generates concords and that the infinitive can function in nominal relationships, vide Fortune (1955, p. 99).

The CP of the infinitive is only prefixed to radicals with reduplicated stems and those capable of taking radical extensions.

The infinitive differs from other nouns in that it has both the affirmative and negative forms and can incorporate OC's, the neg. form. -nga- and the reflexive formative -zi-. More will be said about this characteristic feature of the infinitive when the phonology and morphology of the verb are discussed.

Stems

2.2.12. A noun stem consists of the root + a terminative.

Cope (1970, pp. 120-121) classifies tonemes of simple noun stems into four main types plus "a fifth exceptional class". These classes are acceptable to us except class III, viz /HH/. In our dialect, this class is a 'high falling tone to low', i.e. /FL/

- (i) /LL/ Stems:
- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| <u>ímífula</u> | <u>ísíthupha</u> |
| (rivers) | (thumb) |
- (ii) /LH/ Stems:
- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| <u>íhlalá</u> | <u>índimá</u> |
| (monkey orange) | (portion of land cultivated) |
- (iii) /HL/ Stems:
- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>íminwéba</u> | <u>ámagónsi</u> |
| (people who waste time) | (kind of edible root) |
- (iv) /FL/ Stems:
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>ámahlâthi</u> | <u>úmlîngo</u> |
| (forests) | (magical performance) |

The Root

2.2.13. The root is generally monosyllabic with a CVC combination of phones.

- phik- in íphika (shortness of breath)
-gang- in ísígangi (mischievous person)

Some monosyllabic roots have a CV combination of phones and polysyllabic ones a CVCVC... combination.

- mó in ísimó (position)
-zwa in ímizwá (feelings)
-gukúmb- in ínggukúmba (short stumpy person)
-qekecek- in úluqékeqéke (chatterer)

2.2.14. Noun roots can be classified into two types; viz

- (a) those capable of extension; and
(b) those incapable of extension by means of radical extension, cf. Guthrie (1970, p. 92f) for an explanation of

radical extension:

Noun roots capable of extension

<u>-thand-</u>	in	<u>ísithândwa</u>	(lover)
<u>-phum-</u>	in	<u>ímpúmélelo</u>	(success)
<u>gonyu</u>	in	<u>úkúgonyúluka</u>	(to retch)

Doke (1968, p. 66f.) regards the above nouns as "deverbative".

2.2.15. Noun roots incapable of extension

<u>-hlabâth-</u>	in	<u>úmhlabâthi</u>	(soil)
<u>-dol-</u>	in	<u>ídolo</u>	(knee)
<u>-fu</u>	in	<u>ísífu</u>	(bird-trap)

In this section of the investigation, our attention is focussed upon the latter type of noun roots, viz those incapable of radical extension, i.e. the simple forms of nouns. Nouns with radicals capable of extension will be treated in pars. 2.2.18. - 2.2.24. below.

2.2.16. Unlike the simple root of the noun, the root of the infinitive is capable of taking radical extensions. In its simplest form, the infinitive stem ends in an -a in the affirmative and in an -i in the negative. The negative form of the infinitive incorporates a prefixal formative -nga-.

<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
<u>úkudlá</u> (to eat)	<u>úkúngadlí</u> (not to eat)
<u>úkúbasa</u> (to kindle a fire)	<u>úkúngabasí</u> (not to kindle a fire)

Like the verb, the infinitive may incorporate an OC.

<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
<u>úkuyísháya</u> (to beat it)	<u>úkúngayíshayí</u> (not to beat it)
<u>úkubátshéla</u> (to tell them)	<u>úkúngabátshéli</u> (not to tell them)

The infinitive can also incorporate the refl. form. -zi-.

úkuzázi (to be haughty / to know oneself)
úkúzilimáza (to hurt oneself)

2.2.17. Although the infinitive stem resembles the verb stem in its ability to be reduplicated or to take extensions, the infinitive never uses the indispensable formative of a verb, i.e. the SC, see Van Eeden (1956, p. 100). The infinitive also lacks the capacity to incorporate perfect formatives.

2.2.18. Nouns with an extendible root

Terminology¹⁾ hampers our description of this variety of nouns. Consequently, it is proposed not to attribute any categorial²⁾ qualification to the radicals used in the formation of these nouns.

CP's mainly indicate number and only have semantic significance in exceptional circumstances.

The CP's are prefixed to extendible radicals.

Terminatives of extendible roots

2.2.19. Lombard's (1969) study of deverbative nouns in Northern Sotho has enabled us to re-discover the terminatives /-ε/ and /-u/ in addition to /-a/, /-o/ and /-i/ found by earlier investigators in Zulu.

2.2.20. Noun terminatives must be distinguished from verbal terminatives as well as those of the absolute pronoun. The terminatives /-a/ and /-ε/ or /-na/ , /-anga/ and /-ilε/ respectively do not affect this distinction. /-a/ and /-ε/ are not "productive" in the latter terminatives, i.e. they do not participate in the formation of new words, see Bloch & Trager (1942, p. 62) as well as Lombard (1969, p. 194) and Wilkes (1971, p. 48) for a detailed discussion of "productive" and "unproductive" formatives in Northern Sotho and Zulu respectively.

2.2.21. Our investigation shows that noun terminatives can be distinguished from verbal ones by means of phonological devices and semantic considerations.

Phonological devices

(i) Whereas the tone of the subjunctive modal terminative /-ε/ in disyllabic verb stems is related to the tone in the first syllable, i.e. /H/ if the tone of the first syllable in the infinitive is high, and /L/ if it is low in the infinitive, the noun terminative /-ε̃/ is, however, not governed by such considerations.

(ii) The perfect ending /-ε̃:/ is always long with a falling tone, see Van Eeden (1956, p. 259); the noun terminative /-ε̃/ has no length and no falling tone.

2.2.22. Semantic Implications of Noun Terminatives³⁾

The modal endings /-a/ and /-i/ are positive and negative endings of the verb respectively.

The noun terminative /-a/ may refer to:

(i) persons, animals or natural phenomena directly involved in a process⁴⁾, cf. classes 1,2,5,6,7 & 8;

(ii) impersonal things not directly involved in a process, cf. classes 3 & 4;

(iii) objects in nature, cf. classes 9 & 10;

(iv) a state of affairs or persons who are in a state or habit, cf. class 14.

2.2.23. The noun terminative /-i/ refers exclusively to persons in classes 1 and 2 but when it occurs in the other classes, it may refer to persons or miscellaneous things. When the ending /-i/ refers to persons, such persons are directly involved in the action concerned. However, when it refers to impersonal objects, such objects have an indirect

relationship to the process.

The preceding remarks about the noun terminatives are only of a preliminary nature. A more intensive study which this subject deserves **will probably** offer more clarity about the **use of noun terminatives in Zulu.**

2.2.24. Examples

/-a/ :	<u>úbukhólwa</u> (Christianity)	cf. - <u>kholw-</u> (have faith)
	<u>úmfungwá</u> (one summoned in oath)	cf. - <u>fungw-</u> (swear by)
	<u>ísigóla</u> (one unpopular with opposite sex)	cf. - <u>gol-</u> (catch by covering with hand)
	<u>úmsuká</u> (root)	cf. - <u>suk-</u> (originate)
	<u>úgúbhaza</u> (huge overcoat)	cf. - <u>gubhaz-</u> (flap about)
/-ε/ :	<u>ámahlúbe</u> (peelings)	cf. - <u>hlub-</u> (peel)
	<u>úphaphé</u> (feather)	cf. - <u>phaph-</u> (fly)
	<u>ímvúme</u> (permit / permission)	cf. - <u>vum-</u> (agree)
/-i/ :	<u>ubuthákathi</u> (witchcraft)	cf. - <u>thakath-</u> (bewitch)
	<u>ísípnepnélezi</u> (large pared wooden object)	cf. - <u>phephelez-</u> (pare block of wood superficially)
	<u>úmbhali</u> / <u>úmbnâli</u> (writer or author)	cf. - <u>bhal-</u> (write)

/ -ǃ / : <u>úhlelo</u> (arrangement)	cf. -hlel- (arrange)
<u>ísibhúlo</u> (flail)	cf. -bhul- (thrash)
/-u/ : <u>íhunú</u> (lopped feathers worn on forehead)	cf. -hun- (cut off at the end)
<u>íngúngu</u> (shelter / friction drag)	cf. -gung- (enclose)
<u>ísíhafu</u> (habitual drunkard / alcoholic)	cf. -haf- (drink excessively)

2.2.25. Covert Nouns with an Extendible Root

/-u/ : <u>bélu</u> (hortative expression meaning "just", "of course")	cf. / -bel- / : <u>úbubéle</u> (compassion)
/-i/ : <u>fúthi</u> (yet/moreover/ further)	cf. / -futh- / : Xhosa <u>ífúthe</u> (persistence; importunity)

ífúthe is a Xhosa noun recorded by Kropf (1915). Its lexical meaning is compatible with the Zulu stem -fúthéléla meaning "press on", "press forward". The word wafúthi in úkulála úmlalela wafúthi (lit. to sleep an everlasting sleep; to be dead) clearly indicates the nominal nature of the word fúthi

Note: No tense, negative and reflexive formatives are incorporated into these nouns. The OC does not feature in them either. There is nothing "verbal" in them except that they use a radical capable of extension. Such extension is achieved by adding

radical extensions.

The CP is the decisive formative in the classification of the preceding words as nouns.

2.3. Secondary Forms of Nouns

2.3.1. The phonological structure of the noun sometimes changes when it enters into a syntactic relationship with other words in the sentence. This is achieved by pre-placing an additional non-class prefixal formative to the noun (occasionally with a suffixal formative corresponding with it). The terminal or only vowel of the additional non-class prefixal formative either coalesces with or replaces the PP of the noun:

úmfána > yómfána (ya- prefixed to úmfána) /possessive/
(the boy) (of the boy)

înjá > !înjá (y- prefixed to înjá) /copulative/
(a dog) (it is a dog)

ûnyâwo > ngônyâwo (nga- prefixed to unyawo) /instrumental/
(a foot) (with the foot)

íngwenya > njéngéngwenya (njenga- prefixed to íngwenya)
(a crocodile) (like a crocodile)

kúnéngwenya (kuna- prefixed to íngwenya)
(than a crocodile)

ngángéngwenya (nganga- prefixed to íngwenya)
(as a crocodile)

néngwenya (na- prefixed to íngwenya)
(with the crocodile)

úmzála > kúmzála (ku- prefixed to úmzála)
(my cousin) (to my cousin)

îkhâya > êkhâya (e- prefixed to îkhâya)
(home) (at home)

ínsîmu > énsîmîni (e- prefixed to ínsîmi)
(a field) (in the field)

The /h/ toneme of the PP of a noun may be pronounced with lower voicing in syntactic use.

<u>ûthí</u>	>	!ûthí	} / copulative /
(a stick)		(it is a stick)	
<u>ámándla</u>	>	!ámándla	
(strength)		(it is strength)	

Note: The phonological structure of the noun is retained. However, there is downstep on the pre-prefix.

2.3.2. Some secondary forms of the noun may incorporate more than one additional non-class prefixal formative. For example, the comparison may precede a locative form and the possessive precede the locative (except where ku- is the additional prefixal formative):

kúnakúmzála
(than to cousin)

yasêknâya
(the one of our home), etc.

These may be referred to as complex secondary forms of nouns.

2.3.4. Under syntax, an attempt is made to illustrate that:

(1) the simple and complex secondary forms of nouns occur in the 'slot' usually occupied by nouns;

(2) like simple nouns, most secondary forms of nouns can be qualified by other words.

2.3.6. The infinitive prefix can have the following prefixal formatives pre-placed to it: possessive, copulative, comparative and locative, cf.

<u>úkuhámba</u> (to travel / walk)	<u>yókuhámba</u> (possessive) (of travelling / walking)
	<u>ngukúhámba</u> (copulative) (it is travelling / walking)
	<u>ngokúhámba</u> (instrumental) (by means of.....)
	<u>kúnokúhámba</u> (comparative) (than)
	<u>nókuhámba</u> (and)
	<u>ékuhámbeni</u> (locative) (in)

Note: The stem incorporates a typical noun suffix in the locative. On the other hand, the infinitive stem never incorporates a noun diminutive or augmentative suffix.

2.4. The Quantitative

2.4.1. Divergent views prevail about the classification of the "quantitative pronoun". This is a clear indication that no finality has been reached in analysing it. Doke (1968, p. 93) classified it as a pronoun. His classification was evidently influenced by the fact that he observed a close resemblance of the quantitative concordial formative to those of the absolute pronoun, see Doke (1968, p. 95). However, Ziervogel (1952, p. 63 & 1959, p. 74) denies the existence of the structural relationship between the quantitative pronoun and the absolute pronoun because:

(a) the quantitative pronominal concords differ in tone from those of the absolute pronoun;

(b) the distribution of the quantitative stem in the word does not correspond with that of the stem of the absolute pronoun. The former occupies a position corresponding to that of the suffix in the latter pronoun.

2.4.2. Cole (1955, p. 154) maintains that quantitative pronouns are qualificatives because they are made up of a concord plus a stem, whereas

... pronouns contain a radical concordial element but nothing identifiable as a stem.

2.4.3. Louw (1963b, p. 99) explains the position as follows:

Daar bestaan nog onsekerheid oor die klassifikasie van die kwantitatief as woordsoort. Sommige taalkundiges beskou dit as 'n pronomens en ander behandel dit as 'n adjektief.

In the latter work Louw simply calls this type of word a quantitative, evidently pending further research. Further, like Van Eeden (1956, p. 139f.) he recognizes only two stems, viz -nke and -dwa as primary quantitative stems, and the others, viz sobábilí, sobáthâthu, etc. as numeral quantitative pronouns.

2.4.4. The stem -nke and -dwa both use the following concordial formatives:

1st person plur.	<u>so-</u>
2nd person plur.	<u>no-</u>
class 2	<u>bo-</u>
" 3	<u>wo-</u>
" 4	<u>yo-</u> , etc.

2.4.5. According to Doke (1968, p. 95), the difference between the concordial formative pre-placed to -nke and -dwa is found in the 1st person sing., 2nd person sing. and class 1. These are nge-, we-, and ye- in the 1st person sing., 2nd person sing. and class 1 respectively with the stem -dwa; and wo- in the 2nd person sing. and class 1 respectively when -nke is used.

None of our informants are familiar with the form wonke for the 1st person sing. and 2nd person sing. given by Doke (1968, p. 93).

2.4.6. The concordial formative of Van Eeden's numeral quantitative pronoun coincides with those of classes 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 16 & 17 given in the table in par. 2.4.4. above.

The tone of the concordial formative is /H/ in all cases.

The so-called numeral quantitative pronoun differs from the primary ones in that it is a complex word derived from the adjective. More will be said about this when derivations of the adjective are discussed.

2.5. The Secondary Forms of the Quantitative

2.5.1. None of the non-class prefixal formatives may be pre-placed to the quantitative. This behaviour of the quantitative appears to confirm our earlier observation that the classification of this type of word as a pronoun is questionable. The quantitative appears to have closer ties with the adjective although it does not incorporate non-class prefixal formatives. Further, the quantitative does not use secondary formatives like ka- as it is the case with the adjective. An elaboration of this point follows when the secondary forms of the adjective are discussed below.

2.5.2. The Numeral Quantitative: Numeral quantitative pronouns, see Van Eeden (1956, p. 750) shows a direct formative structural relationship with adjectives; cf. bobábilí (both of them) : It has an adjective stem -bilí which has an AC (without the initial vowel) pre-placed to it to form a word resembling a descriptive copulative bábilí (they are two). The tone of the formative that resembles the AC without the initial vowel is high, cf. omáthâthu and zozine. But this AC is usually low in the speech of most persons. The numeral quantitative differs from the adjective here. The plural forms of Concordial formatives coinciding with the plural forms of what Van Eeden (1956, p. 139) calls primary quantitatives are

used in the various noun classes. The concordial formatives of both the primary and numeral quantitatives are phonetically more or less identical with the stems of absolute pronouns. But their similarity ends there. Here are their main differences:

(1) the concordial formatives of quantitative pronouns are not radical concordial elements. The comparable formatives in absolute pronouns are radical concordial formatives, see Cole (1955, p. 154).

(2) the concordial formatives of numeral quantitative pronouns have /H/ tonemes; absolute pronouns have /L/ tonemes;

boná (abs. pron.) cf. bobáthâthu (quantitative pron.)
(they) (all three of them)

loná (abs. pron.) cf. lódwa (quantitative pron.)
(it) (it alone)

soná (abs. pron.) cf. sónke (quantitative pron.)
(it) (all of it)

(3) the quantitative pronouns do not form secondary words like other nominals (i.e. the noun, absolute pronoun, demonstrative, adjective and relative). On the other hand, they are only capable of forming the second stage of derivative forms, i.e. they form what could be described as the tertiary forms:

bobábílí < ba- + -o- + bábílí (they are two)
(both of them) SC Root Copulative

omáthâthu < a- + -o- + matháthu (they are three)
(all three of them) SC Root Copulative

kokúne < ku- + -o- + kúne (they are four)
(all four of them) Root Copulative

2.5.3. This behaviour of the quantitative pronouns strongly suggests that they are, in fact, secondary forms themselves. They compare with descriptive copulatives. The following (tertiary) forms are derived from quantitative pronouns:

<u>Participial:</u>	<u>nobáthâthu</u>	>	<u>ninobáthâthu</u>
	(all three of you)		(you three being together)
	<u>bódwa</u>	>	<u>bébódwa</u>
	(they alone)		(they being alone)
<u>Relative:</u>	<u>yédwa</u>	>	<u>óyédwa</u>
	(he alone)		(he, the one who is alone)
<u>Copulative:</u>	<u>zómbilí</u>	>	<u>zizombilí</u>
	(both of them)		(the two of them are together)
	<u>yédwa</u>	>	<u>úyédwa</u>
	(he alone)		(he is alone)
	<u>lónke</u>	>	<u>lílónke</u>
	(all of it)		(it is the whole of it)

2.5.4. The foregoing analysis leads us to the conclusion that the quantitative is phonologically and morphologically a derived form. Its function will be examined more closely under syntax.

2.6. The Absolute Pronoun

2.6.1. The absolute pronoun consists of two formatives, viz a stem and a suffix -na, see Ziervogel, (1959, p. 64). Louw (1963b, p. 87) calls the stem a pronominal concordial element and maintains that in respect of nouns of the third person, with the exception of class 1, this element consists of a concordial element similar to the SC plus a pronominal -o-.

soná < s(i)- (concordial formative) + -o- (the root) + -na (suffix)

zoná < z(i)- (concordial formative) + -o- (the root) + -na (suffix)

boná < b(a)- (concordial formative) + -o- (the root) + -na (suffix)

Van Eeden (1955, p. 123) regards the concordial formative similar to the SC.

2.6.2. The tones of the absolute pronoun are /LH/:

boná (they) , yená (he/she) , soná (it).

Examples: Class 2 boná
" 3 woná
" 4 yoná
" 5 loná , etc.

2.7. The Secondary Forms of the Absolute Pronoun

2.7.1. The additional non-class prefixal formatives generally prefixed to nouns in the derivation of secondary forms are mutatis mutandis also prefixed to absolute pronouns. Hence, the possessive, the comparative, the copulative, and locative forms of the absolute pronoun are found:

<u>boná</u> >	<u>yíbo</u>	(it is they / by them)	(copulative)
(they)	<u>ngábo</u>	(by them)	(instrumental)
	<u>kunabo</u>	(than them)	
	<u>njéngábo</u>	(like them)	(comparative)
	<u>yâbo</u>	(of them)	(possessive)
	<u>kúbo</u>	(to them)	(locative)

2.8. The Demonstrative

2.8.1. The demonstrative has three positions.

2.8.2. According to Van Eeden (1956, p. 130) the first demonstrative, which could be regarded as the basic form, is derived from a demonstrative la plus a concordial formative element similar to the SC. This is also the view held by Van Warmelo (1932, p. 34):

<u>la</u>	+	<u>si-</u>	>	<u>lesi</u>
<u>la</u>	+	<u>ba-</u>	>	<u>laba</u>
<u>la</u>	+	<u>u-</u>	>	<u>lo</u> , etc.

2.8.3. Van Eeden (1956, p. 129) is, however, undecided about whether or not the la is a root or a stem. On the other

hand, Ziervogel (1959, p. 48) maintains that the la is a basic demonstrative element and the formative that it precedes, a root. The latter view is related to Meinhof's (1932, pp. 40-41) idea about the origin of pronominal roots in Bantu. It is thus clear that if Ziervogel's (1959, p. 48) contention is accepted, the root of the demonstrative is the formative occurring after the demonstrative la. According to Meinhof (1932, p. 41), when the noun prefix contains a nasal consonant, the place of this consonant is taken by *ɣ in the PB pronominal copula *ɣa. The consonant *ɣ has, however, lapsed in Zulu and certain S.A. Bantu languages. This leaves the noun prefix without a consonant in the SC's of classes 1,3,4,6, & 9. Therefore, the demonstrative is virtually derived by pre-placing la to the CP. This is probably why Damman (1951, p. 31) simply regards the formative occurring after the demonstrative as a noun class prefix.

2.8.4. Doke's (1968, p. 92) explanation of the derivation of the demonstrative, though failing to account for the origin of the formative element l in the demonstrative, nevertheless illustrates the close resemblance between the demonstrative root and the relative concord.

2.8.5. According to Louw (1963b, p. 95) the tone of the unabridged monosyllabic demonstrative in Xhosa is /H/. In Zulu, the monosyllabic demonstrative used after the noun is /H/. However, when the demonstrative precedes a noun or when it is used alone, its tone is /L/:

úmuntu ló (this person)

lo múntu (this person)

lo (this one)

2.8.6. The second demonstrative is characterised by the substitution of the terminating vowel of disyllabic second demonstratives with -o. Monosyllabic first demonstratives suffix yo and wo to le and lo respectively. The tones of second demonstratives are /HL/, see Louw (1963b, p. 95)

- lézo (those near you)
- lába (these near me / known to me)
- lówo (that one; the one near you)

2.8.7. The third demonstrative is formed by suffixing -ya which has length to the first demonstrative, see Van Eeden (1956, p. 133). Disyllabic and trisyllabic demonstratives have /LHL/ and /LLHL/ tones respectively:

- labayâ (those yonder)
- leziyâ (those yonder)
- leyâ (that yonder)

2.8.8. Demonstratives always commence in l.

Second demonstratives always end in -o.

Unlike the absolute pronoun, the demonstrative has no 1st & 2nd person sing. & plur.

2.9. The Secondary forms of the demonstrative

lóbu > vilóbu (copulative)

(the one near/(it is the one near/known to me/
known to me) by the one near or known to me)

ngalóbu (instrumental)

(by means of the one near/known to me)

nalóbu

(and the one near/known to me)

niéngalóbu

(like the one.....)

ngángalóbu

(as much as

yalóbu (possessive)

(of the

kulóbu (locative)

(to the

} (comparative)

2.10. The Adjective, Relative and Enumerative

2.10.1. Doke (1968, p. 107) distinguishes the adjective from the relative by means of their concords. The AC contains nasal consonants in the nasal classes but the RC does not. Van Eeden (1956, p. 149) regards the AC as a compound concord. It consists of a relative -a- plus a concordial element similar to the real noun prefix of the substantive qualified:

Class	1	<u>a</u>	+	<u>mu-</u>	>	<u>om(u)-</u>
"	5	<u>a</u>	+	<u>li-</u>	>	<u>eli-</u>
"	14	<u>a</u>	+	<u>bu-</u>	>	<u>obu-</u> , etc.

2.10.2. Van Eeden (1956, p. 165) also regards the RC as a compound that is derived by combining the relative -a- with the SC of the substantive qualified:

Class	4	<u>a</u>	+	<u>u-</u>	>	<u>o-</u>
"	7	<u>a</u>	+	<u>si-</u>	>	<u>esi-</u>
"	10	<u>a</u>	+	<u>zi-</u>	>	<u>ezi-</u>

2.10.3. Accordingly, this linguist concludes that the RC contains no nasal consonant whatsoever. In a foot-note (vide 1956, p. 166) Van Eeden concludes that the actual difference between the AC and the RC lies in the fact that the RC originally consisted of a demonstrative of the first position only and the AC consisted of the same demonstrative plus a RCP. Accordingly, Van Eeden (1956, p. 151) maintains that the Zulu adjective was originally made up of a formative similar to the demonstrative of the first position of the class concerned plus a formative similar to the RCP, plus an adjective stem. He also finds it plausible to accept the fact that the AC in non-nasal classes must have consisted of three syllables on account of the fact that the first demonstratives in non-nasal classes are disyllabic. Further, he (1956, foot-note on p. 166) says that if the AC is viewed synchronically in both its structure and function, it could also be said that it is made up of the RC plus the RCP.

