SOME ASPECTS OF EVALUATIVE MORPHOLOGY IN ZULU

by

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Declaration

I, Louis M.M.S. Madondo, declare that *Some Aspects of Evaluative Morphology in Zulu* is my own work and that all the sources used have been correctly acknowledged by means of complete references.

L.M.M.S. MADONDO
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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION AND MODUS OPERANDI

1.1 The Problem Statement

Topics falling under evaluative morphology have been wrongly placed in most grammar books dealing with African languages. cf. Doke (1956), Ziervogel and Mabuza (1996) and Nyembezi (1965) have placed diminutives, augmentatives and reduplication of nominal stems under derivative forms of the nouns. They also place the evaluative verbal extensions under verbal derivatives. This situation has led to inadequate and misleading treatment of such topics. Most scholars have treated these topics in passing. Less attention has been paid to this aspect of Zulu grammar. This study endeavours to highlight important aspects of evaluative morphology.

1.2 Aim of Study

We want to ascertain whether or not the branch of morphology known as evaluative morphology is worth pursuing in Zulu. We shall therefore develop a theoretical basis for Zulu evaluative morphology.

1.3 Delimitation of the Study

This study will attempt to deal with some important aspects of evaluative morphology. These aspects are: evaluative affixes used with nominals, evaluative affixes used with personal names and evaluative affixes used with the verb. Non-evaluative affixes will be excluded from this study.
1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION
The researcher will use the desk research method. Various books, journals, theses, dissertations, honours articles and encyclopaedia will be read and used so as to gain insight of what different grammarians say about evaluative morphology and topics falling under it. In particular Stump’s (1992) proposals will be analysed and applied to Zulu.

1.4.2 TYPE OF RESEARCH
An explanation of theoretical proposals by Stump will be examined and that will be followed by an application of such proposals to Zulu. Stump gives an examination of theoretical proposals made by Scalise and applies them to various languages including Zulu. Stump however does not dwell much on Zulu as he only focuses on affixes used with nouns and he says nothing about Zulu verbs.

1.4.3 DATA ANALYSIS
The researcher will use an explanatory and the inductive methods of data analysis. Valid or ‘real’ spoken language will also be used as we examine as to how various affixes are used to convey the meaning of judgement.
1.5 Definition of terms

1.5.1 EVALUATIVE MORPHOLOGY
In its broader application evaluative morphology is a subcomponent of morphology that involves assessment of situations and entities through affixes and sometimes appended stems. This involves topics such as diminutives, augmentatives, some verbal extensions, and reduplication of stems in nouns. We will also look into pejorative nouns, modals of ability and possibility and evaluative auxiliaries. The basic requirement for any topic to fall under evaluative morphology is that it must use affixes to express the expressive meaning of passing the judgement. Stump (1992:2) defines evaluative morphology as:

"... a class of morphological rules which express diminution, augmentation, endearment or contempt and which are transparent with respect to some morphosyntactic feature."

Stump is the only grammarian to come up with the comprehensive definition of this kind of morphology. Most grammarians do not mention evaluative rules. They neglect evaluative rules which in fact are distinct from both the derivational and the inflectional rules in many respects.

1.5.6 AFFIXES
The term ‘affix’ indicates a morpheme that is added to the stem or the root with aim of extending or changing the meaning of the base. In this regard Crystal (1987:10) says:
"The collective term for the types of formatives that can be used only when added to another morpheme (the root or the stem)."

Crystal’s definition illustrates the fact that affixes are bound morphemes because they cannot stand on their own as words, as they are always added to other morphemes. The term affix has not been used by Zulu traditional grammarians. Doke uses the term ‘formatives’. It should be noted that not all morphemes are affixes. Affixes are classified into three types:

i) Prefixes: These are affixes that are added at the beginning of the root or stem. They are placed before the root. Crystal (1987:10) defines the prefix as:

"those which are added to the beginning of a root/stem."

This can be illustrated by the following example: the noun isihlahla has the stem -hlahla and the prefix isi-

ii) Infixes: These affixes are placed within or into the root. Crystal (1987:10) extends his definition of infixes to embrace the stem when he says:

"...those which occur within a root or stem."