2.10.4. It is thus clear that Van Eeden goes far beyond Doke's differentiation of the adjective from the relative on a

phonological basis. Van Eeden regards the word categories as different both in their derivation and in their phonological structure.

2.10.5. Ziervogel (1961b, p. 86f.) commences his analysis of the adjective in the S.A. Bantu languages by using the Venda adjective as a basis. He observes that the AC in Venda is identical with the EC in most S.A. Bantu languages because it is monosyllabic. He goes on to say that the majority of the Bantu languages have an EC similar to that in Venda. It thus seems to him that the EC is more basic than it is generally realised. He maintains that the EC is the simple form of the basic adjective construction (vide 1961b, p. 87). He goes on to say that the descriptive adjective construction has its starting point in the Sotho languages where the adjective in its enumerative form is preceded by what outwardly resembles the simple demonstrative (vide 1961b, p. 87). In short, Ziervogel re-affirms Van Eeden's view that the AC is a compound formative. He, however, adds the plausibility of the AC being a combination of a demonstrative formative plus the EC. This is an important observation because it dispels confusion caused by the prevalence of monosyllabic AC's which have unfortunately been grouped separately from other adjectives. Under syntax, an attempt will be made to demonstrate the validity of this viewpoint.

2.10.6. On p. 90 of the same article, Ziervogel says that the RC has more or less the same origin as the AC. But in Zulu/Xhosa this development has reached a stage where the demonstrative has remained without the accompanying equivalent "enumerative" adjective concord. In other words, the demonstrative has lost its identity.

2.10.7. The forms of the Nguni AC & RC evolved from contraction and the resultant fusion of the demonstrative with the concord in such a close-knit combination that the demonstrative and the concord are not recognisable, vide Ziervogel, (1961, p. 91f.):

ízinkomó ézindála (old cattle)

The AC ezin- is without the initial l and the demonstrative ezi- and the EC n(i)- are merged.

úbusó óbukhûlu (a big face)

2.10.8. The demonstrative obu- has lost the initial l and merged with the EC bu- in such a manner that one of the bu-'s is lost and the concord is reduced from a trisyllabic to a disyllabic formative.

2.10.9. In the following examples, the demonstrative has lost its identity and become a RC:

índlu ébanzí (a broad house)

The demonstrative has lost the initial consonant l and become a RC.

úmuntu ólûla (a light person)

The demonstrative has lost its initial consonant l and become a RC o-.

2.10.10. The view that the RC is derived from a combination of the demonstrative plus the SC is also plausible because the RC, unlike the AC, is capable of functioning as a concord of the verb stem:

úmfána óhlála kíthi (the boy who lives at my home)

(but never * ómhlála kíthi)

ínikomó éqhugayo (the limping beast)

(but never * énqhugayo)

2.10.11. The affinity between the RC and the verb stem is evidently caused by the inherent SC in the composite concord of the RC.

In fact, as Ziervogel (1961b, p. 92) rightly observes:

Die skeiding tussen adjektief en relatief en enumeratief (volgens Doke se terminologie) is besig om te verkrummel, buiten in soverre die term relatief op 'n werkwoordskrywing betrekking het.

2.10.12. In our view, the theory of the derivation of the AC and the RC outlined above raises a very intricate question of whether or not the tone pattern of a formative is not the decisive factor in the classification of the formatives after all. The absence of relationship between the tone pattern of both the demonstrative formative and the formative resembling the SC on the one hand, and the tone pattern of the simple demonstrative and the EC on the other hand, makes the analysis of formatives without their accompanying tone patterns suspect. This is more so when languages wherein the demonstrative elements are still intact (cf. Tswana, Swazi) but for some unknown reason modified their tone patterns on the RC and AC respectively. Nevertheless, the theory of the derivation of the RC and the AC from the first demonstrative offers immense morphological clues which would otherwise be impossible to obtain.

2.10.13. Jordan (1967, pp. 132f.) recognizes the difference between what he calls strong and weak adjectives. The strong adjective contains the so-called adjectival qualificative concord, and the weak adjective does not contain this concord:

Strong adjective : ómu- (mu- is the adj. qual. conc.)
 émi- (mi- is the adj. qual. conc.), etc.
Weak adjective : ó-
 é-

2.10.14. Apart from new terminology, Jordan's analysis does not contribute much to the distinction between the Dokean AC, EC, and RC. However, his observations about the so-called predicative and attributive use of the adjective and the relative are important. The reason why the simple adjective and relative are amenable to conjugation (positive and negative) has not been given serious attention by Bantu linguists before. The assumption (though tacit) has always been that the Bantu adjective and relative necessarily function like the adjective and relative construction in the Indo-European languages. More will be said about this in a subsequent chapter.

Relative Concords

2.10.15. Van Eeden (1956, p. 162) regards the RC as a characteristic formative of the relative. In other words, the relative is identifiable by means of its concords. This is an important statement in support of employing concords as a means of identifying word categories in addition to the other formatives of a word.

List of RC's

Class	1	<u>ó-</u>
"	2	<u>ába-</u>
"	3	<u>ó-</u>
"	4	<u>é-</u>
"	5	<u>éli-</u> , etc.

2.10.16. As Jordan (1967, p. 132f.) has shown, the relative is functionally different from the adjective. It is almost completely predicative in form. This is especially so when the relative has a verbal base, see "embedding" in Chapter 6. In such a case, it can be regarded as a relative predicate. Notice how it forms the future tense simply by prefixing the concord to the verbal stem with a future tense auxiliary formative; cf. ésizohamba (the one that will go) esi- + za- + úkuhamba. On the contrary, the adjective requires the support of an auxiliary verb to do so, cf. ésizobasihlé (the one that will become beautiful) esi- + za- + úkúba + sihlé. This is also noticed when the progressive and exclusive implications are derived. The relative fits very well into the area of the verb.

It appears that the initial vowel is the last remnant of the compounding of the demonstrative and the SC. In the event of this element falling away, the relative would be completely assimilated into the verb. This is incidentally the only element that is strictly nominal in the relative.

2.10.17. The tone pattern of the AC is /h(1)/ and that of the RC, /h(h)/ in Zulu.

Relative Stems

2.10.18. Van Eeden (1956, p. 162) describes the relative as a less uniform word category than the adjective on account of its stem which is mainly formed from primary relative stems as well as from other word categories. In a foot-note Van Eeden (1956, p. 162) expresses a doubt if any relative stems are primary forms. Doke (1968, p. 105) lists a few examples of relative stems. Here are some of them:

-gotho (genuine), -qatha (strong), -banzi (broad),
-nzima (heavy)

2.10.19. The relative is further characterised by its use of stems with extendible roots (traditionally known as verbal stems). The relative concord is prefixed to the stem with an extendible root, e.g.

úmfána óhamba njálo o- + -hamba > óhamba
(the boy who always travels)
índoda éhlála óNgoyé e + -hlála > éhlála
(the man who lives at oNgoye)

A suffix -yo is sometimes used with the relative which uses a stem with an extendible root:

ámánzi ágelezayo a- + -geleza + -yo > ágelezayo
(flowing water)
úthwálo ósindayo o- + -sinda + -yo > ósindayo
(a heavy load)

2.11. The Secondary Forms of the Adjective and the Relative

2.11.1. The secondary forms of the adjective and the relative are derived in a similar manner as secondary forms of nouns, viz by pre-placing additional non-class prefixal formatives to them or by changing the /h/ tone of the initial vowel to a /l/ one in the identificative copulative forms:

(a) Adjective

ómkhûlu > ngómkhûlu / !wómkhûlu / !ômkhûlu
(the big one) (it is the big one / by the big one)
(copulative)

njéngómkhûlu
(like the big one)
nómkhûlu
(with/and the big one)
ngángómkhûlu
(as large as the big one) } / comparative /

kómkhûlu / locative /
(to the big one)

yómkhûlu / jhómkhûlu / / possessive /
(of the big one)

(b) Relative

ábámnyáma > ngábámnyáma / !ábámnyáma
(the black ones) (it is the black ones or by the black ones)
(copulative)

njéngábámnyáma
(like the black ones)
nábámnyáma
(with / and the black ones)
ngángábámnyáma
(as much/big as the black ones) } / comparative /

yábámnyáma / possessive /
(of the black ones)

kwábámnyáma / locative /
(to the black ones)

2.12. The Secondary Forms of the Enumerative

2.12.1. There are practically no secondary forms, i.e. the possessive, identificative copulative, instrumental,

comparative and the locative derived from enumeratives with -ni?, -nye, and -mbe as stem. Van Eeden (1956, pp. 194-196; 198-199) gives a few examples of secondary usages of enumeratives with -nye and -mbe as stems. But these appear to be rarely used. The form ngayinye given by him (1956, p. 195) appears to be derived from the nominal copulative yinye and not from the enumerative as such. The so-called enumerative always occurs together with its (noun) antecedent as Van Eeden (1956, p. 195) rightly observes that the enumerative must actually be combined with its antecedent. His observation is, in fact, an awareness of the indivisibility of the enumerative from its antecedent. In par. 2.10.5. above, it has already been shown that the so-called enumerative is really an adjective shorn of its pre-prefix on account of the structural modification of the (noun) antecedent.

2.12.2. Doke (1968, p. 223) says that enumeratives are formed from copulatives "simply by a change of tone." One of the examples he gives is:

úmuntu múnye / mu : ɲɛ / (the person is one)

The implication here is that this example is derived from:
!umuntu múnye (it is one person / the same person)

This is, however, unlikely because the latter sentence is already a copulative construction.

2.12.3. Further, úmuntu múnye is a descriptive copulative: úmuntu ómunye (another person) > !umuntu munye (it is one person). Cf. par. 2.10.5. above.

The secondary forms of words with -phi? as the stem are also not derived from the enumerative. But they are secondary forms of the descriptive copulative formed by pre-placing the RCP to the stem described earlier.

cf. <u>ziphí?</u> (which ones?)	in <u>yiziphí?</u> (which ones are they?)	<	<u>yi-</u>	+	<u>ziphí?</u>
<u>maphí?</u> (which ones?)	<u>ngamaphí?</u> (which ones are they?)	<	<u>nga-</u>	+	<u>maphí?</u>
<u>liphí?</u> (which one?)	<u>kuliphí?</u> (to which one?)	<	<u>ku-</u>	+	<u>liphí?</u>

2.12.4. An earlier treatment of enumeratives, vide pars. 2.10.1 - 2.10.12 coupled with the fact that the so-called enumerative is incapable of forming secondary forms leads us to the provisional conclusion that the enumerative is, in fact, a modified adjective and does not constitute an independent category of words.

2.13. Class ka- Nouns

2.13.1. ka- is a PB class 13 prefix. Cole (1967, p. 43) reports that the majority of class 13 ka- nouns are secondary in Ganda. Fortune (1955, p. 94) says that in respect of Shona, nouns with the class prefix ka- are only used in secondary function. It is, however, important to note that in both Ganda and Shona the CP ka- generates concords. In other words, class 13 still retains the important characteristics of the noun in these languages.

2.13.2. Fortune (1955, pp. 105-106) discusses what he calls "adverbials" functioning as nouns. Hence according to him, kaviri (twice), kazhinji (often), etc. are adverbials functioning as nouns. He says they function as nouns because they govern concords. It is reasonable to conclude that in this manner, adverbials resemble class 13 nouns. It is also significant to note that the so-called adverbials are morphologically derivative words, see Fortune (1955, p. 389). In other words, the so-called adverbials in Zulu can be classified as "compound adverbials consisting of a formative and a stem" (ibid.) according to their morphological structure. The prefixal formative ka- used in Zulu is only prefixed to numeral, adjective, relative (proper), and certain demonstrative stems. This suggests that adverbials are nominals. Further, unlike "predicative" words, adverbials do not incorporate formatives relating to tense, implication, affirmation, negation, etc. When syntax is discussed, an attempt will be made to show that adverbials are nominals in secondary function.

The so-called compound adverbials in Zulu do not function as nouns as it is the case in Shona. However, Shona offers an

important link between the compound adverbials and PB nouns in their function because they both generate concords. It is thus not improbable that Zulu compound adverbials may have lost this capacity of generating concordance. Further, the class 13 prefix ka- is an additional prefix to the basic class prefix of the noun in Shona, see Fortune (1955, p. 94). It is thus a secondary or modifying prefix. When used before a stem as in Ganda, cf. Cole (1967, p. 43) and in compound adverbials, cf. Shona and Zulu, it modifies such a stem to express "smallness" and "manner" respectively. However, it would be an oversimplification of the problem to suggest that the adverbials found in Shona and Zulu are nouns. Nevertheless, they are secondary nominals. They do not form an independent morphological class of their own.

Examples:

<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-bili</u>	>	<u>kabíli</u>	(twice)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-ne</u>	>	<u>kane</u>	(four times)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-hle</u>	>	<u>kahlé</u>	(well)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-bi</u>	>	<u>kabí</u>	(badly)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-nje</u>	>	<u>kánjé</u>	(like this)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-ngaka</u>	>	<u>kángaka</u>	(as big / long as this...)
<u>ka</u>	+	<u>-mnandi</u>	>	<u>kamnánde</u>	(pleasantly)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-mhlophe</u>	>	<u>kamhlôphe</u>	(well)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-de</u>	>	<u>kade</u>	(long ago)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-mbe</u>	>	* <u>kámbe</u>	(differently)
<u>ka-</u>	+	<u>-nti</u>	>	* <u>kánti</u>	(according to

Döhne, 1857, derived from ka and nti contracted from ini and ti, "what to say")

The forms marked with a star no longer function in the manner explained in the foregoing paragraphs, cf. par. 3.4. below.

The English translation of the nominals given above is straightway associated with the adverbs in this language. This is probably why early grammarians in Bantu languages classified this type of word as an adverb. It appears that the structural make-up of these words was ignored and prominence given to their

notional and functional significance. Nevertheless, the morphological structure of these words suggests that they are primarily nominals and only adverbs in their function.

2.14. Summary

The noun is related to the absolute pronoun, quantitative, demonstrative and adjective / relative by means of a concordial formative / element or concord. In this respect, these "parts of speech" can be said to belong to the same category of words, viz the nominal. The nominal in turn belongs to the main category of relational words.

Lower down the hierarchy, the following sub-categories are found:

The noun, absolute pronoun, demonstrative, and adjective / relative share the common characteristic of having similar secondary derivations. This leaves out the quantitative.

The absolute pronoun is distinguished from other sub-categories by its peculiar stem and suffixal formative -na with a /H/ toneme.

The demonstrative contains a demonstrative element la and has three positions with a characteristic terminative for the second position, and a characteristic formative for the third position.

This leaves the adjective and the relative each with characteristic compound concords derived differently and having different tonemic patterns. Otherwise, they each use nominal stems. The adverbial with the modifying prefix ka- also uses nominal stems. Consequently, the adjective, relative and adverbial can be classified under the same class of words, viz modifiers.

The noun is mainly characterised by its CP and disyllabic stems with four different tone patterns. When extendible roots are used, terminatives have certain semantic implications.

The foregoing paragraphs merely indicate some of the more important characteristics of the nominal sub-categories. The phonological and morphological analysis attempted in this chapter

yields the following nominal sub-categories:

- (1) The noun
- (2) The absolute pronoun
- (3) The quantitative
- (4) The demonstrative
- (5) The modifier comprising the adjective, relative and adverbial.

FOOTNOTES

(1) This type of nouns is generally known as "deverbative nouns" in the current Bantu grammars. This term is, however, unsatisfactory for the purpose of this research (cf. the characteristics of the noun and the verb in the previous chapters). Nevertheless, we concede that "deverbative nouns" share their roots with the verb. However, the term "deverbative nouns" implies a derivation of nouns from verbs where such 'verbs' are mere formatives (i.e. the so-called verbal roots). In other words, complete words are derived from formatives. Semantic considerations appear to oust morphological description here.

The term root / radical also causes difficulties in the morphological description of these nouns. An extended root is regarded as a derivation from a simple root, e.g. -bikel- < -bik-. In other words, -bikel- is actually not a root in its own right but a "derived root." Faced with this problem, Wilkes (1971, p. 58) decided to use the term (verbal) base ("werkwoordbasis") instead. However, his distinction of such a base into a simple and derived one does not solve the problem appreciably either. It is essentially the same as Guthrie's (1970, p. 92), viz a differentiation between a simplex and an extended radical.

This problem is further complicated when it is borne in mind that some of the so-called "verbal" simplex radicals are dubious nuclear forms on account of the existence of comparable ideophones; e.g. -heshá / heshe (undermine), -nénka / nenke (move sluggishly) in the radicals -hesh- and -nenk- respectively.

(2) i.e. verbal, e.g. verbal root / radical. We describe them simply as radicals capable of extension.

(3) The semantic significance of endings discussed here have largely been adapted from Lombard's research on deverbative nouns in Northern Sotho.

(4) The term "process" is used in the sense that Wilkes (1971, p. 30) applied it, viz

"... 'n verskynsel wat tydsverloop impliseer."

CHAPTER 3

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB
AND THE COPULATIVE

3.1. Introductory Remarks

3.1.1. Doke (1935) uses the term "predicative" to refer to a word which "signifies an action connected with a substantive or the state in which a substantive is." He accordingly uses it as a blanket term to include the verb and the copulative. It is, however, important to note that the term "predicative" as used by Doke has no direct bearing upon phonology and morphology. It is strictly concerned with the relationship of words in the sentence.

The term "predicative" is used with certain reservations in this study. For example, we do not limit its application to "action" and "state". Further, not all "predicatives" are necessarily related to the subject in its lexical structure. These points will emerge when syntax and meaning are discussed in chapters 5 and 6 below.

The term "copulative" as applied in the current Bantu linguistic description is also too wide. It includes all nominals modified initially; it even includes the agentive and the instrumental forms which signify "case relations". The latter forms are not discussed in the present chapter because they are nominals both in their structure and function.

In spite of the reservations expressed in the foregoing paragraphs about the use of the term "predicative", we nevertheless employ it provisionally as it facilitates the overall identification of the word categories in Zulu. In this chapter, we accordingly discuss the phonological and morphological characteristics of the verb and the "nuclear" copulative.

3.2. The Verb

Its Paradigm

3.2.1. One of the most important characteristics of the verb is its capacity to be conjugated. Such conjugation reveals itself differently in the different moods, cf. the terminative, below. Five moods are distinguished, viz the indicative, participial, contingent, subjunctive, and potential.

Auxiliary stems -za, -ya, and -be are responsible for the derivation of the tenses of the verb, see tense-forming auxiliary verbs, below. This is one of the most important differences between the verb and other word categories.

The Subject Concord

3.2.2. The SC is identical with the RCP except where the RCP contains a nasal consonant, see Van Eeden (1956, p. 99-100). The nasal consonant is elided in the RCP and the remaining element constitutes the SC:

	<u>RCP</u>	<u>SC</u>
	<u>si-</u>	<u>si-</u>
	<u>lu-</u>	<u>lu-</u>
	<u>ku-</u>	<u>ku-</u>
But	<u>mu-</u>	<u>u-</u>
	<u>mi-</u>	<u>i-</u>
	<u>ziN-</u>	<u>zi-</u> , etc.

The form of the SC, however, varies with moods. For example, the SC's of the indicative are not identical with those of the participial in all noun classes.

3.2.3. The SC is always monosyllabic and has a (C)V combination of phones. Its tonemes vary according to tonal conjugation, vide Cope (1970, p. 119). Further, according to Cope (1970, p. 119), the tonemes of the SC's are not affected by prefixal formatives of verbal conjugation in the morphology.

Nevertheless, where a SC contains a depressor consonant, the /H/ toneme becomes /L/:

síkhála (it sounds / cries)

zikhála (they sound / cry)

Additional Prefixal Formatives

3.2.4. The verb is characterised by its ability to incorporate the following non-concordial prefixal formatives which modify the meaning expressed by the stem:

negative formatives:

(k)a- in (k)angibóni

(I don't see)

-nga- in níngahâmbi

(you, do not go)

-ka- in abákafikí

(they have not yet arrived)

-nge- in ungêmbône

(you cannot see him)

auxiliary formative: -ya- in bayahâmba

(they are going)

progressive formative: -sa- in sisáphila

(we are still well)

potential formative: -nga- in lingána

(it can rain)

The foregoing formatives do not determine the tense of the verb. On the contrary, they adjust themselves to the tense of the verb to which they are incorporated.

N.B. Although -se and -be are often represented as prefixal formatives in orthography, they are actually auxiliary verb stems.

The Object Concord

3.2.5. The OC, unlike the SC, is not indispensable in the simple structure of the verb. In the present tense, the OC resembles the SC closely. It differs from it in its employment of glides in certain classes. This occurs where the SC consists of a single vowel.

3.2.6. OC's and SC's with an identical phonemic structure, i.e. a CV combination of phones, differ in their tonemic patterns. OC's have /L/ tonemes whilst SC's have /H/ tonemes. Similarly, SC's consisting of a V only have /H/ tonemes and OC's with glides /L/ tonemes:

<u>síbóna</u> (it sees)	cf. <u>uyasibóna</u> (you see it)
<u>údla</u> (he eats)	cf. <u>niyawúdla</u> (you eat it)
<u>ífúna</u> (it needs/requires)	cf. <u>báyáyifúna</u> (they want it)

N.B. Only the 2nd person plural SC has identical tone with the class 7 OC, i.e. /L/.

3.2.7. The sound pattern of the present tense SC's is varied when the auxiliary -a- /aa/ is incorporated to form the remote past tense in the indicative. On the contrary, the sound pattern of OC's is invariable because it is not closely related to tense, and therefore, does not combine with auxiliary formatives.

3.2.8. The OC never occurs in the same verb together with a reflexive formative -zi-. The latter formative can be related to a noun as will become apparent in chapter 6.

The Verb Stem

3.2.9. The verb stem consists of two formatives, viz a root + a terminative. The verbal root may either be simple

or complex. A simple root is one without a radical extension incorporated to it. The complex root incorporates a radical extension.

3.2.10. There is a small variety of simple roots of which the most common are those with a CVC combination of phones, cf. basic disyllabic verb stems. Some roots are not easily identified from stems. They appear to coincide with stems, cf. monosyllabic verb stems where both the root and the stem have a CV combination of phones. Vowel-commencing stems have a VC combination of phones in the root:

- <u>bon</u> -	cf.	- <u>bóna</u>	(see)	} disyllabic stems
- <u>lum</u> -	cf.	- <u>lúma</u>	(bite)	
- <u>shá</u>	(burn)	} monosyllabic stems		
- <u>sho</u>	(say)			
- <u>enz</u> -	cf.	- <u>enza</u>	(do)	} vowel-commencing stem
- <u>oth</u> -	cf.	- <u>otha</u>	(warm oneself / bask)	

3.2.11. A complex root may be one of two types, viz

(1) One made up of a reduplicated stem of which three possible types are found, i.e. it may have a CVCVCVC, VCVCVC or CVCVC phonic composition according to whether the original stem is disyllabic, vowel-commencing or monosyllabic:

- <u>phekaphek</u> -	cf	- <u>phekaphéka</u>	(cook repeatedly/carelessly)
- <u>vikavik</u> -		- <u>vikavíka</u>	(parry blows intently)
- <u>phalaphal</u> -		- <u>phalaphála</u>	(scrape repeatedly)
- <u>enzayenz</u> -	cf	- <u>enzayénza</u>	(do often/repeatedly)
- <u>onayon</u> -		- <u>onayóna</u>	(do inopportunistly/ carelessly)
- <u>osayos</u> -		- <u>osayósa</u>	(roast intently)
- <u>dlayidl</u> -	cf	- <u>dlayídla</u>	(eat frequently)
- <u>phayiph</u> -		- <u>phayípha</u>	(give often - in small quantities / grudgingly)
- <u>zwayizw</u> -		- <u>zwayízwa</u>	(hear/feel intermittently)

(2) one made up of a simple root plus a radical extension(s) added to it. The following are the more common radical extensions in Zulu: -w- , -ek- , -akal- , -el- , -an- , -is- , -isis-.

The Terminative

3.2.12. As a rule, the verb stem is always in the affirmative or in the negative. In the affirmative, the terminative is generally an -a, and an -i in the negative. In the subjunctive (positive) and the potential (negative), the terminative is -e. According to Bleek's (1862, pp. 49-50) view, later corroborated by Van Eeden (1934, p. 374), the original terminative of the verb stem in Bantu was lost. Therefore, neither -a, -e, nor -i can be regarded as the basic ending of the verb stem.

3.2.13. -a, -e, and -i are very important in illustrating the basic characteristic of the verb stem, viz that it is always either in the affirmative or in the negative form. Consequently, the terminative is always associated with the mood in which a verb is used, vide Meinhof (1948, p. 96).

3.2.14. The terminative -ile / -e though resembling a radical extension, is actually different from it because:

(1) it has a corresponding negative formative -anga. On the contrary, radical extensions have no negative counterparts.

(2) it cannot be incorporated into the simple nor the complex root but always serves as the ending to both types of root. Radical extensions can be incorporated to simple roots and to complex roots to a limited extent.

3.2.15. -ile / -e or -anga are regarded as endings of the perfect in current Bantu grammars. It will be shown later that the perfect indicates a completed action or state, vide Ziervogel (1952, pp. 77-78), Van Eeden (1956, pp. 258-59). Needless to say that the perfect endings in Zulu are not tense formatives because they express an action which may be completed

in the present or past tense:

ngidlíle mânje
(I have now eaten)

ngidlíle ízolo
(I ate yesterday)

3.2.16. The foregoing analysis shows that the verb has its own characteristic prefixal formatives and stems. These are different from those of nominal words and are thus a means of identifying the verb and classifying it into a particular category of words. Syntactic and semantic characteristics will be established later and compared with the phonological and morphological characteristics given in pars. 3.1.1. - 3.2.15., above.

3.3. The Auxiliary Verb

Its Paradigm

3.3.1. In the sentence structure, the auxiliary verb always precedes a complement. The complement may be a verb or a nominal. The mood of the compound predicate is indicated by the complement if the auxiliary precedes a verb. Doke (1968, p. 202f.) shows that the complementary verb may be in the subjunctive or participial mood. The infinitive also serves as a complement. The auxiliary verb generally occurs in the same tense as its complementary verb.

When the complement of the auxiliary verb is a nominal, the mood is reflected by the auxiliary verb itself, cf.

<u>úJamlúdi úye ábe (y)ifólosi</u>	}	(subjunctive)
(Jamludi is usually inspanned in front		
<u>uyokhúla úze úbe (y)índoda</u>	}	(participial)
(you will grow up to be a man)		
<u>úde éba (ng)umántshingelána</u>		(potential)
(he frequently works as a night watchman)		
<u>ángába (ng)úmfúndisi</u>		(potential)
(he can be a priest)		

bengóba (y)índúna
(I would have become a headman) (contingent)

The foregoing discussion indicates briefly that the auxiliary verb resembles the verb closely in its conjugation. It can thus be classified with the verb in so far as its paradigm is concerned.

The Subject Concord of the Auxiliary Verb

3.3.2. According to Meinhof (1948, pp. 96 & 98), the prefixal formatives generally express time in the conjugation of the verb. Meinhof's statement seems to refer to auxiliary formatives in Zulu because they are usually used to denote the past and future tenses. This, of course, also implies that the SC is a tense formative because in the absence of auxiliary formatives, it remains the sole characteristic of tense, i.e. the present tense.

Louw (1963a, p. 248) says that auxiliary verbs which have an -a or an -i as a terminative are distinguished from other verbs by means of their prefixal formatives. For example, the omission of the SC, the absence of the OC and the fact that such a predicate is incapable of being conjugated in certain tenses is decisive in its classification as an auxiliary verb.

3.3.3. The use of the auxiliary verb shows that it forms a very close-knit unit together with the complement. This is so much so that, for reasons of economy, the compound predicate is often contracted by means of eliding the SC of the auxiliary verb, cf.

<u>bengihamba</u>	<	<u>ngibê ngihamba</u>
(I was travelling)		(ditto)
<u>belílikhúlu</u>	<	<u>libê lílikhúlu</u>
(it was big)		(ditto)
<u>!káde ngíkhoná</u>	<	<u>ngikáde ngíkhoná</u>
(I was present)		(ditto)

-bê used in the first two examples above, is a basis of a variety of tenses, i.e. compound tenses, see Ziervogel (1959, p. 154).

3.3.4. The immediate and remote future tenses are formed by prefixing the SC to the auxiliary formatives -za- and -ya- respectively. The auxiliary formative with a SC prefixed to it takes an infinitive as a complement in each case.

zizakufika cf. ziza + ukufika (immediate
(they will come) future tense)

lúyakuphela cf. lúya + úkuphela (remote future
(it will get finished) tense)

In the spoken and written forms of speech, the auxiliary verb and its complement are generally regarded as one word. Moreover, where the complement is an infinitive, forms varying from the coalescence of the terminal vowel of the auxiliary verb with the PP of the infinitive to elision of the RCP -ku- are encountered

The tenses discussed above indicate the widest possible variety of tenses found in verbs. They, however, do not necessarily occur in all moods.

3.3.5. Auxiliary verbs resemble other verbs in their use of tense-forming formatives as well as tonal devices that indicate time:

ngizobúye ngihámbe (immediate future tense)
(I shall go again)

lálidê lífíka ísoka lâkhe (remote past tense)
(her lover often came)

sivele simtshêle, thina (structurally in the
(we simply tell him what we think) present tense but indicating habitual action)

ngicishê ngíwe nxa ngingcéngqa ôgodwéni
(I stumble when I ford on a pole)

Cf. ngicishê ngáwa lápho ngingcéngqa ôgodwéni
(I nearly fell when fording on a pole)

Tonal variation in the two forms of cishe show habitual action and tense respectively.

3.3.6. Some auxiliary verbs are almost always used with the SC, cf. -fike, -ke, -gale, -phinde, -nele, -phonse, -cishe, etc.

However, -phonse and -cishe omit the SC when used before the subjunctive mood.

The SC is always omitted when -se and -be are used:

sélithánda < se- + li- + -thanda
 (he now loves) Aux. verb SC Stem

séngáthi < se- + -nga- + -thi
 (apparently) Aux. verb Potential Stem
 formative

bengilêle < be- + ngi- + -lele
 (I was asleep) Aux. verb SC Stem

The preceding auxiliary verbs are combined with the complementary verbs.

The hortative ma- and the auxiliary verb musa of the negative in the imperative are never used with the SC, see Louw (1963a, p. 226).

The Stem of the Auxiliary Verb

3.3.7. Ziervogel (1959, p. 150f.) recognises two main types of auxiliary verbs, viz those determined according to function and the ones determined according to their internal structure. The former type is given below:

(a) True auxiliary verbs which have become stylized and usually end in -e;

cishê, -buye, mane, damane, etc.
 (nearly) (and then) (just) (every now and then)

(b) Contracted auxiliary verbs: According to Ziervogel (1959, p. 154) these auxiliary verbs have lost their identity because they form a single word with the following infinitive owing to vowel coalescence that takes place.

-ya- in ngiyohámba (ngiya- + úkuhámba) (I shall go)
-za- in bázomsháya (baza- + úkumsháya)
 (they will assault him)

Louw (1963a, p. 175) contends that most auxiliary verbs have corresponding forms and only a few of them lack this. Some of

them, he says, are derived from non-verbal bases, e.g.

(ú)yilókhu / (ú)yiló / úló éhlezi
(he keeps sitting down)

3.3.8. Some auxiliary verbs are identified by means of their supra-segmental structure:

músa / mhu:sa / (don't!)

The high pitch, quick tempo and unchecked length on the penultimate syllable indicate interjection.

phêla (really/actually) cf. -phéla (get finished)
bâla (really/indeed) cf. -balá (count)

The above named auxiliary verbs are distinguished by means of tone.

músa is an imperative. On the other hand, phêla, bâla, phinde, etc. are auxiliary stems used without a complement.

The meanings of auxiliary verbs with an identical segmental structure may be distinguished by tone or intonation, cf.

phinde (never!) cf. -phinde (do again)
véle (of course) cf. -vele (anticipate / know the result)

When -phinde and -véle are used alone in the sentence, they occur in an interjective sentence: / phi:nde / , / ve:le / .

The Terminatives of Auxiliaries

3.3.9. Most auxiliary verbs have a terminative -e which may replace -a. However, the -e is not identical with the subjunctive terminative -e, see Louw (1963a, p. 187). According to Louw (ibid.), -i may also be substituted by -e.

údê efíka (he comes occasionally)
aké usúkumé (will you please stand up)
úngamane úzithathéle njé (don't just take things without permission)
akázúfike ásho (he will not report the matter)

3.4. The "Conjunctive"

3.4.1. The following are some of the more important "conjunctives" recognised in Zulu:

<u>képha</u> (nevertheless)	<	<u>ke</u> Aux. verb	+	<u>pha</u> noun prefix
!káde (a little while ago)	<	<u>ka</u> noun prefix	+	<u>de</u> auxiliary verb
<u>sélókhu</u> (ever since)	<	<u>se</u> aux. verb	+	<u>lókhu</u> auxiliary verb
<u>máqéde</u> (as soon as)	<	<u>ma</u> noun prefix	+	<u>qéde</u> / <u>qéda</u> auxiliary verb / verb proper

3.4.2. Some "conjunctives" comprise the prefixal formative na- plus a nominal derived from an auxiliary verb or noun. Others are made up of auxiliary verbs plus nominals:

<u>nakuba</u> (although)	<	<u>na</u>	+	<u>ukuba</u>
<u>nóma</u> (even though)	<	<u>na</u>	+	<u>uma</u>
<u>nanxá</u> (even if)	<	<u>na</u>	+	<u>nxa</u>
<u>ándúkúba</u> (before)	<	<u>ande</u>	+	<u>ukuba</u>
<u>kádúkúba</u> (before)	<	<u>kade</u>	+	<u>ukuba</u>

It is significant that the preceding examples representing as they do some of the complex forms of the so-called conjunctives all have an auxiliary verb as a constituent part. The rest of the "conjunctives" in Zulu are auxiliary verbs and secondary forms of nominals and verbs. Therefore, the morphological characteristics of "conjunctives" as a whole cannot be used as conclusive evidence for making any generalisations.

The classification of conjunctives in current grammars is not based on phonological or morphological grounds. It is

evidently based on translations of the Zulu words into a Germanic language where such forms are classified as conjunctives in the particular language. Otherwise, the few examples analysed above show that many of the so-called conjunctives are closely related to auxiliary verbs.

Under syntax, an attempt will be made to show that the so-called conjunctives may be re-classified into another category of words on the basis of their function.

3.5. Marginal Forms

An analysis of the Zulu vocabulary shows that certain words are marginal forms having characteristics of both the nominal and verbal words. These are the infinitive and certain forms of the copulative.

3.5.1. The Infinitive

The stem of the infinitive behaves like a verbal stem to a very large extent. It has an extendible root, it uses both the affirmative and negative forms, with terminatives -a and -i respectively. It takes the negative prefixal formative -nga- and also uses the reflexive formative -zi-:

<u>úkuthandána</u>	(to love each other)
<u>úkubonísana</u>	(to advise each other)
<u>úkúfiséla</u>	(to express a wish(es) for someone's part)
<u>úkúlamba</u>	(to feel hungry / to starve)
<u>úkúfika</u>	(to arrive)
<u>úkungalambí</u>	(not to feel hungry / not to starve)
<u>úkúngafiki</u>	(not to arrive)
<u>úkúzidéla</u>	(to sacrifice oneself)
<u>úkúzigábisa</u>	(to be haughty)

The infinitive sometimes uses auxiliary verb stems -ba, -thi and -ze:

<u>bácéla úkuba éze</u>	(they request that he comes)
<u>mtshéle úkúthi angifúni</u>	(tell him that I do not want)
<u>tshála úkúze úvuné</u>	(sow so that you might reap)

A condensed form of ukuma, viz uma also belongs to this class of words.

The infinitive, however, differs from the verb in that it is never used with tense-forming auxiliaries. It, therefore, lacks an important verbal characteristic, viz tense. It does not use formatives of verbal implications such as -se and -sa-. Nevertheless it is more closely related to the verb than the so-called "deverbative" noun whose only relationship with the verb is that it shares roots capable of extension. The infinitive CP makes it a nominal in its grammatical behaviour, i.e. in its relationship with other words in the sentence.

3.5.2. Copulative with Verbal Element

There are two types of copulative, viz a type with a verbal element incorporated, i.e. the SC, and another without a verbal element incorporated. The copulative with the SC incorporated in turn comprises two different types discussed in pars. 3.5.2.1. and 3.5.2.2. respectively. The copulative without the SC is discussed in par. 3.5.2.3.

The SC is a verbal formative giving the verb a verbal function. The incorporation of the SC into the copulative, therefore, also gives it a verbal function. In respect of the copulative without the SC, a prefixal formative "acting as a SC", to use Ziervogel's (1959, p. 95) words is employed. In other words, such a formative also gives the copulative a verbal function.

A clear distinction must be made between the copulative discussed here and that treated in par. 2.3.1.f. above. The following differences occur between the two types of copulative:

The copulative discussed in par. 2.3.1.f. above, is derived by using a prefixal element to a nominal and occasionally by using downstepping at the beginning of a word. In the copulative under discussion, the SC is an indispensable formative. The latter copulative only features in the nuclear "slot" whereas the former may occur in the nuclear and complement "slots", e.g.

ló-ńfána ngumuntu (this boy is mature)

ló-ńfána úsháywa ngumuntu (this boy is beaten by a person)

3.5.2.1. The Copulative

There are two types of copulative that are morphologically related to the verb, viz

(1) the one that is made up of a SC + a nominal stem

(2) the one that is made up of a SC + a nominal word
(either in its primary or secondary form)

A SC + a Nominal Stem

Interrogative, demonstrative and relative stems combine with SC's to form copulatives:

zíngakí? (how many are they?)

bánjaní? (how are they?)

síngáka (it is as big/much as.....)

lúngakayâ (it is as big/long/much as.....)

úgótho (he is honest)

búmnandi (it is tasty)

A SC + A Nominal Word

Some covert nouns, na- (expressing possession or "together with") prefixed to nominals, locatives and comparative forms of certain nominals may have a SC prefixed to them to form the copulative:

<u>ziphákathí</u>	(they are inside)	} (formed from covert nouns)
<u>silusizi</u>	(we are sad)	
<u>límathûnzi</u>	(it is dusk)	
<u>íbuthuntu</u>	(it is blunt)	
<u>únémâlí</u>	(he has money)	(SC prefixed to forms
<u>bánábakhûlu</u>	(they are with the important ones)	with <u>na-</u>)
<u>bakúlo</u>	(they are with him, <u>íkhehlá</u>)	(SC prefixed to
<u>ínjéngonîna</u>	(she is like her mother, <u>íngáne</u>)	locative and
<u>língángelámi</u>	(it is as big/much/long as mine)	comparative forms)

The preceding examples are clearly two-pronged - they are partially verbal and partially nominal. The fact that they have SC's makes them to behave like verbs in sentence construction. They are also capable of participating in all five moods (by employing auxiliary verbs), tenses and implications. However, evidently because of their non-verbal stems, they cannot express accomplished action by means of perfect suffixes -ile / -é. They also do not take radical extensions. Further, they do not express their negative by means of verbal negative formatives -nga- and terminative -i.

The copulative is, therefore, a marginal form between nominals and the verb.

The copulative with adjective stems and related concords is structurally unrelated to the verb. It is only functionally related to it.

3.5.2.2. The Demonstrative Copulative

Ziervogel (1959, p. 48) gives the root of the demonstrative copulative as derived from *na- + ni- + ya, where *ya- is the PB pronominal copula that is combined with the CP. In other words, he treats the demonstrative copulative as basically a pronoun. In Zulu, the following examples illustrate this:

Class 2 *na+ni+ba > *namba > nâmpa / náampa /
" 9 *na+ni+si > nânsí / náánsi /
" 1 *na+ni+yu > nângu / náangu / , etc.

* indicates hypothetical forms.

Suter (No date given, p. 117) gives alternative forms to the above derivations in classes 5, 6, 9, 11, 14 & 17, viz

Class 5 nâlí instead of nântí
" 6 nâwá instead of nânká
" 9 nâyí instead of nânsí
" 11 nâlú instead of nântú
" 14 nâbú instead of nâmpú
" 17 nâkú instead of nâkhú

The above-named forms were confirmed by findings in field work.

The falling tone on the first syllable presupposes length on this syllable.

Each set of the two types of demonstrative copulative in Zulu comprises two basic formatives, viz na- + an element resembling the SC. In the one set, the element resembling the SC has what appears to be a nasal compound of the consonant of the SC plus the vowel of the SC. In the other set, the element resembling the SC has no nasal compound except in Class 1. In the other nasal classes, glides, i.e. w or y are placed before the V resembling the SC.

The Origin of the na- Copulative element

na- is probably related to the connective formative na-. However, its significance is different from that of the connective na-.

na- is unlikely to have any connection with the suffixal formative -na of the absolute pronoun. Zulu has a demonstrative suffixal formative resembling -na of the absolute pronoun in Class 1 lóna (this one), and class 9 léna (this one). Also see Damman (1952, pp. 29-30).

The na- of the copulative demonstrative has a predicative significance in addition to its demonstrative function. We postulate that this na- is a variant of the demonstrative la- or it is related to it. n and l frequently alternate in Bantu languages.

All first and second position demonstrative copulatives are disyllabic and those of the third position are trisyllabic. The demonstrative copulative of the second position ends in -o and the third position demonstrative copulative ends in a suffix -ya. E.g.

<u>nâmpó</u>	:	<u>nâmpayá</u>	(Class 2)
(here they are)		(there they are, away from us)	
<u>nâkhú</u>	:	<u>nâkhuyá</u>	(Class 17)
(here it is)		(there it is, away from us)	

The vowel of the first syllable tends to be longer than those in subsequent syllables:

nánsí, (class 9)

(here it is)

nântó (class 11)

(there it is, near you)

nâziyá (class 10)

(there they are, away from us)

The tonal pattern of the demonstrative copulative is /HH/ and /HLH/ in disyllabic forms and /HLHH/ in trisyllabic forms:

nángú (class 1)

(here he/she is)

nânkó (class 3)

(there it is, near you)

nâliyá (class 5)

(there it is, away from us)

3.5.2.3. The Descriptive Copulative

The so-called descriptive copulative, see Lanham (1953, p. 152f.) is derived by preplacing the RCP (except in class 9 where the full CP is preplaced) to the adjective stem, see Van Eeden (1956, p. 413). The RCP is evidently the "other prefix" acting as a SC referred to by Ziervogel (1959, p. 95):

mukhúlu / mkhúlu < mu- + -khulu

(he / it is big)

lincáne < li- + -ncane (it is small)

The descriptive copulative is also derived by pre-placing the SC to the relative stems:

úlúla < u- + -lula

(he is light)

síbanzí < si- + -banzi

(it is broad)

In the present stage of our knowledge, it is not clear whether or not the descriptive copulative is phonologically and

morphologically independent of the adjective and relative. The only apparent common factor between it and the latter types of words is the content of the stems. The descriptive copulative is, however, completely different from other secondary forms of nominals because it comprises prefixal formatives of one category of words pre-placed to stems of other categories (see preceding paragraphs). It seems appropriate to provisionally classify the descriptive copulative separately from secondary forms of other nominals. The amenability of the descriptive copulative to transposition in the sentence as well as its relationship to the subject of the sentence by means of a SC or "a prefix acting as such", see Ziervogel (1959, p. 95) may justify its classification under verbals. A more detailed discussion follows under syntax.

3.6. Summary

3.6.1. The morphological and phonological characteristics of words analysed in this chapter show that the verb is different from nominal words discussed in Chapter 2. The verb comprises a SC plus a stem. The SC does not change its position in the sentence, it only occurs in words found in the nuclear "slot" and never in words found in the subject and complement "slots". On the contrary, the verb stem is a "floating" formative leaving its natural surroundings to collaborate with nominal words as occasion demands it. The stability of the SC in the word structure and its regular occurrence in a word featuring in the nuclear "slot" is a clear indication that it is the nuclear formative of the verb.

3.6.2. The auxiliary verb is very closely related to the verb. It often uses the SC. Some auxiliary verbs, e.g. buye, cf. -buya, (come back), mane cf. mana (stand / wait), are closely related to verb stems. A few auxiliary stems, e.g. -be, -se show a close affinity to the verb because when they are used without the SC, as often happens, find a natural ally in the complementary verb to the extent that they lose their own identity.

The auxiliary verb further demonstrates its "partnership" with the verb in its indispensability in the determination of the various tenses of the verb. In other words, the verb is fundamentally a "time word" (das Zeitwort) because of the auxiliary verb that is incorporated into it.

3.6.3. Marginal words which show partial nominal and verbal characteristics can be summarised as follows:

3.6.3.1. The Copulative: A distinction must be made between the nominal copulative and the verbal copulative. The nominal copulative is entirely made up of nominal formatives, i.e. formatives that are basically nominal. The verbal copulative contains an indispensable verbal formative, i.e. the SC. The verbal copulative is accordingly partially verbal in its structure. This distinction shows that a copulative need not always be "some other part of speech which has undergone copulative inflexion" as Doke (1935, p. 82) suggests. Under syntax, it will be shown that the verbal copulative, evidently because of its marginal structure, does not participate in all truly verbal syntactic relationships.

The prefixal formative of the nominal copulative is also indirectly linked with the verb in that it functions like a SC as pointed out earlier. This means that the nominal copulative is morphologically a nominal but functionally a verb.

3.6.3.2. The Infinitive: On account of its prefix, the infinitive is subject to all grammatical behaviour that characterises nouns. For example, it also has secondary forms and is also capable of generating concords - including the SC. Its partial verbal characteristics are inadequate for it to be classified as a verb. For example, it can also be negated and it can incorporate an OC like a verb. But not all infinitives are amenable to this behaviour, cf. úkudlá (food), úkufá (death / illness).

When syntax comes under review, an attempt will be made to show that even in its occurrence after the auxiliary verb (which strongly suggests its verbal character), the infinitive remains

primarily an object. It is not a verb.

3.6.4. In pars. 3.4.1. - 3.4.2. above, we tried to illustrate the fact that the so-called conjunctives are not primary forms of words. They are secondary derivations from nouns and auxiliary verbs. They do not have any phonological nor morphological characteristics that identify them as an independent set of words.

4.1.1. In Chapter 1, we made a distinction between relational and non-relational words. Relational words are identified by the presence of their prefixal formatives which can be related to the CF. On the contrary, non-relational words do not have prefixal formatives and, therefore, do not show any direct correspondences with the CF. Consequently, the differentiator of words into relational and non-relational words is primarily based on morphological grounds.

4.1.2. In Chapters 2 and 3, we identified nominal and verbal words as relational words. We now proceed to examine the phonological and morphological characteristics of ideophones and interjectives.

4.2. Ideophones and Interjectives

4.2.1. Jakobson (1941, p. 207) views that it is not always very easy to distinguish interjectives from ideophones as contended by Lach (1974, p. 121) who identified the common features of ideophones and interjectives. He maintains that ideophones and interjectives have features of sound, tone, rhythm and stress which distinguish them from what he calls normal words (or variable words). He goes on to show that they have extra-normal sounds, extra-normal pitch and extra-normal intonation (1955, p. 121).

4.2.2. Jordan (1956, p. 546) calls the ideophones and interjectives non-predicative. See also Vajzovic (1956, p. 453).

C H A P T E R 4

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF
NON-RELATIONAL WORDS

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1. In Chapter 1, we made a distinction between relational and non-relational words. Relational words are identified by means of their prefixal formatives which can be related to the CP. On the contrary, non-relational words do not have prefixal formatives and, therefore, do not show any class concordance with the CP. Consequently, the differentiation of words into relational and non-relational words is primarily based on morphological grounds.

4.1.2. In Chapters 2 and 3, we identified nominal and verbal words as relational words. We now proceed to examine the phonological and morphological characteristics of ideophones and interjectives.

4.2. Ideophones and Interjectives

4.2.1. Jaques' (1941, p. 207) view that it is not always very easy to distinguish interjectives from ideophones is confirmed by Letele (1955, p. 121) who identifies the common features of ideophones and interjectives. He maintains that ideophones and interjectives have features of sound, tone, duration and stress which distinguish them from what he calls normal words (?? variable words). He goes on to show that they have extra-normal sounds, extra-normal pitch and extra-normal duration (1955, p. 121).