To the best of my knowledge infixes are not found in Zulu.

iii) Suffixes: These affixes come after the root, that is, they are put at
the end of the root and take the place of the final vowel of the stem. There are many suffixes in Zulu and they include affixes like the diminutive affix -ana and the augmentative affix -kazi.

1.5.2 THE DIMINUTIVE AFFIX

The term diminutive refers to an affix denoting something little or small. In Zulu it is constructed through an affix -ana to express something small of the kind denoted by the original nominal. Crystal (1987:94) supports this and say:

"A term used in morphology to refer to an affix with the general meaning of little, used literally or metaphorically. (as a term for endearment)."

Crystal’s definition depicts a fresh look at the diminutive affix as it extends to include the metaphoric use which is also applicable to Zulu.

Doke (1956:7) supports this notion where he says:

"The diminutive form of the noun is used to indicate 1) a small thing corresponding to the noun, or 2) a young one corresponding to the noun, or 3) a small quantity of what is expressed by the noun."

Doke regards the diminutive noun as a derived noun. In this study the diminutive affix will be used as an affix with general meaning of little or small.
1.5.3 AUGMENTATIVE AFFIX

The term augmentative refers to an affix that indicates largeness in size; number or value. It is the direct opposite of the diminutives. In Zulu it is constructed by the suffix /-kazi/. Dressler (1994:131) defines the augmentative as:

"...of an affix which indicates largeness in size or in value."

In this study the term augmentative will be used to refer to an affix and not a derived noun form as traditional grammarians following Doke’s model state.

1.5.4 HONORIFICS

Honorifics are grammatical forms that are used in certain languages to express respect. These may include forms of a verb; second and third person forms; adjectives or tenses; especially the past tense in Zulu. Mokgokong (1975:103) defines the honorifics as:

"a grammatical form used to convey the idea that the speaker is being polite or respectful to the hearer."

Although honorifics include complete words, phrases and gestures, in this study the term will be used to indicate honorific affixes as we will be looking at their evaluative nature.
1.5.5 EXCESSIVES

Excessives are affixes that are used to indicate the excess of action or state. This excess of action or state may be looked upon as intensity. Excessive also denote the very extreme and the quickest of action. Doke (1956:10) says:

"The intensive form in Zulu, indicating intensity or quickness of action, is expressed by suffixing -isisa in place of a final vowel."

1.6 Literature Review

Topics falling under evaluative morphology have not been researched in Zulu. Scholars who touched on such topics did not look at them as part of evaluative morphology. To the best of my knowledge no one has dealt with it before.

1.6.1 TRADITIONAL APPROACH

Most Zulu grammarians touch on topics falling under evaluative morphology, following Doke's paradigm. They give brief accounts and they do not mention evaluative morphology. This is evidenced by Nyembezi (1956:64) who argues that:

"Masikuphawule futhi nokuthi izinciphiso lezi singazisebenzisa ngesime isikhathi ngokuteketisa."

( It should also be noted that diminutives can also be used to show endearment or affection. )
This is further evidenced by Doke (1956:76) who says:

"'Diminutives may be used to convey insult ...'"

This shows that evaluative observations are not altogether new. However phenomena falling under evaluative morphology were not seen as such. The aim of the study is to look into these phenomena from a fresh perspective. In that respect evaluative morphology is a new study in Zulu.

People like Nkabinde (1975), Khanyeza (1987) and Khumalo (unpublished paper) come up with revised views of topics which include diminutives (prefixes and suffixes), augmentatives (suffixes) and reduplication of stems and suffixes but they did not look at their evaluative nature. Mlondo (1990) treats types of prefixes and gives a good account of Zulu prefixes but he never mention the evaluative prefixes. It is therefore the aim of this work to deal with the evaluating and assessing subcomponent of morphology.

Nkabinde (1975) introduces a fresh look at the reduplication of verb stems in Zulu as he gives a phonological account of the reduplicated verb stems. He analyses the phonological construction of syllables forming the reduplicated verbal root and he calls it a complex verbal root. His account is very brief which situation leaves some questions not answered.