4.2.2. Jordan (1956, p. 646) calls the ideophone an interjectional predicate. See also Van Eeden (1956, p. 483).

4.2.3. Letele's (1955, p. 121) observation in respect of ideophones is supported by Van Eeden (1956, p. 486) who says that the main stress of ideophones is sometimes exceptionally strong and occurs on the initial syllable in polysyllabic ideophones. He says that in polysyllabic ideophones, length is mostly short while monosyllabic ideophones generally have long length and, occasionally, unusually long length. (Also see Doke, 1968, p. 256). Van Eeden (1956, p. 486) notes that pitch is sometimes unusually high and at times abnormally low. According to Doke (1968, p. 259f.) disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic ideophones have short syllables.

4.2.4. Ideophones do not commence in a vowel, cf. Fivaz (1963, p. 18).

4.2.5. Both the ideophone and the interjective are not reducible to simpler forms.

4.2.6. Ideophones participate in verbal extensions but are not extendible themselves. In other words, once an extension has taken place the original word ceases to be an ideophone. What we are trying to illustrate here is that some verbs have their origin in ideophones:

<u>khuphu</u>	>	- <u>khuphúla</u>	
(move up a little)		(raise)	
<u>phuthu</u>	>	- <u>phuthúma</u>	
(expressing haste)		(hasten)	
<u>lungu</u>	>	- <u>lungúza</u>	etc.
(act of peeping)		(peep)	

4.2.7. Examples of the phonology and morphology of ideophones and interjectives

(a) Extra-normal duration

Full or very long length or unusually short length may be found on the final or only syllable of the ideophone or

interjective:

The Interjective

<u>Full length:</u>	<u>wéwu:</u> (how fine!)	<u>habe:</u> (good gracious)
<u>Long length:</u>	<u>áwu::</u> (indeed)	<u>e::</u> (hail!)
<u>Short length:</u>	<u>ha.</u> (expressing disappointment)	<u>x.</u> (expressing anger)

The Ideophone

<u>Full length:</u>	<u>dinsi:</u> (act of falling)	<u>memfu:</u> (act of sudden appearance)
<u>Long length:</u>	<u>bhe::</u> (burning fire)	<u>tsha::</u> /t ʃaa/ (feeling refreshed)
<u>Short length:</u>	<u>nsi.</u> (act of stopping suddenly)	
	<u>tomu.</u> (act of picking one out many objects)	
	<u>tshu.</u> (movement of needle)	

(b) Extra-normal pitch

Interjectives and ideophones may be uttered with abnormal pitch. The phones are often exaggerated in their articulation. This sometimes results in the lengthening of certain vowels as the examples below show.

Interjectives: háyi / háaji /
(no!)
lamú / laamú /
(stop it! the fight)
klíbihi
(good gracious!)

Ideophones: hlomú / ḥḥomú /
(let's share)
khumú / khuumú /
(disband / dismiss)

Voice quality

Closely associated with extra-normal pitch is the feature of voice quality. The voice may be so modulated that some ideophones may be uttered with whispers, especially in narratives, e.g.

hluthu
(act of snatching)

phu
(stink)

fahla
(be spotted)

Ideophones may also have low voicing, i.e. pronounced in a low register, e.g.

!gigigi
(giggling)

!gubhubhu
(act of starting up)

(c) Extra-normal sound

Interjective: mf / x
(expressing annoyance)

Ideophone: hu::
(expressing fatigue)

Gestures are an integral part of certain ideophones. They introduce the performance of the action, see Jordan (1956, p. 646):

- swí palm of right hand placed on the side of the
(fullness) thumb and index finger of the clenched left
hand
- do palms of both hands moved outwards
(expressing
emptiness)
- cosololo palm of one or both hands placed on the chest
(expressing
satisfaction)
- ntíníní both hands clenched with thumbs raised and one
(running hand ahead of the other
fast)
- hébé rapid outward movement of hands with palms
(scare away) towards the body

Interjectives also have gestures, mostly facial:

- há (a) chin cupped between index finger and
(my!) thumb with face drawn (expressing wonder /
surprise)
(b) with hands on the hips (showing disgust)
- ghá shaking of head
(no!)
- ehê a nod
(yes!)
- c-c-c-c-c... shaking of head
(expressing
pity/dis-
appointment)
- máyê placing hands on the head - generally done by
(expressing women when wailing
grief/sorrow)
- e:: raising of right hand
(hail!)

(d) Ideophones participate in verbal extensions

In par. 3.2.11. above, seven radical extensions were identified. These correspond with the following verb forms: passive, neuter (with two forms), applied, reciprocal, causative and intensive. A simplex root combined with a radical extension forms a complex root. Such roots are mainly found in verb stems although they occasionally feature in nouns as well, cf. par. 2.2.18f. above. In other words, the noun stem sometimes shares a root with a verb stem.

The ideophone occasionally serves as the simplex root in a complex root. However, its scope of adding radical extensions is limited to the neuter and the causative. Further, an ideophone so extended generally sacrifices its tonemic and morphological structure as well as its syntactic function to the verb. For example,

khithi compared with khíthíka and líyakhíthika
(act of dropping) (drop down) (it is snowing)

The tone pattern of the simplex root in the verb varies from that of the ideophone. In the imperative khíthíka, the stem has a complex root and a terminative whereas in líyakhíthika the verb consists of a complex root with a terminative plus a SC and an auxiliary formative. This clearly demonstrates the morphological change in the ideophone. Its syntactic function also changes, see par. 5.4.1. for the function of the ideophone.

The foregoing remarks are sufficient to illustrate the fact that an ideophone loses its independent status in the derivation of the verb by means of adding extensions and verbal prefixal formatives.

The derivation of the neuter

The extension -k- is added to the ideophone:

gudlu > gúdlúka
(be moved) (move aside)
siphu > síphúka
(root up) (get uprooted)

In some cases -k- or -ka- is added:

putu > pútúka / pútúkála
(act of crumbling) (be crumbled)

vuvu > vúvúka / vúvúkála
(act of swelling) (get swollen)

The derivation of the causative

The extension -s-, -l-, -z-, or -mez- may be added to the ideophone:

qhumbu > qhúmbúsa
(act of puncturing) (perforate)

godu > gódúsa
(act of turning back) (send home)

khuphu > khúphúla
(act of moving up a little) (lift)

siphu > síphúla
(act of pulling out) (pull out / uproot)

sonde > sóndéza
(act of moving nearer) (bring nearer)

faxa > fáxáza
(act of denting) (press / dent in)

thika > thíkáméza
(act of sudden movement) (disturb)

fudu > fúdúméza
(act of warmth) (warm up)

(e) Ideophones may have common radicals with verbs

Some ideophones share a common root with verb stems:

sithe cf. -sithá
(expressing disappearance) (obscure the view)

<u>hluthu</u> (expression act of snatching wrenching)	cf. - <u>hluthá</u> (pluck)
<u>hlosé</u> (to burn by poking with hot instrument)	cf. - <u>hlósa</u> (roast unripe ear of sorghum)
! <u>phaphalazi</u> (act of missing target)	cf. - <u>phápháláza</u> (miss the mark)
! <u>thantalazi</u> (act of flooding)	cf. - <u>thántáláza</u> (flood extensively)
! <u>hlokoloji</u> (act of poking)	cf. - <u>hlókólóza</u> (prod / poke)

(f) Ideophones may be reduplicated or have some formatives added

<u>jiki</u> (fling)	>	<u>jiki-jiki</u> (hurl)
<u>niki</u> (tear)	>	<u>niki-niki</u> (tear to pieces)
<u>dlakatha</u> (pounce upon)	>	<u>dlakathisi</u> (pounce upon and hold fast)
<u>xhakatha</u> (act of gripping)	>	<u>xhakathisi</u> (act of gripping tight)
<u>pata</u> (act of collapsing)	>	<u>patalala</u> (act of collapsing completely)
<u>thwaca</u> (act of being flat)	>	<u>thwacalala</u> (act of being extended)

4.3. Summary

4.3.1. Ideophones and interjectives have common supra-segmental characteristics. These are decisive features for purposes of identification. In addition, the ideophone has certain characteristic morphological features.

A discussion of syntactic and semantic characteristics of these words in subsequent chapters might throw more light on their true nature.

CHAPTER 5

SYNTAX

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1. A brief outline of the syntactic structure of the Zulu sentence is given in Chapter 1. In the present chapter, an investigation of the functional behaviour of the various word categories is attempted. This is done by means of correlating the subject and the nucleus with one another and with other classes of words.

It has been found expedient to sub-divide the maximal structure of the sentence into "slots". At the centre, is the nuclear "slot" (nucleus for short); the nucleus is preceded and followed by the subject and complement "slot" respectively. The terms subject and complement are not used in the same sense as Bantu linguists use them, cf. Doke (1935, pp. 71 & 202), Ziervogel (1959, pp. 128 & 129), Fortune (1973, pp. 122 & 123).

Examples: úmáma úphéka íthanga (mother cooks the pumpkin)
úZikóde úbophéla ízinkâbi (Zikode inspans oxen)

úmáma and úZikóde occur in the subject "slot", while úphéka and úbophéla are in the nuclear "slot", and íthanga and ízinkâbi occur in the complement "slot" respectively.

5.1.2. A summary of criteria used in determining the word categories in the sentence is given below.

Positional Relations

Robins (1968, p. 224) recognises what he calls "overt relations" illustrated by positional relations and "covert relations" of co-occurrence and substitutability.

The independent nominal ukudla in the subject "slot" i.e. position precedes the nuclear "slot" in úkudlá kúvuthíwe (the food is ready).

The ideophone co-occurs with the noun ígazí (blood) in tsáa ígazí émakhaleni (blood shot out of the nostrils)

íntombí (the girl) and yoná (she) are mutually substitutable in the sentence: íntombí iyágula (the girl is ill).

The term positional relations coincides with the terms "distribution" and "sequence" in the Bantu language description, cf. Westphal (1958, p. ii) and Ziervogel (1959, p. 130). In order to facilitate our description, the term "distribution" will be used throughout. In other words, distribution, co-occurrence and substitutability constitute "positional relations" in this investigation.

According to Robins (1968, p. 225) substitutability refers to

...classes or sets of words substitutable for each other grammatically in the same sentence structures...

Robins (1968, p. 224) defines co-occurrence as follows:

...words of different sets or classes may permit, or require, the occurrence of a word of another set or class to form a sentence or a particular part of the sentence.

Whereas the examples illustrating co-occurrence and substitutability given above are adequate, distribution on the other hand requires further elucidation. Distribution can be investigated by either using the nucleus of the sentence as the focus of comparison as in the example given or by relating a word to the independent nominal:

ábantu ábadála.... (old people....)
úbusó bâkhe.... (his face....)
lési-sítsha.... (this dish....)

The dichotomy between co-occurrence and distribution is done for convenience. Under co-occurrence nominals which mainly feature in the complement "slot", i.e. primary and secondary objects are discussed. A primary object is one which readily allows the use of the OC, and a secondary object one which does not readily allow the use of an OC, cf. Fortune (1973, p. 126):

Primary: íntombazána ísháyê úFíkile (the girl hit Fíkile)
íntombazána ímcháyile úFíkile (ditto)

Secondary: íntombazána ímsháyê éswéni (the girl hit him on
the eye)

The object uFíkile is primary and esweni a derived secondary nominal. Its structural variation from the primary form ísó is caused by its syntactic relation to the verb. In chapter 6, an attempt will be made to show that éswéni is a case form.

Direct and Indirect Relationships

Guthrie (1961, p. 7) describes "direct relationship" as referring to relationships between units of a sentence that are explicitly present, and "indirect relationship" as those that are implicitly present.

Direct relationship manifests itself in the following ways:

(i) Control: Whiteley (1966, p. 90) describes concordial relationship as "controlled relationship":

ísífu sámi síwile (my bird-trap has fallen)
sizitholile izimpáhla (we have received the goods)

A non-verbal nucleus may be determined by tonal modification or some prefixal formative element:

úmalumé (ng)úmthengísi (uncle is a salesman)
úsháywê (ng)ómdála (he was hit by the old one)
úmuntu (y)isílwane (man is an animal)

(ii) Co-ordination and Subordination

Co-ordination: The verbal nucleus with the potentiality to end a sentence (generally determined by its incorporation of -ya-) sometimes does not do so. In such a case, a succession of verbal nuclei appear to be tacked onto a 'string' constituting a single sentence:

ábafána báyéluca, áyathéza ámántombazána, ízalukázi zoná ziyádla (the boys are herding cattle, girls gather fire-wood, and the old women are eating)

anisebénzi, anifúndi, anidláli (you neither work nor learn nor play)

Although the clauses in each of the preceding sentences fulfils 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.

Subordination: Auxiliary verbs generally precede certain modal forms of verbs. Such verbs are dependent upon the auxiliary verbs for their realisation:

úkuze áfe.... (so that he may die...)

bálókhu bethíthiza (they keep on acting in a confused manner)

In respect of nominals, co-ordination is brought about by means of prefixing the formative na- to the nominal(s) occurring after the first one:

úbisi nézinyôsi.... (milk and honey...)

ámáfu nómya némvûla... (clouds, wind and rain...)

Indirect Relationship: It is manifested in two ways, viz (i) by an implicitly-present independent nominal, and (ii) by means of cohesion.

An implicitly-present independent nominal is latent and manifests itself in the nominal or verbal concords that it generates. The dependent nominals related to it may occur before or after the nucleus. Such nominals, like the nucleus, are related to the head word i.e. the independent nominal which does not occur. In other words the independent nominal is implicitly present:

ómkhulú úyágula (the old / big one is ill)

yená, ómkhûlu, úyágula (he, the big / old one is ill)

yená lówo, ómkhûlu, úyágula (he, the one you know, the old / big one is ill)

The implicitly-present head word is also evident when the nucleus is used alone in the sentence:

- úyágu (he is ill)
bálimaphí? (where do they plough?)
zithíní? (what do they say?)
íngakanání? (how big is it?)
líphí? (where is it?)

The absolute pronoun which has equivalent function as the independent nominal may also be indirectly related to the nucleus and other nominals.

Cohesion: Whereas a word is positionally mobile in the sentence, certain words have a more or less fixed distributional relationship towards one another. This affinity is well illustrated by Doke (1955, p. 117) when he says:

...the descriptive prefers the place immediately following the word it qualifies.

Guthrie (1961, p. 6) maintains that there are varying degrees of cohesion. He identifies what he calls complete cohesion where "a nexus or bond" is formed and low or zero cohesion which is indicated by interruption or insertion of other words between the coherent units.

It must be noted that the relationship of cohesion is implicit.

Examples:

- lífíkê ngání (íkhehlá)? (how did he come - the old man?)
múnye qhwaba (there is only one)
(nâsiyá ísándo) phézu kwetáfula (there it is, the hammer, on top of the table)

The preceding examples illustrate complete cohesion. The words so related cannot be separated or have their order reversed:

- kantí ufúnání? (what do you want then?)
kantí wená ufúnání? (do.)
wená ufúnání kantí? (do.)
nxá éfíka (when he arrives)
nxá úbabá éfíka (when father arrives), etc.

The latter examples illustrate low cohesion, i.e. divisibility and/or reversibility of word-order may occur.

Free Variation

Free variation implies equivalence of function between units in context. This means that no new sentence is produced when one word is substituted for another in the same context:

<u>ndoda!</u> (man!)	cf. <u>wená!</u> (you!)
<u>ngéndoda</u> (from/by/about the man)	cf. <u>ngayo</u> (from/by/about him)
<u>yíndoda</u> (it is the man)	cf. <u>yíyo</u> (it is him), etc.

Contrast

An item that is set in opposition with another to show unlikeness between itself and the other one is said to be in contrast with it:

<u>lézi-zinjá lézi</u>	(as for these dogs in question/near me)
<u>lówo-muzi lówo</u>	(the village in question)
<u>labayá báfána</u>	(those boys away from us)
<u>léyo-ndaba</u>	(that matter known to you)

The modifier of the independent nominal in the foregoing examples cannot be substituted by another type of modifier, e.g. the adjective / relative.

Entailment

According to Whiteley (1968, p. 10) entailment is a property of items participating in an object-relationship that may also participate in a subject-relationship...

Such a subject generally undergoes a change initially when participating in an object relationship. This shows that the phonological adjustment in the nominal subject is caused by the syntactic environment in which it occurs. In point of fact,

the nominal so used remains a noun, absolute pronoun, adjective, etc. as the case may be:

ínkomó ílúnywa (y)ízinjá

(the beast is being bitten by the dogs)

úbónwê (ng)ábadála

(he was seen by the adults)

ámábelé âdliwa (y)ízinkâwu

(the sorghum was eaten by the monkeys)

The Vocative

According to Lyons (1969, p. 290), the vocative is the "case" of address. In Zulu, the vocative is mainly a form assumed by the independent nominal indicating an address directed at the 2nd. person (singular or plural). Hence, the vocative is mostly used with proper names and personal nouns. When other nouns are used, they are generally used as if they were proper names or personal nouns that are capable of being addressed. For instance, in the folk-tale ítshe líkaNtunjámbili the following words are found: lítshe líkaNtunjámbili vuléka singene. Similarly, tshwalá ndíni may be used by the speaker to express his disappointment or trouble he has experienced about beer or drinking in a manner similar to that of talking to a person:

wethú!

(comrade!)

cf. úwethú

(one of the same age as oneself)

Guméde!

(calling Gumede)

cf. úGuméde

(personal name - a surname)

ntokánje!

(what-d' you-call him!)

cf. úntokánje

(a noun used to refer to someone whose name is not well known or is forgotten)

dadewêthú!

(sister!)

cf. údadewêthú

(my sister)

sibáli!

(brother-in-law)

cf. úsibáli

(my brother-in-law)

Interjective Use

Words without the formal characteristics of interjectives are sometimes used as such. They are used as exclamations or a kind of interposition. This is mainly effected by altering their supra-segmental nature. The loss of penultimate length is fairly common. The use of abnormal pitch or abnormal length on the penultimate syllable is found in some words. In other cases, an entire word group is used interjectively in a more or less permanent way. Some words with formal characteristics resembling those of interjectives are used in the imitation of sounds:

!ma::doda cf. madoda
(good gracious!) (men! used in vocative form)

ma::doda has no penultimate length, regardless of its position in the sentence.

ímpé::la. cf. ímpéla
(really!) (the essence of anything - a noun)

ngé::na cf. ngéna
(come in!) (come in)

ngé::na and ímpé::la generally have extra-normal pitch, and extra-normal length and are usually used to express emotion:

nkosí yámi cf. ínkosí yámi
(for goodness sake!) (my king)

In interposition, the two words, viz nkosí yámi are always used together. The first word becomes vocative when used alone.

bham! (sound of a gun shot)

This word is structurally an ideophone, but its use is interjective.

N.B. Doke's (1968, p. 279) classification of the vocatives as interjectives is not feasible because vocatives remain nouns both in their morphological and supra-segmental structure. It will also be shown that syntactically there are differences.

Interjectives are not in free variation with vocatives.

5.1.3. In the rest of the chapter, a tentative classification of word categories obtained according to the criteria

discussed in the foregoing pages is given. This is done by examining the syntactic features of the various categories of words established in Chapters 2 - 4 in order to determine the correlation, if any, between the structure and the function of word categories.

Nominal words are discussed first, followed by the verb and the copulative, and finally non-relational words. Under each category, the criterion used is given as a heading, followed by examples and a brief discussion where necessary.

5.2. Nominal Words

5.2.1. The Noun

(1) Distribution

(a) The noun may precede or follow the nucleus:

úmfána úphéka úphuthú (the boy cooks mush)

úphuthú, úyálúphéka, úmfána (the boy cooks mush)

(b) The noun may precede or follow the possessive, demonstrative, adjective, relative and the quantitative:

ísítsha sákhe (his dish)

cf. ésakhé ísítsha (as regards his dish)

ísítsha lési (this dish)

cf. lési-sítsha (as for this dish)

ísítsha ésibí (a bad dish)

cf. ésibí ísítsha (as for the bad dish)

ísítsha ésílûla (a light dish)

cf. ésílûlá ísítsha (as for the light dish)

ísítsha sônke (the whole dish)

cf. sônke ísítsha (as regards the whole dish)

(c) The infinitive may also occur before or after:

(i) the nucleus:

úkuhámba kuyáhlupha / kuyáhlupha úkuhámba

(travelling is troublesome)

(ii) a modifier:

ukubálisha ókukhûlu / ókukhulú ukubálisha

(to brood much over one's troubles)

úkúphila ókumnândi / ókumnandí ukúphila

(pleasant living)

(ditto)

úkúgoma lókhu / lókhu kuqoma

(this question of falling in love - of a woman
loving a man)

The infinitive differs from other nouns i.e. independent nominals in the following respects:

(i) it may be followed by a secondary object in the subject "slot".

úkuhámba kakhúlú akúlungile

(too much travelling is no good)

úkulóba ngómsizi akufunéki

(writing with a pencil is not desirable)

(ii) it may occur before covert nouns and secondary objects with the prefix ka- in the complement "slot":

ngifúna ukúfika masinya

(I want to arrive soon)

lé-ngáne ifúna ukúphila kabi

(this child will have it hard in life)

(iii) on account of its amenability to extension, the infinitive containing the radical passive extension -w- causes the noun occurring after it to be a copulative:

úkubanjwa (ng)amaphoyisa

(to be arrested by the police)

The infinitive in the latter example behaves like a verbal nucleus whether or not it features in the subject or complement "slot".

(2) Substitutability

The noun may be substituted by the absolute pronoun or the demonstrative:

ufúna ímáli cf. ufúna yoná / ufúna lé / léyo / léya
(you want it) you want this near me / that near you /
that away from us)

The demonstrative has a deictic function.

(3) Co-occurrence

The noun may co-occur with the ideophone:

kufunéka íntombi ntó (a truly upright girl is required)
bebefiké ngézinkáni ábésifazâne, kódwa dó, amádoda (there
were many women but no men at all)

íngóla gedle-gedle (the wagon moved with a creaking sound)
ízingána shwabha (the little buttocks are drawn in)

The last two examples generally occur in narration.

(4) Control

The noun is related to the nucleus by means of a SC or tonal
control or prefixal formative:

ímú ífile (the sheep is dead)
úFána (y)isígebéngu (Fana is a criminal)

(5) Co-ordination

Nouns can be used one after the other in a co-ordinative
conjoined manner:

úmzála nódadewéthú báyafúnda
(my cousin and my sister are studying)
ínjá nénkéntshane némpúngushé (y)isílwane sinye
(a dog, a Cape dog and a striped jackal are the same type of
animal)

Some co-ordinate nouns have a disguised surface structure:

ábábazi básébénza nábâkhi (carpenters work with builders)

cf. ábábazi nábâkhi báyasébénza (carpenters and builders are
working)

úThandiwé úlwa nóThókózile

(Thandiwe and Thokozile are fighting)

cf. úThandiwé nóThókózile bayálwa

(Thandiwe and Thokozile are fighting)

Note the absence of the OC in spite of the transposition of the post-nuclear words nábákhi and nóThókózile which appear to be adverbs. The traditional view that such forms are adverbs seems untenable.

The co-ordinate formative na- is also prefixed to the infinitive occurring after a negative nucleus with an identical stem:

akázi nakwazi

(he is not in the least perturbed / bothered)

(k)abakhókhi nakukhóka (they do not even pay up)

(k)ababháli nakubhála (they do not even write)

The noun may occur with other nouns in the same sentence by prefixing the formative na- to the second, third... noun. It must be noted that a noun can only be co-ordinated with other nouns.

(6) Cohesion

The secondary forms of the noun in the complement "slot" cannot be separated from the preceding nuclei, nor can the word-order be reversed:

úmi phámbi kwemóto (he is standing in front of the car)

íbhóla líphézu kwéndlu (the ball is on top of the house)

úhamba ngébhayisíkili (he is travelling on bicycle)

(7) An Implicitly-Present Independent Nominal

The absolute pronoun, the demonstrative, the adjective and the verbal nucleus are all related to a latent noun by means of concords / concordial formatives. It is evident that these words cannot exist without the noun(s) that generate(s) the

concord / concordial formatives in them:

- ábadála báyasébénza (the old ones are working)
boná, ábadála báyasébénza (they, the old ones work)
boná lábo, ábadála báyasébénza (they, the ones you know,
work)

(8) Free Variation

The noun is in free variation with the absolute pronoun:

- índoda cf. yoná
(the man) (he)
ngéndoda cf. ngáyo
(by / from the man) (by / from him)

(9) The Vocative

Nouns are used for the purpose of addressing:

- mzála cf. úmzála
(cousin!) (my cousin)
mkhúlu cf. úmkhúlu
(grand-father!) (my grand-father)
Zódwa! cf. úZódwa
(Zodwa!) (Zodwa - name of a girl)

(10) Interjective Use

The noun may be used interjectively. However, there is only a small number of nouns used in this manner:

- bândla cf. íbândla
(how wonderful!) (assembly of men)
dadewêthú kababá! cf. údadewêthú
(I swear by my sister!) (my sister)

(11) Entailment

Secondary nouns may be entailed:

ínkomó ílúnywa (y)ízinjá

(the beast is being beaten by the dogs)

wéhlúlwa (ng)ukúfúnda

(he fails to learn)

N.B. To conclude the discussion on the syntactic characteristics of the noun, it is necessary to add that the infinitive behaves in an identical manner with other nouns even when it is preceded by auxiliary verbs. Van Eeden (1956) and Doke (1968) regard the infinitive occurring after certain auxiliary verbs as a complement of a compound verb. However, practically all auxiliary verbs preceding infinitives may also precede simple nouns:

ufúna úkufá

(you are risking your life)

cf. ufúna íncwadí

(you want a book)

íkhehlá líthánda úkufúnda

(the old man is fond of reading)

cf. íkhehlá líthánda ínyama

(the old man is fond of meat)

However, the auxiliary verbs cishe / cisha, sanda and musa are constantly followed by the infinitive and never followed by other nouns. Further research might reveal why only these three auxiliary verbs are exceptional.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the infinitive is primarily a nominal. Its partial verbal characteristics do not seem to justify its classification as a verb. This view re-affirms an observation made earlier in Chapter 2 above, that the infinitive is basically a noun, in spite of its incorporation of verbal formatives.

5.2.2. The Absolute Pronoun

(1) Substitutability

The absolute pronoun can be used in the place of the subject and primary object of the sentence:

<u>ísífu síwile</u> (the bird-trap has fallen)	cf. <u>soná síwile</u> (it has fallen)
<u>údla úmobá</u> (he is eating sugar-cane)	cf. <u>údla woná</u> (he is eating it)

The absolute pronoun is normally not used to substitute the noun in the following cases:

(i) when the subject and primary object belong to the same noun class. It cannot, therefore, serve as a substitute in the following example:

úmama úphekéla úbabá (mother cooks for father)

However, if one of the nouns in the foregoing example is in the plural form, substitution with the absolute pronoun is possible.

(ii) when the noun follows an ideophone:

tsaa ígazi, emakháleni
(the blood shot out of the nostrils)

(iii) when the elision of the pre-prefix of the noun is caused by grammatical elision:

lési-sítsha (this dish)
(k)abathóli bantwana (they have no issue)

(iv) when the noun to be substituted occurs after another absolute pronoun:

wená Jabuláni
(you Jabulani)
khoná úkufá
(death)
woná ámazámpane
(potatoes)

Therefore, the noun and the absolute pronoun are in partial equivalence with the noun having inclusive distribution of the pronoun, see Lyons (1969, p. 70).

(2) Entailment

ngúye (by it)
yíyo (...by it)
yízo (... by them)

5.2.3. The Quantitative

Distribution

The quantitative which is characterised by the stems -nke, -dwa, and numeral stems -bili, -thathu, etc. combined with a composite pronominal formative generally occupies the following syntactic positions:

(i) With -nke as stem:

(a) It may occur after a noun or absolute pronoun. The noun may be implicit:

úmobá wónke úshíle (all the sugar-cane is gutted)

thiná sónke silambile (we are all hungry)

sónke siyahámba (we are all going)

(b) It may occur after the nucleus:

babhála bónke (they all write)

yílo lónke (it is the whole of it)

nâzi zónke (here they are, all of them)

(ii) With -dwa as stem:

It may occur after the nucleus:

úhlála yédwa / úhlála yédwa úbabá / ómncáne
(he stays alone) (father / the small one stays alone)

yízo zódwa / yízo zódwa ízingáne / lézi
(it is only they) (it is the children only / they alone)

(ng)ámánga ódwa / (ng)ámánga ódwa lé-ndaba
(this matter is altogether false / untrue)

The above examples illustrate that the quantitative with -dwa as stem may be followed by a nominal. But this always occurs in the post-nuclear position.

It may also occur after a modifier in the post-nuclear position:

úthéngê ámatshwele ámancáne ódwa
(he bought young chicks only)

sibonê ézindála zódwa
(we saw only the old ones)

úzwê ézimnándi zódwa

(he heard only the good ones - the news)

létha élílulá lódwa

(bring only the light one)

It maintains its post-nuclear position even when preceded by a noun or absolute pronoun:

kufê íngáne yódwa

(only a child died)

sâbóná ámathúna ódwa

(we saw graves only)

yíbo ábafána bódwa

(it is the boys only)

/

kufê yoná yódwa

(only a child died)

sâbóná woná ódwa

(we saw them only)

yíbo boná bódwa

(it is only they)

The distribution of the quantitative with -dwa as stem is fixed, viz post nuclear where it may occur directly after the nucleus or after a noun, absolute pronoun or a modifier. This behaviour of the quantitative with -dwa as stem suggests that it is functionally an adverbial. Accordingly, it seems appropriate to classify it as an adverbial modifier.

(iii) With Numeral Stems -bilí, -thâthu, etc.:

The quantitative with the numeral stems -bilí, -thâthu, etc. occurs before or after the nucleus:

zómbilí zilahlékile

(both of them are lost)

/

zilahlékile zómbilí

(ditto)

sobátháthú siyízintandâne / siyízintandáne sobátháthú

(all three of us are orphans)

kokúne kúhlé

/

kúhlé kokúne

(all four of them are beautiful)

The numeral quantitative occupies a place before or after the noun:

bobátháthú ábafána

(all three boys)

/

ábafána bobátháthú

(ditto)

bónke ábantu

/

ábantu bónke

(all people)

(ditto)

5.2.4. The Demonstrative

(1) Distribution

(i) The demonstrative may precede or follow a verbal nucleus:

lé-njá íyágula (this dog is sick)

íyágula lé-njá (ditto)

(ii) The demonstrative seems to prefer the position after the demonstrative copulative where the use of a noun or other modifier after it is obligatory:

nâsó léso-sigebéngu

(there is that criminal we were talking about)

nânsí lé-ntombazâna

(here is this girl we talked about)

nâsí lesiyá-salukázi sâkwâNdlovu

(yonder is the Ndlovu old woman)

nântí léli élinôfa

(here is the one near me, the one with a crack)

nânguyá lowayá óhlekayo

(there is the one who is laughing, away from us)

nâkhó-ke lókho ókudála

(there is the old one you know approaching)

(iii) There is generally no discernable pause between the independent nominal and the demonstrative when the latter is preceded by the former. However, when the demonstrative occurs before the independent nominal, a kind of break (or caesura) in the intonational structure of the sentence occurs between the two words:

ábantu lába (these people)

cf. lába-bantu (as regards these people)

ísítsha lési (this dish)

cf. lési-sítsha (as regards this dish)

It appears that Kunene (1972, p. 18) refers to the same phenomenon although he uses the term unconventionally, viz

"downstep".

The foregoing examples illustrate that the demonstrative may occur before or after the noun to which it is related.

(iv) The demonstrative precedes the adjective and relative in word-order:

létha leziyá ézinde

(bring those long ones away from us)

ufúna lézi ézincáne?

(do you want these small ones near me?)

lábo ábangwéle básindiswá niní?

(when were the holy ones you are talking about saved?)

ngizokulethéla lókho ókulûla, ókufúnayó?

(I shall bring you that light one you want)

(2) Substitutability

The demonstrative replaces modifiers which occur after the noun:

íntombí éndála

(an old girl / maiden)

cf. íntombí lé / léyo / léya

(this girl near me/us; that girl near you or that girl away from us)

íntombí émhlôphe

(a white girl / maiden)

cf. ditto above

íntombí kaBhekúyise

(Bhekuyise's girl-friend)

cf. substitution of demonstrative above

ímâli yódwa

(money only)

cf. substitution of demonstrative above.

The demonstrative may substitute a noun serving as the subject or primary object of the sentence:

íntombí íyágula

(the girl is ill)

cf. lé(na) / léyo / léyá íyágula

(the one near me / in question / near you / away from us is ill)

ufúna ímalí?

(do you want money?)

cf. ufúna lé(na) / léyo / léyá?

(do you want this near me / you / that far away?)

The demonstrative is, however, incapable of substituting nouns without the pre-prefix in the following instances:

(i) A noun used after a negative nucleus:

(k)abákhethê ndâwo (they do not prefer any place in particular)

akázi luthó (he knows nothing)

(ii) Nouns used interjectively:

tshwalá ndîni! babá! ; wé mamé / wee mhamhé /
(you cursed beer!) (dad!) (my!)

(3) Entailment

All agentive copulative forms of the demonstrative are entailed:

úzóndwa yilába (he is hated by these)

úsháywê yilézi (he was hit by these ones)

(4) Co-ordination

The demonstrative can be co-ordinated by means of prefixing the formative na- to the second one in sequence:

léyo naléyo (veryone)

lézo nalézo (ditto)

láwo naláwo (ditto)

léyo naléyo (ditto)

ngifúna lé, naléyo, naléya fúthi

(I want this one, and that one near you, and the one yonder)

létha lókho, nalókhuyá

(bring that one near you and the one over there)

N.B. Only demonstratives of the same class can be co-ordinated. If they are of different positions, a kind of break or caesura occurs between them. Also, it is more common to commence with the demonstrative of the first or second position and proceed to the third in that order.

(5) Control

The demonstrative stem can be related to the CP:

<u>ábantu lába</u>	cf.	<u>ábantu</u>
(these people)		(people)
<u>úthi lolu</u>	cf.	<u>úthi</u>
(this stick)		(a stick)

(6) Contrast

The demonstrative cannot be substituted by other modifiers, e.g. the adjective / relative, it contrasts with them:

<u>léli-háshi léli</u>	(as for this horse)
<u>lókhu-kúfa lókhu</u>	(as regards this illness)
<u>lé-ndaba</u>	(this matter)

5.2.5. The Adjective and Relative

(1) Distribution

(i) The adjective / relative may precede or follow the noun to which it refers:

<u>índaba émbí</u>	cf.	<u>émbí, índaba</u>
(bad news)		(as regards the bad news)
<u>ísithelo ésímnandi</u>	cf.	<u>ésímnandi, ísithelo</u>
(tasty food)		(as for the tasty fruit)

(ii) The adjective / relative follows the demonstrative in word-order:

ufúna lézi ézinde?

(do you want these long ones?)

ngizokulethéla lókho ókúlulá ókúfúnayó

(I shall bring that light one you want)

(iii) The adjective / relative follows the possessive derived from the absolute pronoun:

ámázinýó ábo ámahlé (their beautiful teeth)
índlu yákhé ébanzí (his spacious house)

Possessives derived from nouns may precede or follow the adjective / relative:

índlu énkulú kámalúme / índlu kámalumé énkúlu
(uncle's big house) (ditto)
ízíndaba zaphéshéya ézímñandi / ízíndaba ézímñandí zaphéshéya
(good news from overseas) (ditto)

(iv) The adjective / relative may precede secondary objects:

ímithí évide kúnémínye
(taller trees than others)
ízinkomó éziningí kakhùlu
(many cattle, indeed)

(v) The adjective / relative may precede the ideophone:

wákhíphá ámázinýo ámabilí vò
(he had only two teeth extracted)
angifúni émnyáma bhuge
(I don't want a pitch-black one)

(vi) The adjective / relative may precede the relative and vice versa:

ínkabí énkulú, émhlôphe / ínkabí émhlophé, énkúlu
(the big white ox) (ditto)
índoda éncáne, éqôtho / índoda éqothó éncáne
(a small honest man) (ditto)
úbusó óbúbanzí, óbuhlé / úbusó óbuhlé, óbúbanzí
(a beautiful broad face) (ditto)

The modifier that precedes the other is more emphasised.

(vii) The adjective / relative may follow entailed nouns:

ngezwi élikhulu (by the heavy voice)
ngeyembe élibomvu (by means of the red shirt)

(viii) The adjective / relative may occur after the demonstrative copulative, and occasionally before it:

nântú, óluncáne / óluncáne, nântú
(here is the small one) (ditto)
nángú, ómdála / ómdála, nángú
(here is the old(er) one) (ditto)
nâmpó, ábágothó / ábágothó, nâmpó
(there are the honest ones near you)
nâziyá, ézímhlôphe / ézímhlophé, nâziyá
(there are the honest ones over there)

(ix) The "Enumerative"

The so-called enumerative with the stems -phi?, -ni?, -nye, and -mbe coincides with several stems of modifiers with an identical monosyllabic concordial formative in similar surroundings in the sentence. The so-called enumerative is, in fact, a result of the elision of the initial vowel of the concord of the modifier (adjective / relative) evidently caused by the elision or modification of the pre-prefix of the noun constituting the antecedent:

(i) Elision of the pre-prefix of the noun:

nidlála mdlálo muní? (what game do you play)
babhéma gwayi munye (they smoke the same blend of tobacco)
bêba zinkomó zithize (they stole certain cattle)
zigibéla mótwéni (y)inye (they travel in the same car)
akankósi yasizwe sikhulu (he is not a chief of a big tribe)
uhamba ngabhayisikili liphi? (which bicycle are you riding for the trip?)
lé-nkósikazi ímasu mangaki? (how many times has this woman given birth?)

(ii) Modification of the noun prefix:

<u>wahlúlwa (y)íntó (y)inye</u>	(you have just one problem)
<u>(ng)abántu banye lába</u>	(these people are of the same stock)
<u>(ng)umbúzo munye óngaméhlúla</u>	(there is one question which may puzzle him)
<u>(ng)alanga lithíze</u>	(one day)

The foregoing syntactic analysis of the enumerative attempts to demonstrate the close affinity between the enumerative, relative and adjective. However, it goes further. It proves that the current identification of the enumerative is based upon an incomplete analysis. Therefore, for purposes of this investigation, the enumerative is henceforth disregarded. (Vide par. 2.10 above for a phonological and morphological analysis of the enumerative.)

(2) Substitutability

Adjectives, relatives and possessives may substitute one another in the sentence:

<u>íntombí éndála</u>	(an old maiden / girl)
<u>íntombí émhlôphe</u>	(a white maiden / girl)
<u>íntombí kaBhekúyisé</u>	(Bhekuyise's girl-friend)

(3) Co-ordination

(i) The relative can be co-ordinated with other relatives; the adjective with other adjectives:

<u>ábamhlôphe nábamnyáma</u>	(the white and the black people)
<u>ézinkûlu nézincáne</u>	(the small and the big)

(ii) The adjective / relative may be co-ordinated with the demonstrative provided that it belongs to the same noun class with it:

<u>élimhlôphe, naléli</u>	(the white one and this one)
<u>léli, nélímhlôphe</u>	(this one and the white one)
<u>élidála, nalélo</u>	(the old one and the one near you)
<u>lélo, nélidála</u>	(that one, and the old one)

5.2.6. The Adverbial

Fortune's (1955, p. 389 & 1973, p. 123) use of the term adverbial is based upon morphology and meaning, where the semantic reference is explained in a more or less practical or mentalistic fashion. In this research, the term adverbial is not given such a wide interpretation. We limit its application to a class of words structurally characterised by the use of a secondary or modifying prefix ka- (cf. par. 2.13.2. above) prefixed to a nominal stem. The latter stem has a high correlation with the adjective and nominal relative stems. The syntactic characteristics of the adverbial are set out below.

Distribution

(i) The adverbial is used after the nucleus:

<u>múde kabí</u>	(he is very tall)
<u>úbhalê kabilí</u>	(he wrote twice)
<u>nilima kánjaní?</u>	(how do you plough?)

(ii) It may be used after the adjective / relative:

<u>ízitheló ézimnandí kakhûlu</u>	(very tasty fruits)
<u>ímoto énhlé kángáka</u>	(such a beautiful motor-car)
<u>ízimvú éziningí kánjé</u>	(so many sheep)

5.3. Predicative words

5.3.1. The Verb

(1) Co-ordination

Verbs with a potentiality of occurring independently as predicates in the sentence sometimes feature in a single sentence:

siyadlála, siyafúnda, siyasebénza fúthi

(we play, study and work as well)

akádli, akakhulúmi, akányakázi nje sampéla

(he neither eats nor speaks nor moves at all)

The use of the caesura between the various verbs distinguishes the intonation of a co-ordinate sentence from a complex one.

(2) Subordination

(i) The auxiliary verb always precedes the complementary verb as any other verb may precede the complement:

wáze wafíka

(he ultimately arrived)

nihlala nisóla njálo niná

(you are in the habit of criticising)

wábuyé wahámba

(he left again)

ulóba ngâní?

(what do you use for writing)

lé-ngáne íhambísa ókukayísé

(this child walks like his father)

yáná nhlánye

(move to the side)

The auxiliary verb may have cohesion with a following ideophone:

akáthi vu

(he is mum)

lephukè láthi fahla ifasítela

(the window-pane was smashed to pieces)

Some nominals, notably kodwa, kanti and futhi have low cohesion with the verb:

kódwa bafúnaní lába-bántu? / kódwa lába-bántu bafúnaní?

(but what do these people want?)

kantí akázi luthó / kantí lútho, akázi

(so he knows nothing after all)

(ii) The infinitive nouns with the stems -ze, -ba, and -thi always precede the verb:

úkúthi ngihámbe

(so that he may go)

úkúze álalé

(so that he might sleep)

úkúba bámthânde

(so that they might love him)

Auxiliary verbs in (i) and (ii) above, are also related to the complementary verb by means of cohesion.

(3) Cohesion

The verb and the nominal that occurs after it form a bond. Their word-order cannot be altered:

uhlala (ku)phí?

(where do you stay?)

ufúna (í)ní?

(what do you want?)

fúthi ngizomsháya miná / fúthi miná ngizomsháya

(and I shall hit him)

kódwa, kantí and fúthi can also occur at the end of the sentence, thus:

lába-bántu bafúnaní kódwa?

(but what do these people want?)

akázi luthó kantí?

(so he knows nothing after all)

miná ngizomsháya fúthi

(and I will hit him then / again)

The foregoing nominals do not have a rigid positional relationship with the verb like nominal auxiliary verbs with an infinitive prefix or the genuine auxiliary verbs. They occur before or occasionally after the verb to which they are related and are separable from it. Moreover, as Ziervogel (1952, p. 155) rightly points out, they can be followed by any mood.

(4) Direct and Indirect Relationship

(i) Direct Relationship

The verb is directly related to the subject by means of the SC and to the primary object by means of the OC:

ísíthulu síléle SC is used

(the deaf-mute is asleep)

úkúlwa kúbí SC is used

(fighting is bad)

niyawathánda ámasi OC is used

(you are fond of sour-milk)

ángiyídli ínhlanzi OC is used

(I eat no fish)

(ii) Indirect Relationship

The verb is indirectly related to an implicitly-present noun in the subject "slot":

bálímaphí? (where do they plough?)

úyágula (he is ill)

siyapheka (we cook)

(5) Distribution

The verb may be followed by a secondary object:

úmfána úsébéntza kahlé

(the boy works well)

bázohámbe ngesitímela

(they will travel by train)

ukusho kubáni lókho?

(to whom are you referring that?)

ígeja bálíbekê phânsí

(they put the hoe down)

5.3.2. The Copulative

The copulative can be structurally classified into the nominal and verbal copulative, vide par. 3.6.3. above. Further, the nominal copulative can be sub-divided into the demonstrative and the descriptive copulative. The term "descriptive" copulative, however, has no structural relevance. We prefer simply to refer to it as the nominal copulative and retain the term demonstrative copulative for the other type of nominal copulative.

5.3.2.1. The Nominal Copulative

(1) Distribution

(i) The nominal copulative may precede or follow a noun:

ábazáli bádála / bádála ábazáli

(the parents are old)

ámázwe maníngi

(there are many countries)

(ii) The nominal copulative may precede secondary objects, i.e. those which do not readily allow the use of the OC:

bádála kakhôlu

(they are very old)

mncáne kúnaló

(he is smaller than this one)

(iii) It may follow or precede the absolute pronoun:

boná bádála

(they are old)

/

bádála boná

(they are old)

woná maníngi

(they are many)

/

maníngi woná

(they are many)

(iv) It may follow or precede the modifier:

lézi zinkúlu

(these are big)

/

zinkúlu lézi

(these are big)

ókúmnandí kuníngi

(the tasty one is in
plentiful supply)

/

kuníngi ókúmnândi

(the tasty one is in plentiful
supply)

(2) Controlled Relationship

It may have controlled relationship with the noun in the subject "slot":

úmúzi mkhúlu

(the village is big)

ísínkwa siníngi

(there is plenty bread)

(3) Indirect Relationship

It may be related to an implicitly-present noun in the subject "slot":

bádála (they are old)

maníngi (they are many)

(4) Cohesion

The nominal copulative may have a cohesive relationship with a following ideophone:

lín̄ye qhwaba (there is only one)
(y)íntsha ceke (it is brand new)

5.3.2.2. Demonstrative Copulative

(1) Distribution

(i) It may be used before a noun:

nántuyá úkhâlo (there is the ridge over there)
nâzó ízinjá (there are the dogs)

(ii) It may precede or follow a modifier:

nâziyá ézinhlé / ézinhlé nâziyá
(there are the beautiful ones over there)
nântí élimhlôphe / élimhlôphe nântí
(here is the white one)

(iii) It may precede the absolute pronoun:

nânsí yoná (here it is, the one in question)
nâziyá zoná (there they are, the ones in question)

(2) Indirect Relationship

It may be related to an implicitly-present noun:

nângú (here he is), nânsí (here it is), nâmpó (there they are)

5.3.2.3. The Verbal Copulative

It is made up of a SC + a nominal stem or a word.

(1) Distribution

(i) It may follow or precede a noun:

ámanzi ánnándi / ánnándi ámanzi

(the water is tasty)

ísígebéngu sínesíbíndi / sínesíbíndi ísígebéngu

(the criminal is brave)

(ii) It may precede or follow an absolute pronoun:

soná sínesíbíndi / sínesíbíndi soná

(he is brave)

(ditto)

woná ánnándi / ánnándi woná

(it is tasty)

(ditto)

(iii) It may precede or follow a modifier:

ánnándi ábándayó / ábándayó ánnándi

(the cold one is tasty)

sínesíbíndi lési / lési sínesíbíndi

(this one is brave)

(iv) It may precede a secondary nominal:

ánnándi ímpéla (it is very tasty, indeed)

sínesíbíndi kakhûlu (he is very brave)

(2) Direct Relationship

The copulative may be directly related to the subject of the sentence by means of a SC:

úmungcwí úngumuntu

(a ghost is a humanbeing)

úbísi lúngamânzi

(the milk is adulterated)

ôDube bangabâkhi

(Dube and his associates are builders)

N.B. The SC is prefixed to a word which is already in the copulative. Hence, the permissibility of the omission of such a SC in certain circumstances.

(3) Indirect Relationship

It is related to an implicitly-present noun in the subject "slot":

ánnáandi

(it is tasty)

sínesibíndi

(he is brave)

(4) Cohesion

It forms a bond with a following ideophone:

ímhlóphe qwá / qwáa /

(it is snow white)

ílúhláza cwé

(it is bright blue)

N.B. Only copulatives made up of a SC + a relative stem are capable of forming this bond with an ideophone.

As a rule, the copulative is used as a nucleus of the sentence with the subject occurring before or after it.

Copulatives are not transitive, i.e. they do not take objects.

It is important to note that for the purpose of this study, entailed nouns are regarded as case forms. Although there is a striking resemblance between them and the copulative, we do not classify them as such. They are functionally nouns. This holds good for instrumental nouns, see par. 6.1.3.

5.4. Non-Relational Words

5.4.1. The Ideophone

(1) Distribution

(i) It may precede the verb:

besisebénza nayé, phathaphatha, ngízwa úkúthi ákasékho
(we worked with him and all of a sudden news came to say
that he died)

ghû, sâsho isíbhamu
(bang, went the gun)

(ii) It may precede the locative form of the noun:

bâbélwa, muku emlónyeni kuDeliwe
(they were fighting and Deliwe got a blow on the mouth)
guklu ezimbánjeni ngesimolóntshîsi
(a blow was dealt on the ribs with a baton)

(iii) It may precede a noun:

wâyéthi úyasinda, bihli údaka ngakusâsa
(he was trying to plaster the wall, but the plaster came
off on the next day)
bâthê besázihlâlêle, thushu ínyoká égcekéni
(they were relaxed when all of a sudden a snake appeared on
the kraal yard)

(iv) It may follow a noun without the pre-prefix:

magejana phogo, phogo, phogo
(let your hoes go snap!)
zidínjana mbé, mbé, mbé
(little clods hold tight!)

(v) It may follow the nominal copulative or a relative:

<u>íngubo íbomvú klebhu</u>	/	<u>íngubo ébomvú klebu</u>
(the blanket is scarlet)		(a scarlet blanket)
<u>ímbizá ígcwéle swí</u>	/	<u>ímbizá égwele swí</u>
(the pot is full to the brim)		(a brimful pot)

(2) Cohesion

(i) It forms a bond with a preceding auxiliary verb i.e. one containing the stem -thi:

wáthi tshobé endlini

(he disappeared into the house)

wáthi jeqe kanye, wabámba indlela

(he glanced sideways once and then proceeded on his way)

(ii) It forms a close bond with a preceding verb:

vala ngcí

(close tight)

úfê nyá

(he is stone dead)

báphíla saka

(they are in perfect health)

The last two examples could also be regarded as illustrating co-occurrence.

(3) Indirect Relationship

It may be indirectly related to unexpressed words in the sentence, especially the nuclear words:

swayi

(expressing silence)

gu!bhubhu

(sudden starting up)

The meaning of the ideophone so used is always comprehensible in the context of preceding information or discussion.

(4) Interjective Use

The ideophone may be used to "echo" various sounds:

- bham (sound of a gun shot)
ph^hrr (sound made by horse)
pr^hr (sound made by a bird flying off)

5.4.2. The Interjective

Doke (1968, p. 279) rightly observes that the interjective is an emotional word. Indeed, the translations of the interjectives that follow testify of the difficulty of interpreting some of the innermost feelings of a people into a foreign culture. Moreover, the gestures and some of the most complex physical characteristics of the interjective are lost in the process of translation and representation in writing.

The interjective is often exclamatory and is generally used as an interposition. Consequently, it may occur at several convenient positions in the sentence. However, its relationship with other words in the sentence is not always direct, i.e. overt. Nevertheless, in some cases, it plays such an important role that the sentence would not exist without it, cf. instances where it is followed by secondary nouns. Such nouns would remain meaningless without it.

The following are some of the most important syntactic characteristics of the interjective:

- (1) It may be used alone in the sentence:

yébo (yes!)
habé (my!)
hálalá (hurrah / bravo!)

- (2) It takes precedence over the vocative form of the noun:

wé babá (I say, father!)
shvéle mfowéthú (I am sorry brother)

- (3) It may be used before a noun:

kahlé úkuthétha (don't grumble just yet)
wée úGuméde, úthini úGuméde (alas, what is Gumede saying?)

- (4) It may be used before secondary forms of the noun:

kahlé émnyângo (wait a bit, don't come in!)
máyê ngómntanami (alas, for my child - cry of a wailing mother)

- (5) It occurs before the absolute pronoun:

héyi wená Ntaba (hey you Ntaba)
shwéle wená wêghawe (pardon me, you son of a hero -

wená wêghawe is a form of greeting or salute to a fellow tribesman.)

- (6) The interjective is sometimes followed by a copulative:

wée, !ukûfá lókho
(my word, that is death itself! - said in praise of something, say a beautiful cow or a strong motor-car)

áwuu, uyindódana káCele!
(indeed, are you Cele's son then?)

- (7) It features as a complement of an auxiliary verb in the reported speech:

!kade éthi: "ashûla"
(he was shouting in triumph)
úkhála úthi: "!máye-babô"
(he cries and shouts: "alas!")

- (8) It is followed by a verbal "complement" though indirectly:

ashûla, nákhó-ke úkhútshwa yítshe
(serves you right! There you are, struck by a stone)

ehêne, ngákútshéla

(I told you so)

ímbâla, ngingakúthóla?

(my, have I actually found you?)

áwu, ungabé úsazibónêla?

(but couldn't you see that this would land you in trouble?)

- (9) It may be followed by one or more interjectives:

wé! babô! ngéngáne yámi

(oh dear me, for my child - used by women in wailing)

!hiya súka, ángiyí lápho

(don't bother me, I am not going there!)

!háwu súka bândla! wáze wámuhlé úmntanomúntu

(oh! what a beautiful girl!)

- (10) "Doublets"

Some interjectives are frequently employed together so much so that they form "doublets":

!wóo-hee!

(beware!)

wé nánâ

(oh! what a fool you are!)

!máye-babô

(dear me!)

The foregoing analysis shows that the interjective is definitely related to other words in the sentence, though indirectly. The view that the subject of the sentence is not implied is not acceptable, cf. Doke (1968, p. 279).

Further, Doke's (1968, p. 279) classification of the vocative as interjectives is not feasible because vocatives remain nouns both in their morphological and supra-segmental structure.

A few nominals have been adapted as interjectives though:

<u>!ma::doda</u>	cf.	<u>madoda</u>
(good gracious!)		(men!)
<u>bakithi</u>	cf.	<u>bákíthi</u>
(oh dear!)		(my people)
<u>ímpé::la</u>	cf.	<u>ímpéla</u>
(really!)		(the essence of anything)
<u>nkosí-yámi</u>	cf.	<u>ínkósí yámi</u>
(oh, dear)		(my king - in the vocative, only
<u>inkosi</u> changes into <u>nkosi</u> and is used without the possessive)		
<u>dadewêthú kábabá</u>	cf.	<u>dadewêthú!</u>
(I swear by my sister!)		(sister!)

5.5. Summary

5.5.1. The foregoing syntactic analysis yields three main classes of words, viz nominal, predicative and non-relational words.

Certain syntactic criteria can be used for identifying a number of word categories whilst some have limited application. It is mainly the latter type that facilitate the distinction between the various categories. In this manner, nominal, predicative and non-relational words have been identified, and upon further examination, each of these main categories yields word categories. For example, nominal words differ from predicative and non-relational words in the following respects:

- (1) they are not mutually substitutable with them,
- (2) they mainly feature in the subject and complement "slots",
- (3) only nominal words employ a co-ordinate prefixal formative na-,
- (4) except quantitatives, all nominals can be entailed.

The predicative words are mainly identifiable by:

- (1) their distribution. They occupy the central position in the sentence, i.e. the nuclear "slot",
- (2) control. They can always be related to the noun which constitutes the head word in the subject "slot".

The non-relational words are mainly characterised by:

(1) their distribution. Ideophones occur in all three "slots". In the subject and complement "slots" they precede or follow a nominal. In the nuclear "slot", they form complements of the auxiliary and verbal or non-verbal nuclei.

Interjectives, on the other hand, are interpositional and occur alone, before nominals and predicative words.

(2) Ideophones and interjectives share the feature of immutable super-segmental structure in the various positions in the sentence. Consequently, they do not have penultimate length.

5.5.2. Nominal Words

Two main types of nominals have been identified, viz the independent nominal and the dependent nominals. The noun constitutes the independent nominal. Dependent nominals are related to the independent nominal by means of concordial formatives or elements, i.e. by means of control.

Syntactic Characteristics of Nominal Words

(1) The noun is mutually substitutable with the absolute pronoun and can occur in free variation with it. However, the absolute pronoun does not substitute the noun in all cases, cf. par. 5.2.2. above. This shows that although the noun and the absolute pronoun are closely related, they do not have identical function.

(2) The noun is mutually substitutable with the demonstrative. Again, this does not happen indefinitely. Nouns without the pre-prefix cannot be replaced by the demonstrative in the sentence.

(3) The demonstrative, relative and adjective are mutually substitutable. However, when the criterion of contrast is applied, the adjective / relative cannot be used in the place of the demonstrative.

Although the possessive bears a certain kind of relationship to the demonstrative and adjective / relative, it is a "case" form of other nominals. Therefore, it cannot be classified as a word category in its own right, cf. chapter 6.

(4) The quantitative with the stem -dwa always follows the nucleus in word-order or a nominal that occurs after the nucleus. The quantitative with -nke as stem as well as the numeral quantitative may occur before or after the noun or nucleus.

5.5.3. The Predicate

The verb and the copulative occur in the nuclear "slot". They may be indirectly related to the head word in the sentence.

The Verb

The verb may be used in a compound or complex sentence, i.e. co-ordinated or subordinated.

By means of the criterion of control, the verb can be related to the subject and object of the sentence.

It can be related to secondary objects by means of cohesion. It may be followed by a secondary object in its distribution.

The Copulative

The Nominal and Verbal Copulatives

They have similar syntactic characteristics. They have identical distribution. They may precede secondary objects. They are both related to the ideophone by means of cohesion. They may be indirectly related to the subject of the sentence.

The Demonstrative Copulative

Its distribution differs somewhat from that of the other two types of copulative. It is not related to other words by means of control.

Comparison of the Verb with the Copulative

Unlike the verb, the nominal and verbal copulative do not indicate action. They indicate a state in which the subject of the sentence is found. However, such a "state" never occurs in the perfect tense as it is the case with the verb.

The demonstrative copulative has a deictic function.

Therefore, the term "predicate" can only be used with reservation in the syntactic analysis of the copulative. It is evidently called a predicative on account of its distribution in the sentence. The term nucleus is preferred.

5.5.4. Non-Relational Words

The ideophone differs from the interjective, cf. pars. 5.4.1. and 5.4.2. above. They can thus be classified into two categories according to their use.

They, however, share the intonational characteristic of absence of penultimate length as stated earlier. They also do not have class concordance.

5.5.5. Conclusion

According to syntactic analysis, two types of relational words are identified, viz nominal and nuclear words. Nominal and nuclear words share the general feature of concordance. This makes them have greater affinity towards each other.

Non-relational words comprising the ideophone and the interjective form a separate and independent category of words.

The above-named types of words can be summarised as follows:

A. Relational Words

1. Nominal Words: This category comprises the following sub-categories:

- (a) The noun
- (b) The absolute pronoun
- (c) The quantitative
- (d) The demonstrative
- (e) The adjective / relative, and the adverbial

2. Nuclear Words: The following sub-categories are found:

- (a) The verb
- (b) The copulative

B. Non-Relational Words

- 1. The ideophone
- 2. The interjective

C H A P T E R 6

MEANING

6.1. Introduction

6.1.1. A clear distinction must be made between the structural and lexical meanings of words. Lexical meaning is the concern of the lexicographer. Structural meaning, on the other hand, is concerned with "the arrangements of words as parts of speech", see Hartung (1964, p. 27). In this chapter, an attempt is made to show how "the grammatical words" as opposed to lexical words can be harnessed to serve as an aid in determining word categories, cf. Crystal (1967, p. 34f.).

6.1.2. The analysis of structural / grammatical meaning presents difficulty as there is apparently no direct means whereby it can be observed in terms of itself. According to Allen & Van Buren (1971, p. 126), Chomsky (1965) points out the tentative nature of any attempt to delimit the boundaries of syntactic and semantic structures. Chomsky's observation implies that there is a close connection between syntactic and semantic structures. Transformational grammarians refer to the semantic structure as the "deep structure" and the syntactic structure as the "surface structure", see Bierwisch (1970, p. 48f.) Bierwisch (1970, p. 49) goes on to say that the form of semantic representations (i.e. the deep structure) depends on the presupposed syntactic analysis (i.e. the surface structure) to a large extent. Consequently, a syntactic analysis must precede a semantic analysis. The important question to ask is: precisely what aspect of syntactic analysis would be helpful in solving our problem of classifying words into categories? Glinz's (1970, p. 34) plea for the employment of a working hypothesis based on the phono-morphological and the morpho-syntactic structures of words appears to offer a clue to the solution of our problem.

Further, Allen & Van Buren (1971, p. 113) recommend the

investigation of the following properties of words in terms of any presumed feature of meaning:

(i) their productivity - i.e. their "open-endedness"

<u>sibóna...</u> (we see...)	cf.	<u>sibónwa</u> <u>sibonísa</u> <u>sibonána</u> <u>sibonéla</u>	(we are seen by...) (we show / advise) (we see each other) (we see for / on behalf of)
<u>ímvu</u> (a sheep)	cf.	<u>ímvukázi</u> <u>ímvána</u>	(a ewe) (a small sheep)

Words with radical extensions or other suffixal formative incorporated may be considered to be "productive".

(ii) their freedom of combination

This property can be sub-divided into:

(a) Affinity

The binary combination of the noun and the verb:

Whereas the description of the relationship between the units of a sentence is generally viewed in terms of the predicate as the main axis, see Platt (1971, p. 10) and Fillmore (1968, p. 21) the primary or nuclear relationship of words in the Zulu sentence places the independent nominal and the verbal nucleus on a level of parity. Bloomfield's (1916, p. 21) term: beatus ille used in respect of Slavic and Latin may be applicable here. Morpho-syntax shows that the noun and the verbal nucleus have a unique semantic relationship where the one unit cannot exist without the other in the sentence:

<u>úmuntu úléle</u>	(the person is asleep)
<u>ísítsha sífíle</u>	(the vessel is broken)
<u>ámádoda áyaphúza</u>	(the men are drinking), etc.

The independent nominal as central axis: The independent nominal forms an axis around which words semantically related to it are generated. These words show greater structural and semantic

relationship to the independent nominal than to the verbal nucleus. Their morphological structure and syntactic function suggest a further classification of nominals into the traditional absolute pronoun, the demonstrative, the quantitative as well as the adjective and the relative, cf. pars. 5.2.1. & 5.3.1. above.

(b) Selection

Chafe (1971, p. 96f.) postulates that the total human conceptual universe may be divided into two major areas, viz the area of the verb and the area of the noun. The area of the verb is said to embrace states and events and the other, "things". Chafe assumes that the verb is central and the noun peripheral in the sentence. He goes on to say that the verb determines what the rest of the sentence must be. Further, he maintains that:

... it is the verb which dictates the presence and character of the noun, rather than vice versa.

The foregoing statement illustrates the importance of semantic structure in language. In fact, Chafe (1971, p. 73) contends that semantic structure is a crucial component of language. The validity of this statement is illustrated by the following sentences:

<u>A</u>		<u>B</u>
<u>úmfána úyápheka</u> (the boy cooks)	cf.	* <u>ûbîsi lúyápheka</u> (milk cooks)
<u>ísitímela síhámbele</u> (the train is gone)	cf.	* <u>ísífu síhámbele</u> (the bird-trap is gone)
<u>ízinkomó ziyálamba</u> (the cattle are starving)	cf.	* <u>ízinkuní ziyálamba</u> (firewood is starving)

Although the antecedents of the nucleus in examples under columns A & B are all structurally nouns, there appears to be something lacking in the nouns of column B. We suggest that the two sets of nouns differ in their semantic specification.

úmfána and ísitímela can be specified as potent nouns. This means that they have the power to do something whereas ûbîsi and

ísífu are not specified as such. ízinkômo is animate and ízinkùni, inanimate, hence its failure to combine with ziyalamba. Further, úyápheka and síhámbele are marked as action and process because as Chafe (1971, p. 102) puts it:

... a verb which is specified as a state or process requires the accompaniment of a potent noun...

The foregoing discussion touches upon a very important field of noun-verb relationships - a field which has not yet been fully investigated in Zulu. Naturally, the information obtained from it must be applied cautiously and perhaps with some reservation. However, the little that has been established in it is sufficiently indicative of the nature of relationships which may be applied satisfactorily for the purpose of this research.

Chafe's assertion that the verb is central and the noun peripheral cannot be wholly accepted in respect of Zulu. The noun serving as the subject of the sentence is always an element of the nuclear sentence in Zulu if the principle of beatus ille enunciated earlier is observed. The noun is in binary combination with the verb. Therefore, only the noun occurring in the complement "slot" is peripheral, e.g.

<u>úDúbe úsébéntza émgodíni</u>	(Dube works underground, in a mine)
<u>ngilima ngemíkhôno</u>	(I use a hoe for ploughing)
<u>ízwe lidliwé (y)ízithá</u>	(the country has been conquered by the enemy)

The nouns occurring in the complement "slot" in the preceding sentences are also subject to selectional specification of the verb applicable when the noun is the antecedent of the verb. This point will be illustrated later.

(iii) The size of substitution class in which they occur

The noun and the absolute pronoun are mutually substitutable to a very large extent; the adjective and the relative are also mutually substitutable, see pars. 5.2.2. & 5.2.5. above. However, the noun is not mutually substitutable with the adjective / relative

nor the quantitative although it can be substituted by the demonstrative to a limited extent. This is an indication of the range of nominals with which the noun can be substituted. More will be said about this later.

6.1.3. Other Criteria for Determining Meaning

(1) Semantic Associations of Words

According to Sandmann (1954, p. 159) all the words of a language can be classified into names of things and words adapted to denote relationship between words. The latter view is included in the discussion of "case". We, therefore, confine ourselves to the observation that some words of a language are names of things; e.g.

isínkwa (bread)
úmthwálo (load / burden)
ísíhlahla (tree)

Sandmann's view appears to support the contention held by many linguists that most words in a language have semantic associations. Allen & Van Buren (1971, p. 141), for example, maintain that proper names designate objects meeting a condition of spatio-temporal contiguity and colour words of a language divide the colour spectrum into segments and that artefacts are defined according to their function, human goals and needs.

(2) Conjunction and Embedding

In conjoined sentences, each structure preserves
... its 'sentential' status within the
larger sentence.

Cf. Lyons (1969, p. 266)

For examples, see co-ordination in par. 5.1.2. above.

If a structure functions as a constituent of another sentence when it could function as the underlying structure for a sentence, then it is said to be embedded, see Lyons (1969, p. 266).

In other words, a hierarchical relationship exists between an "upper" and a "lower" or subordinate clause. The "lower" or subordinate clause is said to be "embedded" in the upper clause, see Langacker, (1972, p. 137). E.g.

sihámba sódwa (we are going alone), which can be analysed into: siyahámba (we are going) and sisódwa (we are alone).
úphúphê éfile (he dreamt having died) which can be analysed into: úphúphile (he dreamt) and úfile (he is dead).

(3) Case

Traditionally, declensions were recognised in the description of Zulu, cf. Grout (1859), Stuart (1906), and Wanger (1917 & 1927). However, Doke (1961, p. 42) maintains that the recognition of declensions "was certainly not Bantu". Cole (1961, p. 105) also stresses the need for Bantu language description to be based on its own internal structure rather than a model of another language. In 1971, however, Low (see p. 21) made the following observation:

There is no reason to doubt that one can associate the subject-object, possessive, connective and instrumental forms of the noun in the surface structure of Bantu languages with the case forms of other languages.

A closer examination of the meaning of "case" is imperative before an attempt is made to set out the case forms employed in this study. Fillmore (1968, p. 21) uses the term "case" to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship and the term "case form"

... to mean the expression of a case relationship in a particular language - whether through affixation, suppletion, use of clitic particles or constrains of word-order.

The basis of identification of case forms is manifested in the structural changes in the noun which is associated with the verb. Platt (1971, p. 16) prefers the term "grammatical meaning" to Fillmore's "case" evidently because the latter term

has always been associated with a surface structure phenomenon.

For purposes of this investigation, the term "grammatical meaning" is preferred because:

(i) "case" as postulated by Fillmore (1968) and Robinson (1970, p. 61) appears to confine the syntactic-semantic relationship to the verb and the noun as evidenced by formal changes, the use of characteristic function words, etc. Cf.

the man's hat (genitive) where the noun man has undergone a formal change.

give it to uncle (dative), where the noun uncle is in the dative case which is signified by the preposition to.

In Zulu, on the other hand, either the verbal nucleus or the independent nominal form the basic axis that indicates changes. Moreover, some relationships are caused by structural changes of the verb itself, leaving the nominal unaffected; cf.

ábantu bábúzwa ámapási (passes are demanded from people)

ézami ízingáne zikhíshwa inyumbázana (my children are treated cruelly / with discrimination)

On the other hand, some verbal relationships are indirect and, therefore, not evident from the surface structure:

ígeja, lílíma úmáma (mother ploughs with the hoe)

cf. úmáma, úlíma ngégeja (ditto)

The noun úmáma in the foregoing example clearly has an agentive import although no structural changes have occurred to it. This confirms Louw's (1971, p. 6) remark that formal distinction in nouns is not an indispensable condition for the recognition of the various case forms. Indeed, the case forms of nouns in languages which use prepositions is further indication of this fact.⁵ All this goes to show that case indicates semantic relations between words and has much to do with the freedom of combination of words. Semantic relations of words indicated by structural changes in certain words or by means of other devices do not imply a re-classification of such words into new word categories or word classes. Case forms merely indicate different semantic relationships that certain classes of words may enter with others.

(ii) Fillmore's (1968) "case" would exclude the syntactic-semantic relationship where the independent nominal is the central axis of relationship. This is a peculiarity of Zulu and other Bantu languages where class relationship is used in addition to other types of relationship.

The foregoing discussion aims to indicate in broad outline the possibility of the employment of case in the identification of word categories in Zulu. It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the validity of the employment of case in the Bantu languages because Louw (1971) has already done this. It now remains for us to indicate what facets of case will be applied in this study.

Case Forms

It is convenient to discuss grammatical meaning under the following case forms in this research: the possessive, the locative, the agentive and the instrumental, the identificative copulative, the comparative and the vocative forms.

(a) The Possessive

The possessive is a modifier according to syntactic analysis. It may precede or follow the noun it modifies:

ímpuphu yamábele cf. éyámábele ímpuphu
(ground sorghum) (as for ground sorghum)

ímízamo yábhûlu / yábámnyama cf. éyábhûlu /
(the efforts of the big / black ones) éyábámnyama
(as for the efforts
of the big / black
ones)

ísímilo salábo cf. ésalábo ísímilo
(the characters of those) (as for the characters of those)

The possessive differs notably from the other modifiers. It is a derivative nominal, derived as it is from the noun, absolute pronoun, demonstrative or the adjective / relative.

It may also be derived from secondary nominals like locatives. Accordingly, in the semantic structure, it remains a noun, absolute pronoun, demonstrative or adjective / relative. It is a modifier on account of the surface structural devices, viz possessive concords.

In the examples given above, the noun, adjective / relative and the demonstrative does the work of a modifier, i.e. attributing characteristics of possession to the noun, adjective / relative or demonstrative concerned.

(b) The Locative

Fillmore (1968, p. 24) defines the locative as:

... the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb.

In Zulu, however, the locative does not only have a place or spatial orientation. In addition, it may also have a time orientation, see Louw (1971, p. 16) and also cf. niní?, ékuséni in the examples below. It also identifies both the verbal and non-verbal nuclei as illustrated in the following examples:

ínjá íléle émthunzíní

(the dog is lying in the shade)

íbhanóyi lindíza ésibhakabhakêni

(the plane is cruising in the air)

bafikê ékuséni

(they arrived in the morning)

ufikê niní?

(when did you arrive?)

úHlabísa (ng)umâkhi éMatikulú

(Hlabisa is a builder at Matikulu)

úkudlá (y)inalá éhlobo

(food is plentiful in summer)

uvuthwavuthwê maniní?

(how soon you have ripened!)

asázi kwábadála / kwábámpôfu

(much depends on the old ones / the poor)

úsho kúló

(he is referring to this one)

No new part of speech is formed in the locative. The noun, adjective / relative or demonstrative so used remains a noun, adjective / relative or demonstrative respectively.

(c) The Agentive and the Instrumental Forms

The instrument is an object which plays a role in effecting a process without it being the cause or motivating force or instigator, see Chafe (1971, p. 152). According to Chafe (*ibid.*) the instrumental form is subsidiary to the agent - it is something which the agent uses. The instrumental form is used with a verb specified as an action-process.

The foregoing discussion shows that the agentive differs basically from the instrumental in the following ways: the agent is the instigator of the action, it has self-motivation and most agent nouns tend to be animate. An agent noun is dictated by an action verb. The agent noun frequently co-occurs with a patient noun in the sentence. This happens when the verb is specified as a state or process (provided that it is not ambient, i.e. a type of verb used without a noun, as well), see Chafe (1971, p. 98). A noun described as a patient noun indicates what is in a particular state.

In the discussion of entailment in par. 5.1.2. above, it became evident that items that participate in object relationship with the verb are also capable of participating in the subject relationship. The agentive form readily complies with such a requirement. However, the noun in the instrumental form does not readily occur in the subject "slot", e.g.

<u>íncwadí íbhálwa (ng)úthísha</u>	cf.	<u>úthísha úbhála íncwadí</u>
(the letter is written by the teacher)		(the teacher writes the letter)

Whereas the following change is feasible:

ínyama ísíkwá ngómése cf. úmmése úsíka ínyama
(meat is cut with a knife) (a knife is used for cutting
meat)

The following example:

úTózi úhamba ngezinyáwo (Tozi travels on foot)
cannot be turned into
*ízinyáwo, zihamba úTózi (The feet are used by Tozi for
travelling)

It is evident that the agentive behaves differently from the instrumental in certain circumstances. It is, however, outside the scope of this study to go into all the intricacies governing the relationships of verbs and nouns. It is nevertheless clear that selection and other factors play an important role. On account of these differences, it has been decided to keep the agentive and instrumental forms apart in the discussion of case forms.

The Agentive Form

The following examples illustrates the use of the agentive form:

íngubo íthúngwa (ng)úmáma
(the garment is sewn by mother)
ímbuzi íhlínzwa (ng)abáfána
(the goat is skinned by the boys)
íncwadí íbhalwê (ng)ómncáne / (ng)óbomvú
(the leeter was written by the young one / the
light-skinned one)
úhlúshwa yilókho
(he is troubled by that)

The agentive noun / adjective / relative or demonstrative is not a new class of word. It has only entered into a different kind of semantic relationship. It is the agent of the action.

The Instrumental Form

The instrumental form which indicates the means whereby an action is brought about, cf.

bámvimba ngamándla

(they stopped him with force)

kubangúlwa ngôsungúlo

(a thorn in the flesh is removed with an awl)

bámgwaza ngómkhôlu / ngóbúthuntu

(they stabbed him with a big one / a blunt one)

ngizwê ngalówo

(I heard from that one)

Again, the nominals used in the instrumental form do not form new categories of nominals. They still belong to the original classes of words, viz nouns, adjectives / relatives and demonstratives.

(d) The Identificative Copulative

A noun featuring in the nuclear "slot" is said to be a copulative. Such a noun has a nuclear function. Consequently, the noun that constitutes the subject of the sentence occurring in the subject "slot" is not "predicated" by another noun but simply associated with it. The noun used in the nuclear "slot" is, therefore, said to be identified with its subject. E.g.

úbabá (ú) / (ng)umméli

(father is a solicitor)

ímfene (y)isílwane

(a baboon is an animal)

lába-báfána (ng)amáwêle

(these boys are twins)

The identificative copulative form of the noun is neither a verb nor a copulative proper, see chapters 3 and 5. It is mainly called a copulative on account of its modified initial portion. But it does not cease to be a noun at all. The same form of the noun sometimes features in the complement "slot" when

it functions as an agentive form, e.g.

sitshelwê (ng)umméli

(we were told by the solicitor)

úthúnwa (y)inkúlúmo

(the speech does not become him)

In this regard even other nominals may be used, e.g.

wehlúlwa (ng)ómdála / (ng)óqôtho

(he is surpassed by the old one / the honest one)

nikhohliswa yiló

(you are deceived by this one)

In the foregoing examples, the semantic relationship of the nominals are in the agentive case and no longer in the identificative case. However, the nominals concerned remain nouns, adjectives / relatives, demonstratives, etc. in each case. The change in form merely indicates new semantic relationships between these nominals and other classes of words.

(e) The Comparative

The verbal and non-verbal nuclei identify the association between the noun in the subject "slot" with that in the complement "slot". Such association can be described as the comparative case form. E.g.

úDudú úlwa noNómkhôsi

(Dudu and Nomkhosi are fighting)

ábafána básébénza njéngamádoda

(boys work like men)

lési-sicáthulo sikhúlu kúnalésiyá

(this shoe is bigger than the one over there)

íngcôno kú'néndála / kú'nébânzi

(it is better than the old one / the broad one)

bavúna njéngábahlé / njéngábáguláyo

(they reap like the good ones / the sick)

The nominals used in the case form above do not change the class of words to which they belong. When used in the

comparative form, they enter into a different semantic relationship with the nucleus - a different relationship they have towards it as simple nominals.

N.B. The formal contrasts of the nominals caused by the possessive, locative, agentive, instrumental and the comparative are simply an adjustment in the syntactic function. They are a surface structure representation and do not alter the semantic structure of the lexical items.

In respect of the adjective / relative, the syntactic devices of prefixing certain concords or concordial formatives to the noun are simply transferred to the next available nominal if the noun is not expressed. Cf.

<u>índlebé yómuntu ómdála</u> (the ear of an old person)	cf. <u>índlebé yómdála</u> (the old one's ear)
<u>báhlála ézindlini ézímhlôphe</u> (they live in white houses)	cf. <u>báhlála kwézímhlôphe</u> (they live in white ones)
<u>bámwazá ngómmése ómkhûlu</u> (they stabbed him with a big knife)	cf. <u>bámwazá ngómkhûlu</u> (they stabbed him with a big one)
<u>íngcónó kúnekámelo élibânzi</u> (it is better than a broad room)	cf. <u>íngcónó kúnelíbânzi</u> (it is better than a broad one)

The viewpoint expressed in the preceding paragraph can be justified on the following grounds:

(a) Earlier, we supported the view that a qualificative used without the noun to which it refers, still qualifies that noun, cf. indirect relationship in chapter 5. It is thus reasonable to conclude that even in its "case" representation, the adjective / relative has not changed its function.

(b) The fact that the adjective / relative does not form the identificative copulative except when it follows the demonstrative, is further proof that the case representation of the adjective / relative only has a bearing upon the noun to which it refers.

(c) Chafe's (1971, p. 203) term quantifier in reference to semantic elements indicated by surface structure elements such as all, any, some, certain, a few appears to clarify the conventional Bantu term quantitative when dealing with meaning. The quantifier

is also a qualificative but does not form case relationships either. This is mainly because it is never used discontinuously with the noun to which it refers. Further, when it precedes the noun, its intonation is such that it forms a composite word with it, cf. bónke ábántu, zónke ízintó often rendered as bónk' ábántu and zónk' ízintó respectively. This is unlike the behaviour of the adjective / relative or possessive preceding a noun where a kind of pause or caesura occurs in between the two words. When the quantifier occurs after the nucleus, it is embedded and, therefore, no need arises for it to participate in case representation.

The examples of "case" forms used above illustrate that:

(i) The adjective / relative qualifies the latent noun which has a possessive relationship with the antecedent occurring in the surface structure in each case.

(ii) The adjective / relative qualifies the latent noun which would normally be in the locative, agentive, instrumental or comparative case.

The adjective / relative, therefore, remains a modifier of the noun in its grammatical meaning, i.e. case representation. Its case forms are purely a syntactic manifestation and do not affect its basic semantic structure.

The "semantic relationships" into which the demonstrative may enter with other classes of words can be treated along similar lines with the foregoing discussion in connection with the adjective / relative. In other words, the case representations of the demonstrative can be regarded as basically surface structure manifestations of the grammatical meaning of the noun.

To sum up, the case forms of the adjective / relative and demonstrative are surface structures related to the case forms of the noun to which they refer. In other words, case as evidence of semantic relationships is fundamentally directly concerned with the noun. Accordingly, it is unnecessary to use case forms as a means of identifying the adjective / relative or demonstrative. Case is irrelevant to them.

(f) The Vocative

Nouns used vocatively are employed in addressing human beings or objects regarded as such, especially in folk-tales. The vocative is thus primarily used in addressing human beings. It is always used in the second person (singular or plural).

E.g.

<u>mfána!</u> (boy!)	cf. <u>úmfána</u> (a boy)	
<u>Chakijana!</u> (Chakijana!)	cf. <u>úChákijana</u> (character in Zulu folk-lore)	
<u>mzála!</u> (cousin!)	cf. <u>úmzála</u> (my cousin)	
<u>zinyâwo!</u> (feet!)	cf. <u>ízinyâwo</u> in <u>zinyawó zâmi ngibélêthe</u> (feet)	(literally: "let my feet carry me" meaning "let me flee away")

The structural changes in the above nouns when used to address human beings does not change their lexical structure as nouns. Therefore, they remain nouns.

6.1.4. The criteria discussed in pars. 6.1.2. & 6.1.3. above, will, where applicable, be used to establish the sub-categories of words in the following categories:

- (a) Nominal words
- (b) Nuclear words, and
- (c) Non-relational words.

As observed in Chapter 5, nominal and nuclear words constitute relational words.

6.2. Nominal Words

6.2.1. The Noun

(1) Binary Combination

Binary combination represents the nuclear sentence in Zulu,

cf. par. 6.1.2. above. The relationship between the word in the subject "slot" and that in the nucleus is the grammatical meaning of these words. The word occurring in the subject "slot" in such a relationship is always a noun. The morphological structure of the verb and the noun as well as their syntactic relationships in the nuclear sentence in Zulu clearly shows this, cf. chapter 3 and par. 5.3.1.

Louw's (1971, p. 2) words are significant, viz

The close relationship between class gender and syntactic relationships is therefore apparent.

Syntactic relationships are surface structures, but they also generally imply semantic relationships. Concordial relationship of a special kind, i.e. the one identifying a verb by means of a noun or vice versa is relevant here. The words in the subject "slot" in the following cases are identified as nouns because of the syntactic-semantic relationships obtaining between the verb and the subject of the sentence:

úNókúthúla úphéka úkudlá

(Nokuthula cooks food)

úmbîla úyakhúla

(mealies grow)

ámanzí áyagobhóza

(water flows)

(2) The noun as central axis

Class gender may cause concordial agreement between the noun and the possessive, demonstrative, adjective / relative and the quantifier. The resultant syntactic relationships do not end in the surface structure but penetrate the deep structure - meaning. The words so related with the noun are modifiers in the deep structure. See par. 5.2.1. for details.

(3) Selection

(a) Selection of the noun in the nuclear sentence

The action verbs íyáhlaba (it gores) and úyasinda (she plasters) in ínkunzi íyáhlaba (the bull is ill-tempered) and únina úyasinda (his mother is plastering) respectively are related to potent nouns ínkûnzi (the bull) and únina (his mother). úléle and lújiyile in úmntwana úléle (the child is asleep) and ûbisi lújiyile (the milk has curdled) respectively are specified as a state and, therefore, accompanied by patient nouns, see Chafe (1971, p. 98). In short, the verbs in these examples select the nouns which form their antecedents. Selection thus provides an excellent means of identifying nouns in the nuclear sentence.

Co-reference is a term used when two elements in a sentence are taken to refer to the same objects or individuals. In Zulu syntactic structure, the SC and the reflexive formative may refer to one and the same object, i.e. a noun in the deep structure. Syntactic structure permits the deletion (i.e. omission) of a constituent(s) from the sentence when identical constituents occur elsewhere within the same sentence (see Langacker, 1973, p. 130). This procedure is described as reduction. The reduction rules found in the Bantu languages do not operate identically with those found in the Germanic languages. Cf.

* <u>úbabá úthánda úbabá</u> (father likes father)	vs.	<u>úbabá úyazithánda</u> (father likes himself)
* <u>ínkomó yâfelá ínkómó</u> (the beast died for the beast)	vs.	<u>ínkomó yâzifêla</u> (the beast died on its own)

(b) Selection of the noun in the complement "slot"

(i) A verb with an OC incorporated

A verb with an OC expressed is always related to a noun which generally occurs in the complement "slot":

úbabá úyayisháya íngáne
(father beats (it), the child)

ínjá íyalizónnda íkátí
(the dog hates (it), the cat)

(ii) A verb with a radical extension -is- / -el- incorporated

Some radical extensions are useful in the identification of the noun in the complement "slot". For example, a verb with the causative radical extension incorporated frequently selects a primary or secondary noun as the following examples show:

úmáma úfúndisa íngáne
(mother teaches the child)
ízinsízwa ziphakamisa ízinsîmbi
(youths lift irons / weights)
léyo-ndoda yâfisa ókwênjá
(that man died like a dog)

The subject acts upon an object, which is a noun, or the action of the subject is compared with that of the noun object.

The verb with applied radical extension -el- incorporated may show purposive action performed by the subject towards a noun constituting the object of the sentence:

úmfána wokhela ísíbani
(the boy lights the lamp)
úbabá úthengéla úThandí íjazi
(father buys Thandi an overcoat)

The action of the subject towards the object (i.e. a noun) may have a spatial import. Nouns occurring in the complement "slot" in such case have a locative meaning:

úmbîla wôméla émasimîni
(the mealies dried up in the fields)
ísithúnywa sínamathiséla íphepha ódongéni
(the messenger sticks the paper onto the wall)

It is thus clear that a verb with the applied radical

extension -el- incorporated is generally related to a noun in the complement "slot". This is a useful means of identifying the noun.

The nucleus incorporating the passive radical extension -w- is followed by agents and non-agents. Agents are specified as potent. Non-agents may be called instrumental nouns, see Louw (1971, p. 9). Since both agentive and instrumental nouns are used with a nucleus specified as process and action verbs incorporating the extension -w-, it is convenient to classify the agentive and instrumental nouns under case forms. These have already been treated in par. 6.1.3. above. This discussion aims to indicate another way of identifying nouns by using the verbal nucleus as the starting point.

(iii) A negative verb without the OC incorporated

Only a noun is capable of occurring immediately after a negative form of the verb without the OC incorporated:

ákáyí ndáwo

(he is going nowhere)

índoda ayithwéle luthó

(the man is not carrying anything)

úDeliwe akafúni malí

(Deliwe does not want any money)

(4) Size of substitution class in which it may occur

The noun may be replaced by an absolute pronoun in the sentence but not vice versa. E.g.

íntambo ígqashúkîle

(the rope has snapped)

cf. yoná ígqashúkîle

(it has snapped)

ábafazí báyalima

(the women are ploughing)

cf. boná báyalima

(they are ploughing)

ímithí iyaghákaza

(the trees are blossoming)

cf. yoná iyaghákaza

(they are blossoming)

A noun does not participate in substitutions. For

example, in a sentence like yoná íggashúkile (it has snapped) a noun like íngomó, íntombí, etc. which belongs to the same noun class as the absolute pronoun would be inappropriate. The reason is that only a non-agent can apply in this example.

The substitutive absolute pronoun gives little or no indication of the semantic structure of the noun it represents in Zulu except in the 1st and 2nd persons and 3rd person (singular). This is unlike the pronoun in the Germanic languages which can be marked as [animate / inanimate], [human / inhuman], etc. characteristics which facilitate the choice of a verb that is marked appropriately (semantically) to harmonise with the noun concerned.

The foregoing remarks apply equally to the demonstrative which may substitute a noun without it being substituted by any noun, i.e. a noun chosen at random in the relevant class. Further, the demonstrative is not helpful in the identification of the semantic structure of the noun.

Contrary to the current view held by many linguists in the Bantu languages that the adjective may substitute a noun and thus serve as a pronoun, we agree with Ziervogel (1959, p. 70) when he says that:

... it is not evident that there has been a change of function if the noun is omitted or is following upon the qualificative: it (the qualificative) still qualifies a noun.

Moreover, the fact that nouns are marked as [animate / inanimate] [potent / non-potent], etc. in their semantic structure, the adjective / relative is incapable of substituting such semantic characteristics of nouns. Cf.

<u>úmuhlwá ómningi / ónjé</u> (a lot of ants / such ants)	(noun marked as [+animate], and [+potent])
<u>ámanzi ántóti / ámahlé</u> (sweet / clear water)	(noun marked as [-animate]; [-potent])

The modifiers are not marked as animate / inanimate, potent / non-potent in each of the above examples.

(5) Semantic Association

The noun is generally associated with the designation of objects, ideas, feelings and emotions. Proper names and place names are also classified as nouns.

6.2.2. The Absolute Pronoun

The absolute pronoun is used in the place of the noun in the sentence, see par. 5.2.2. above. The absolute pronoun can, however, only have semantic relevance if the noun it replaces is present in the linguistic or non-linguistic context, and that it has a referential tie with it, see Chafe (1971, p. 54). In other words, lexical units already referred to or known can be pronominalized.

The foregoing remark also applies to the absolute pronoun used in the various case forms. Its semantic structure depends upon the occurrence of non-new lexical items to which it has reference. This shows that the absolute pronoun is only indirectly or obliquely a semantic unit.

6.2.3. The Quantitative

The quantitative (or quantifier, as Chafe calls it) is specified as new, see Chafe (1971, p. 228f.). The fact is that in respect of singular nouns, the information conveyed is that of completeness, e.g. ísigôdo (a log of wood), and in respect of plural nouns, a generic noun is used, ábantu (people) and may be regarded as inclusive. However, the use of an additional lexical item to either the singular or plural form communicates new information. The nuclei in the following examples are in the plural form and yíló signifies that the singular noun to which it has reference has been fully identified:

babhála bónke

(they all write)

nâzí zónke

(here they are, all of them)

yíló lónke

(it is the whole of it)

The quantifier thus adds new information, i.e. the lexical unit all / the whole of it. This applies in respect of quantifiers using -nke as the stem.

The quantifier with -dwa as stem always occurs after the nucleus, see par. 5.2.3. above. Although it sometimes occurs discontinuously with the nucleus i.e. the predicate, it is never discontinuous with the noun, absolute pronoun, or modifier which precedes it. This shows its closer affinity to nominals when its distribution is examined. It also communicates additional information in this respect and can be specified as new because the nominals are semantically complete without it (vide par. 5.2.3.).

The quantifier with -dwa as stem appears to be "embedded" in another sentence in each of the following examples:

ló-múzi wakhê wódwa

(this village is isolated)

ámádoda ásébénza ódwa

(the men work alone)

ngifúnda ngédwa

(I study / read alone)

These sentences can be rendered separately as follows:

ló-múzi úwódwa

(this village is alone)

ámádoda áwódwa

(the men are alone)

ngingédwa

(I am alone)

cf. ló-múzi wakhíle

(this village is established)

cf. ámádoda áyasébénza

(the men work)

cf. ngiyafúnda

(I am studying / reading)

In the surface structure, the repetition of the SC in the embedded nucleus is redundant although it is occasionally encountered in some idiolects, cf.

líhlála lílódwa (he, i.e. the old man stays alone)

ngámboná éyêdwa (I saw him alone)

The foregoing information appears to re-affirm our earlier observation that the quantifier with -dwa as stem may be classified as an adverbial modifier.

The use of the quantifier as an embedded nucleus shows that although it is fundamentally a nominal, it may occur as a lexical unit within the nucleus. In such a case, it is specified as state.

The quantifier with the numeral stems with -bilí, -thâthu, etc. occurs before or after the noun or nucleus, see par. 5.2.3. above. Its significance is inclusive, meaning "both", "all three", "all four", etc. The important thing about this type of quantifier is that its use has reference to nominals only - i.e. nominals in their primary or secondary forms.

When it occurs after the nucleus, it appears to have an adverbial function, i.e. modifying the nucleus.

6.2.4. The Adjective / Relative

The adjective and the relative are mutually substitutable, see par. 5.2.5. above. They can also be substituted by the demonstrative. This shows that they all belong to the same class of lexical items.

The adjective / relative is generally associated with describing the noun. The characteristics of a noun may be expressed by means of the adjective / relative.

The adjective / relative shares a substantial amount of its lexical items with nouns. In addition, the relative may employ lexical items which are generally associated with the verb.

6.2.5. The Demonstrative

In some of the current grammars in the Bantu languages, much importance is attached to the co-occurrence or otherwise of the noun with the demonstrative. A demonstrative co-occurring with a noun is regarded as a pronoun by some linguists and as a qualificative by others. When it occurs without the noun to which it refers it is also regarded as a pronoun. In our

opinion, the demonstrative modifies the noun occurring before or after it. Its occurrence before the noun merely brings it into greater focus. It makes it emphatic. When it occurs without the noun, it still modifies the noun to which it refers.

The occurrence of the demonstrative before or after the nucleus has no direct bearing upon such a nucleus but it is still related to the latent noun. It qualifies the noun to which it is related. The same holds good when it occurs before or after the adjective / relative.

The demonstrative always modifies the noun with regard to the relative distance / knowledge with regard to the speaker and the person spoken to.

The demonstrative is generally associated with a word that qualifies a noun according to its relative distance away from the speaker and the person spoken to. It also includes experiences (expressed by nouns) which may be intimate or remote in relation to the passage of time or the knowledge which the speaker or the person spoken to might have about them. Consequently, the demonstrative may have a bearing upon visible objects and abstract things which are related to the speaker and the person addressed.

Examples:

(a) Intimacy / Proximity

lési-sifó sízomthátha (this illness will kill him,
i.e. the illness I/we know of)

úphí lówo-muthí (where's that medicine, i.e. the one
you told me about / you know?)

yíní léyo? (what's that near you / known to you?)

(b) Remoteness

kúnjání lápho éKápa? (how is Cape Town?, lit. how
is Cape Town where you are? The second demonstrative is used
regardless of the distance between the questioner and the person
addressed).

angiyázi léyo-ndaba (I don't know that - indicating
remoteness of knowledge / understanding).

léya-ndaba ówawungixóxela yoná... (that matter you

told me about... indicating remoteness in time / lack of understanding).

6.3. Nuclear Words

6.3.1. The Verb

(1) Productivity

The simple form of the verb may incorporate radical extensions which add new meanings to the basic meaning of the root. The use of extensible radicals is a peculiarity of the verb. These extensions may cause the verb to express meanings such as "by", "for", "on behalf of", etc. E.g.

<u>sibhála....</u>	cf.	<u>sibhalwa....</u>
(we write / register)		(we are registered)
		<u>sibhalána....</u>
		(we are busy writing)
		<u>sibhalísa....</u>
		(we cause to be registered)
		<u>sibhaléla....</u>
		(we write to / on behalf of)

(2) Freedom of Combination

Chafe (1971, p. 96) contends that the verb embraces states (i.e. conditions, qualities) and events. This is confirmed by Van Eeden (1956, p. 230f.) who refers to different types of action expressed by the verb, viz momentary or durative action; process and stative action. The verb may express any of these by means of its property of selection when it is related to the subject of the sentence (see par. 6.2.1. above); e.g.

<u>úmpzála úléle</u>
(my cousin is asleep)
<u>ámádoda áyaphúza</u>
(the men are drinking)

ínyoni ípháphile
(the bird flew away)

(3) Semantic Association

The verb is generally associated with action connected with a noun(s). It also expresses the state in which the noun used with it is found. A process connected with a noun may also be expressed.

(4) Conjunction and Embedding

Conjunction is a distinctive feature of the verb. On the surface structure, the conjunction of nominals differs from that of the verb in its linguistic structure. For example, the conjunction of nominals employs a connective formative whereas the intonation pattern of conjunction in the verb is marked by the use of pauses or caesura. In its semantic structure, the use of conjunction in the verb differs from that of nominals in the potentiality of the constituent verbs to form independent sentences. On the other hand, two or more nominals occurring in the same sentence by means of conjunction do not have the capacity to form independent sentences (see pars. 5.2. and 5.3.1. above).

Besides the formation of subordinate clauses (see par. 5.3.1.), embedding is mainly found in the nominalisation of verbs. The verb stem may serve as a base for the relative clause. E.g.

<u>úmuntu óbhalâyo</u> (the person writes)	cf. stem in the verb	<u>úyabhála</u> (he writes)
<u>ísalukázi ésíhlekayo</u> (the laughing old woman)	cf. stem in the verb:	<u>síyáhleka</u> (she is laughing)

6.3.2. The Copulative

The nominal and verbal copulative may precede or follow a noun, see par. 5.3.2.1. above. They are related to the nouns

which function as the subject of the sentence. The nominals used as nuclear words may be selected as state. They have certain qualities or attributes ascribed to the nouns constituting the subject of the sentence.

The demonstrative copulative precedes a noun, see par. 5.3.2.2. above. It has a deictic function, referring as it does to objects that are in sight or human experiences in relation to the speaker and the hearer.

The copulative is generally associated with a nominal that has a verbal function. It is accordingly regarded as a word that expresses the state in which a noun serving as a subject of the sentence is found.

Copulatives are either personal or impersonal.

According to Fortune (1955, p. 371):

... copulatives express the existence of persons or things when impersonal, and express the existence of possession, viz 'be with', when personal....

6.4. Non-Relational Words

6.4.1. The Ideophone

The ideophone may be viewed as a word that represents action or a state, see Jordan (1956, p. 647). Cole (1955, p. 370) describes ideophones as:

... vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory, and other sensory or mental experiences.

He (ibid.) goes on to say that ideophones are impulsive and emotionally coloured.

Fortune (1955, p. 421) says that the ideophone is:

... an exclamatory assertion of an action, state, colour, sound, smell or sensation which is objectively indicated.

It is also regarded as an image of an idea expressed by means of sound, see Van Eeden (1956, p. 483).

The ideophone is often onomatopoeic, imitating sound and action.

It is generally used for emphasising an idea expressed by a verb or a modifier. It can thus be used to intensify feeling, emotion, or tension in the narration of stories or in the reporting of events.

6.4.2. The Interjective

The interjective is an exclamatory word. It may be used to draw attention in addressing a person:

wé babá

(I say father)

shwéle mfówêthú

(I am sorry, brother)

The interjective seems to colour a following noun or the nucleus with feeling or emotion. Approval or disapproval, comment or opinion, etc. expressed by a following word is intensified by the interjective:

kahléni úmsîndo

(order, less noise!)

wée ámasoka, awázi wena

(my as for the lovers, don't talk about that!)

wée, !ukûfá lókho

(my word, that is death itself!)

ehêne, ngâkútshéla

(of course, I told you so!)

When the interjective is used alone or is interposed between sentences, it is generally an exclamation expressing an emotion with reference to a preceding or following sentence:

hábe

(my!)

hálalá

(hurrah / bravo!)

wóo-hée

(beware!)

!máye-babô
(dear me!)

The interjective is used in responses to statements or questions, i.e. to convey assent or denial. Van Eeden (1956, p. 529) classifies interjectives into the following three classes:

(i) Exclamations of assent, agreement, etc.

yébo , ehê
(yes) (yes)

(ii) Exclamations of denial, contradiction, etc.

gha , háyi
(no) (no)

(iii) Exclamations of surprise, disapproval, joy, disappointment, etc.

háwu , há , hálalá , wóshi
(oh!) (my!) (bravo) (what nonsense)

6.5. Summary

6.5.1. The investigation of the classification of word categories by means of criteria discussed in par. 6.1. above, reveals that these criteria are not generally applicable. For instance, the criteria of substitutability and grammatical meaning or case can only be applied to nominals, whereas productivity, conjoining and embedding mainly apply in the classification of verbs. Nominal words are mainly determined by substitutability, grammatical meaning and the bearing they have upon "things", nuclear words on the other hand, are closely associated with states, actions, and processes. Non-relational words lend "colour" to nominal and nuclear words by expressing emotion and imitating action, sound and state.

6.5.2. Nominal Words

The following sub-categories are identified:

(1) The Noun: is distinguished from other nominals by the following characteristics:

- (a) its binary combination with the verb
- (b) its centrality as the main axis around which other nominals operate
- (c) selection - it is the only nominal that can be selected as "agent", "patient", [+ human], [-human], [male / female], etc.
- (d) its extensive use of case
- (e) it is generally associated with designation. It is known as the word that serves as the name of things

(2) The Absolute Pronoun: is mainly a substitute of the noun in the sentence

(3) The Quantitative communicates new information about a noun. It "quantifies" the noun - hence quantifier.

(4) The Demonstrative has a deictic function. It identifies objects / experiences according to their relative distance (in space / time) from the speaker and/or the hearer.

(5) The Adjective / Relative modifies the noun. The adverbial with -dwa as stem is also a modifier. It modifies both the nucleus and the other modifiers.

6.5.3. Nuclear Words

Two sub-categories are identified, viz

(1) The Verb: The verb is distinguished from the copulative by:

- (a) its productivity
- (b) freedom of combination
- (c) conjunction and embedding
- (d) semantic association

(2) The Copulative: It is characterised by:

(a) it is limited to the expression of state connected with the subject of a sentence. This distinction mainly applies to the nominal and the verbal copulative.

(b) the demonstrative copulative is deictic, identifying objects / experiences in relation to their relative spatio-temporal distance from the hearer or speaker. Unlike the simple demonstrative, the demonstrative copulative is not a qualifier / modifier but is equivalent to the words: "here it is / they are"; "there it is / there they are"; or "yonder it is / they are", etc.

6.5.4. Non-relational Words

These can be sub-divided into:

(1) The Ideophone: The ideophone imitates phenomena in nature by means of sound and gesture. The sound and gesture symbolise the state, action, colour and sound perceived. Consequently, the ideophone is never internalised. Only the gesture accompanying the ideophone may indicate the emotional state of the speaker. For instance, íngubo émhlophé qwa accompanied by a brightening of the face or íngubo émnyama bhuge accompanied by a grimace may reflect the speaker's feelings about the object in question.

(2) The Interjective: Contrary to the ideophone, the interjective is an inner response to the environment. It expresses feeling or emotion with regard to what is observed.

6.5.5. Summary

A. Relational Words

1. Nominal Words: This category comprises the following sub-categories:

- (a) The noun
- (b) The absolute pronoun

- (c) The quantitative
- (d) The demonstrative
- (e) The adjective / relative, and the adverbial

2. Nuclear Words: The following sub-categories are found:

- (a) The verb
- (b) The copulative

B. Non-Relational Words

- 1. The ideophone
- 2. The interjective

C H A P T E R 7

C O N C L U S I O N

7.1. Introduction

7.1.1. In Chapters 2 - 6 above, phonology, morphology, syntax and meaning were employed to establish the main characteristics of the various word categories. Meaning is the expression in toto of the phonological, morphological and syntactic categories. It is the totality of these criteria that determine the word categories. Nevertheless, not all the words in the Zulu vocabulary can be reduced into facets that fit perfectly into the mould just proposed. In such cases, recourse is had to syntactic and semantic criteria. In fact, syntax must take precedence over the other criteria for, as Westphal (1970, p. 386) rightly observes:

The basic data of any language are its sentences.

7.2. Syntactic Categories

7.2.1. The relationships of words in the Zulu sentence show that syntactic categories are mainly of two kinds, viz

- (i) a nuclear category, and
- (ii) extra-nuclear categories.

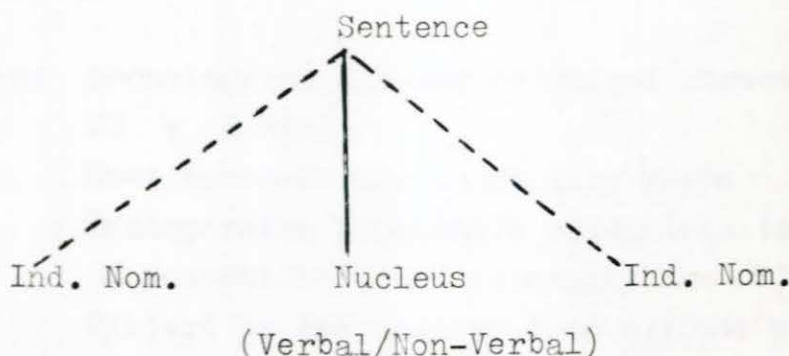
The Nuclear Category

7.2.2. The nuclear syntactic category resolves itself into a bi-polar structure. The bi-polar structure consists of an ind. nom. and a nucleus. Non-nuclear words or "understood" forms where only one member of the nuclear pair occurs as found in exclamation and interrogative sentences or in response sentences are excepted. E.g.

<u>ízimu lílóle</u>	(the ogre is asleep)
<u>ámádoda ayálima</u>	(men are ploughing)
<u>úvakhúla úmntwana</u>	(the child is growing)
<u>úyéza</u>	(he is coming)
<u>ímíthi míde</u>	(the trees are tall)

7.2.3. Only the ind. nom. occurs in the nominal "pole" of the nuclear category. The nominal "pole" may occur before or after the nucleus. The nuclear "pole" comprises a verbal or non-verbal nucleus.

A Diagrammatic Representation of the Nuclear Category



N.B. The broken lines indicate that the ind. nom. may occur on either side of the verbal and non-verbal nucleus.

Constituents of the Nuclear Category

7.2.4. The nuclear category comprises the noun (i.e. the independent nominal) and the verb / copulative (the nucleus).

The Noun

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

CP + a stem

CP has a VCV combination of phones with /HL/ tonemes

Disyllabic stem can be classified into four toneme patterns, viz /LL/, /LH/, /HL/, and /HLL/

(b) syntactic characteristics:

CP generates concordance in dependent nominals and the verb.

Functions as the subject and primary object of the sentence.

(c) semantic characteristics:

Associated with designation - it is a naming word

It is in binary combination with the verb

Characterised by selection - can be marked as

[human / non-human], [male / female], [agent / patient], etc.

The Verb

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

SC + a stem

Uses tense-forming auxiliary verbs

Incorporates productive extensions to the stem

SC monosyllabic and generally has /H/ tone

Subject to conjugation into various moods and tenses

(b) Syntactic characteristics:

Always in binary combination with the noun serving as the subject of the sentence.

May feature in compound and complex sentences

Transitivity

Related to secondary object

(c) Semantic:

Conjunction and embedding

Selection - it may be marked as [action], [state], [process] and/or [ambient].

The Auxiliary Verb

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

SC identical with that of the verb but often omissible.

Terminative of most auxiliary verbs is -e in the place of -a or -i

(b) syntactic characteristics:

Always precedes a complement.

Occasionally gets fused with the complement.

(c) semantic characteristics:

As a group, auxiliary verbs have meaning within the compound in which they occur, see Low (1963a, p. 222)

Auxiliary verbs can be classified with verbs on account of the morphological and syntactic characteristics they share with them.

The above-named characteristics are those of what we term "primary" auxiliary verbs. Many of the words currently identified as "conjunctives" can be classified as "secondary" auxiliary verbs because they are morphologically derivations and have a less rigid relationship with the verb in their function.

The Copulative

(i) The Nominal Copulative

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

Consists of a prefix plus a nominal stem

Prefix monosyllabic with CV(C) combination of phones and a /L/ tone.

(b) syntactic characteristics:

May precede or follow a noun with which it has controlled relationship.

Has similar function with the verb.

(c) semantic characteristics:

It may be selected as [state].

(ii) The Verbal Copulative

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

SC plus a stem

SC plus a nominal word

(b) syntactic characteristics:

It may precede or follow a nominal

Has cohesion with the ideophone

Functions like a verb

(c) semantic characteristics:

Expresses a state in which the subject of the sentence is found

(iii) The Demonstrative Copulative

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

Made up of a formative na- plus -ni- plus an element similar to the SC

na- has unchecked length and a falling tone

(b) syntactic characteristics:

It may follow a noun

It may precede or follow a modifier

Has verbal function

(c) semantic characteristics:

It has a deictic function and refers to objects that are in sight or to human experiences in their spatio-temporal relation to the speaker / hearer

Extra-Nuclear Categories

7.2.5. The extra-nuclear categories comprise derivatives or complements to the ind. nom. and the nucleus respectively. The derivatives or complements could be illustrated by means of

concentric circles around the "poles" varying in degree of relationship with the "pole" around which they are formed. Proximity to the "pole" indicates closer relationship with it whereas remoteness indicates a distant relationship. Some of the circles co-incide. See p. 167.

Constituents of the Extra-Nuclear Categories

7.2.6. Around each "pole" of the nuclear categories are sub-categories related to it phonologically, morphologically, syntactically or semantically.

The following sub-categories are encountered around each nominal "pole":

The Absolute Pronoun

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

Comprises a stem + a suffix -na

The initial consonant of the stem is an element resembling the CP. It is followed by a pronominal -o-. The stem is monosyllabic with a CV combination of phones. Its tone is /L/.

The suffix -na always has /H/ tone

(b) syntactic characteristics:

Acts as a substitute word of a noun in the sentence.

(c) semantic characteristics:

It is a function word

The Demonstrative

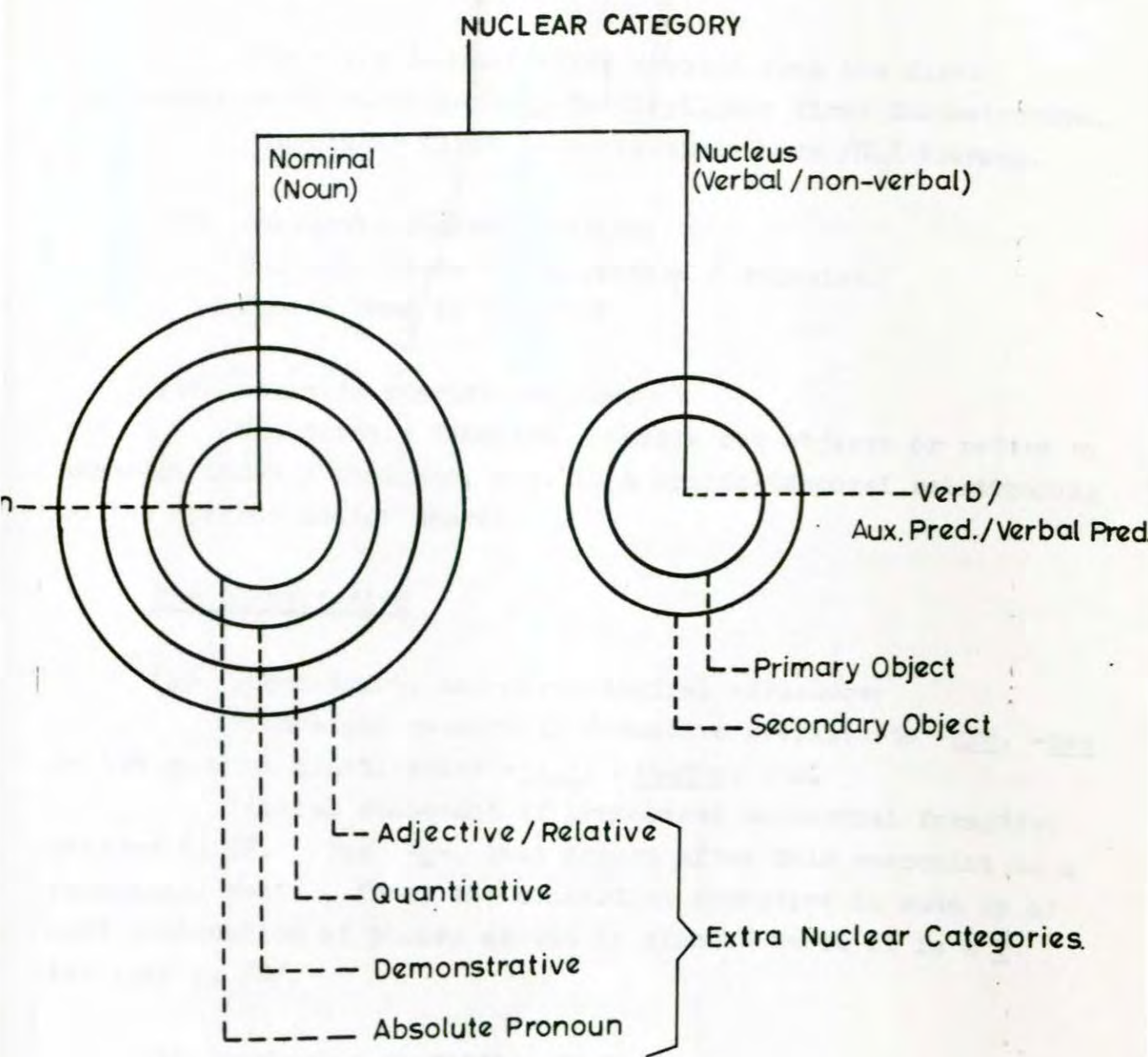
(a) phonological and morphological structure:

Commences with l in all cases

Demonstrative element la prefixed to CP to derive the first demonstrative

The second demonstrative derived from the first by suffixing -o to the disyllabic first demonstrative forms.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING EXTA-NUCLEAR CATEGORIES



The third demonstrative derived from the first demonstrative by suffixing -ya to disyllabic first demonstrative. Disyllabic first demonstratives have /HL/ tonemes.

(b) syntactic characteristics:

Can substitute the adjective / relative.

Can be used in contrast

(c) semantic characteristics:

Has deictic function - points out objects or refers to abstract ideas / thoughts, etc. in a spatio-temporal relationship to the speaker and/or hearer.

The Quantitative

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

Pronominal concordial formative prefixed to -nke, -dwa or the numeral quantitative -bili, -thathu, etc.

Initial consonant of pronominal concordial formative related to CP. The -o- that occurs after this consonant is a pronominal root. Thus, the concordial formative is made up of a CV combination of phones except in class 6 where it is a V. Its tone is /H/.

(b) syntactic characteristics:

The quantitative with -dwa as stem follows the nucleus in word order.

The numeral quantitative and the quantitative with -nke as stem may occur before or after the noun or nucleus.

(c) semantic characteristics:

It is a quantifier

Adjective / Relative

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

Consists of a AC / RC + a nominal stem

AC is a compound concord with a VC(V) combination of phones and a /H(L)/ tonemes.

RC has a V/VCV combination of phones with /HH/ tonemes.

(b) syntactic characteristics:

Mutually substitutable and also capable of substituting the demonstrative.

(c) semantic characteristics:

Modifies the noun

Secondary Nominals

7.2.7. Phonology, morphology, syntax, and grammatical meaning revealed that the copulative, the possessive, the locative and the comparative forms are found in all nominals except the quantitative. In addition, the noun also has the vocative.

The importance of the secondary forms of nominals lies in the fact that they facilitate the differentiation of nominal words from non-nominal ones. Otherwise, they do not form any category of words at all.

7.3. Non-Relational Words

The Ideophone and the Interjective

(a) phonological and morphological structure:

Extra-normal sound, extra-normal pitch, and extra-normal duration

Extensive use of gestures

Not analysable into various formatives although they form nuclear elements of other words, cf. the verb. It is evident from this that they do not have prefixal formatives

(b) syntactic characteristics:

The ideophone may be used alone or as a complement of the adjective / relative or of the verb. It may also be

related to nouns (primary / secondary) and may even occur before the verb.

The interjective may be used alone or be related to the noun (primary / secondary) or to the nucleus. It may also be used with other interjectives.

The ideophone and the interjective appear to operate around the nominal and verbal "pole" without being confined to either of them. They are extra-nuclear to both "poles".

(c) semantic characteristics:

The ideophone is generally associated with the description of words with regard to manner, colour, action, or sound. Their semantic association is corroborated by its specification.

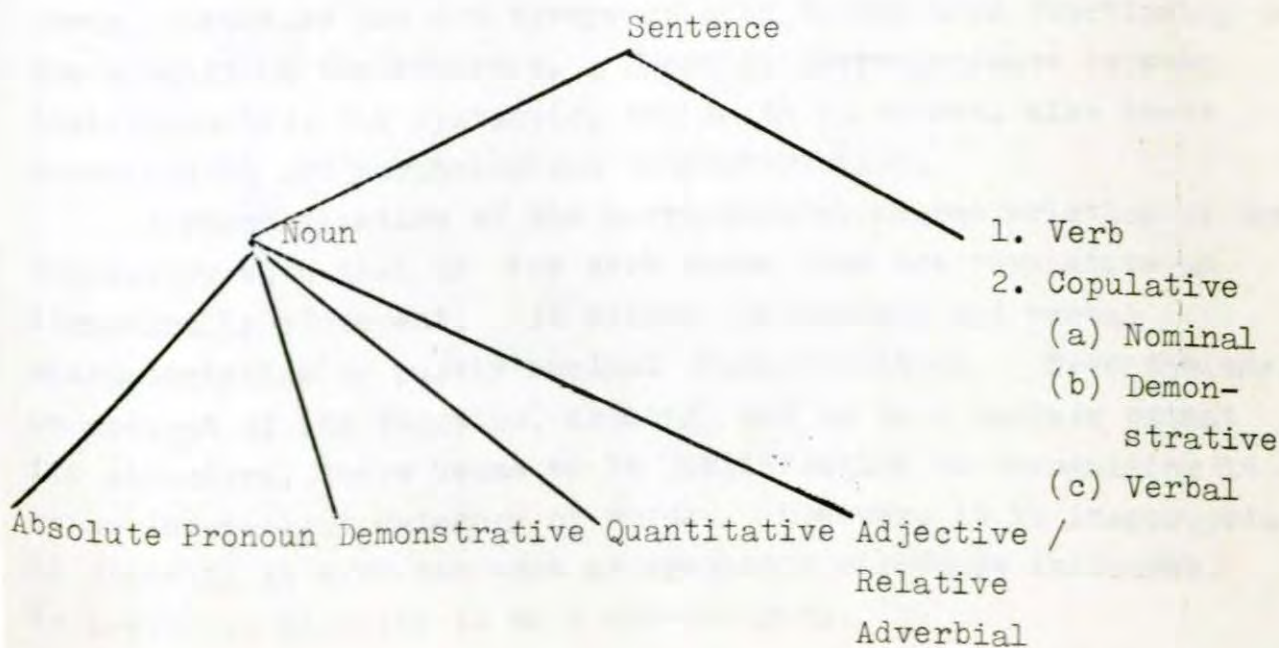
The interjective expresses emotion.

It may be used as an exclamatory word or a word intended to draw attention or in addressing a person.

It may affirm or negate a question

The syntactic and semantic characteristics of the ideophone and the interjective show that although their phonological and morphological characteristics coincide, they are nevertheless two independent word categories.

Diagram Illustrating the Relational Word Categories



7.4. Summary of Diagram

The word categories in the preceding diagram can be summarised as follows:

(1) Main Categories: The noun and the Verb. The copulative also belongs to this category

(2) Categories: Absolute pronoun, demonstrative, quantitative, adjective / relative.

7.5. Explanation of Summary

(1) Main Categories: The noun and the verb, and within bounds the copulative as well, constitute the main categories. They are mutually dependent upon each other in their phonological and phonological make-up and also in function. They both constitute the nuclear sentence and they each have syntactic criteria corresponding wholly with the phonological, morphological and semantic criteria.

(2) Categories: The absolute pronoun, the demonstrative, the quantitative, the adverbial and the adjective / relative have extra-nuclear characteristics and are, in a sense, secondary because they are morphologically dependent upon the noun for their formal structure and are always related to the noun functioning as the subject of the sentence. There is correspondence between their semantic, the syntactic, and up to an extent, also their phonological and morphological characteristics.

A reconciliation of the morphological characteristics of the copulative with that of the verb shows that the copulative is structurally different. It either has nominal and verbal characteristics or purely nominal characteristics. Nevertheless, on account of its function, meaning, and up to a certain extent its structure, there seems to be justification in recognising it as an independent category of words. However, it is inappropriate to classify it with the verb as syntactic structure indicates. We prefer to classify it as a sub-category.

The ideophone and the interjective are non-relational words. Therefore, they do not fit into the syntactic categories given in the diagram. We classify them as a sub-category.

7.6. Conclusion

7.6.1. Traditional Bantu linguistic terms for the various "parts of speech" are retained throughout. It is, however, important to emphasise that they are merely used for convenience on the whole. Their conception and application does not necessarily coincide with their traditional usage in this research, cf. Chapters 2 - 6.

7.6.2. If syntax is given precedence over the other criteria as Westphal (1970, p. 386) advocates, the Zulu words form an hierarchical pattern with the verb and the noun forming the nuclear category and the other relational words forming the extra-nuclear categories. The infinitive and the verbal relative constitute marginal forms. The non-relational words are independent classes of words.

7.6.3. The word categories in Zulu can be tabulated as follows:

A. Relational Words

1. Nuclear Category: The nuclear category comprises the following:

Categories: Noun and Verb

Sub-Categories: Nominal Copulative

Demonstrative Copulative

Verbal Copulative

2. Extra-Nuclear Category: This is made up of the following:

Sub-Categories: Absolute Pronoun

Demonstrative

Numeral Quantitative

Modifiers: Adjective, Relative, Adverbial:

(i) with prefixal formative ka-

(ii) with quantitative stem -dwa

Marginal Forms i.e. having nominal and

verbal characteristics: The infinitive

Relative with verbal
base

B. Non-Relational Words

Two categories are identified, viz

The Ideophone

The Interjective

Taking all four criteria used in the classification of word categories into account, the preceding table can be re-arranged as follows:

1. Nominal Words

Noun

Absolute Pronoun

Demonstrative

Quantitative

Modifier: Adjective / Relative, Adverbial

2. Predicative Words

Verb

Copulative

3. Marginal Words

Infinitive

Verbal Relative

4. Non-Relational Words

Ideophone

Interjective

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