Khumalo comes up with a more comprehensive and detailed account of reduplicated verb stems in Zulu. He concludes that there are ways of reduplication. Firstly reduplication is prefixal in verbs of three or more syllables and suffixal in verbs of two or less syllables. He gives a wide
range of phonological compositions and argues against the use of the term “stabilizer” where the language supplied a phonemic material in the form of default syllables. I fully agree with him when he says that the term stabilizers refers only to full syllables whereas in Zulu we have the form /y/ which is not a full syllable (Khumalo, unpublished paper: 10). However his sentiments can only be evidenced phonologically. When one looks at reduplication morphologically without taking into account tone, we can dispute prefixal reduplication and claim that it is all suffixal.

1.6.2 THE MODERN APPROACH

Even in linguistics in general there have been very few studies undertaken on evaluative morphology. Scalise, as quoted by Stump (1992) has defined some properties of evaluative morphology but he concentrates mostly on their applicability to Italian. His concentration on one language has some loopholes in his theoretical framework as some properties he mentions are only applicable to Italian. Scalise’s shortcoming is that he treats only Italian. He comes up with the conception of morphology whereby the rules of evaluative morphology occupy a separate subcomponent which has its member who possesses similar properties. This view does not generalise satisfactorily to other languages. That is due to the fact that some of the stated properties do apply to other subcomponents of morphology which are derivational and inflectional morphology. The properties under discussion are as follows:

Six properties of evaluative affixes in Italian (Scalise, 1986:132).

1. They change the semantics of the base ;
2. They allow the consecutive application of more than one rule of the same type, and at every application the result is an existent word;

3. They are always external with respect to other derivational suffixes and internal with respect to inflectional morphemes;

4. They allow, although to a limited extent, repeated application of same rule on adjacent circles; and

5. They do not change the morphosyntactic features or the subcategorisation frame of the base.

6. They may apply before or after both derivational and inflectional rules.

These are all properties of evaluative morphology but there are those that apply to derivational as well as inflectional morphology. Property number one (1) is not exclusive to evaluative morphology as Scalise (1986) as cited by Stump (1992) presupposes. Stump (1992:6) supports the view that Scalise's properties have some shortcomings which he rectifies in his discussion as he says:

"First, one might question whether the properties of evaluative rules are really so distinctive as to justify the postulation of a separate subcomponent housing just evaluative rules and nothing else, that is, one might wonder whether there are non-evaluative rules that share the properties in (1)."

Stump is correct on this one because derivational and inflectional rules do share some of these properties. That is evidenced by the fact that the first
property is also shared by derivational and inflectional morphology especially in Zulu. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Resulting word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hamba ‘travel’</td>
<td>isihambi ‘traveller’ (derivational)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umuntu ‘a person’</td>
<td>kumuntu ‘to the person’ (inflectional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘on the person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umuntu ‘a person’</td>
<td>umntwana ‘a child’ (evaluative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all the above examples the resulting word has a semantic change in the base which change is either slight or radical which means all of these rules (derivational, evaluative, and inflectional) do change the semantics of the base. Stump (1992:6) supports this when he says:

"I agree that evaluative rules are not so peculiar as to require their subcomponent, but actually share their properties with a broader class of rules."

Owing to many loopholes in the definition and properties of evaluative morphology provided by Scalise, Stump comes up with a revised version and a more balanced definition regarding properties of evaluative morphology. Stump (1992:2) has this to say about evaluative morphology:

"... is that class of morphological rules which express diminution, augmentation, endearment or contempt and which are transparent with respect to some morphosyntactic feature."
This definition by Stump (1992) is tenable, however it does not encompass topics like the intensive verbal extension, the honorific concord and the evaluative auxiliaries which do not express diminution, augmentation, endearment or contempt but which pass some kind of judgement and which are therefore part of evaluative morphology. In a broader application, evaluative morphology involves the assessment of situations and entities through affixes and sometimes appended stems.

Stump (1992:12) comes up with six reformulated properties of evaluative rules:

Six properties of evaluative rules:
1. They change the semantics of the base;
2. Two or more such rules may apply in succession, and at every application the result is an existent word or root;
3. Evaluative rules may apply before or after both derivational rules and inflectional rules;
4. To a limited extent, the same rule may apply on adjacent cycles;
5. They do not change the syntactic category of the base they apply to; and
6. Although evaluative rules by definition preserve at least one of the morphosyntactic feature specifications of the base, they do not necessarily preserve all of them.

Stump's rules are all applicable to Zulu as will be shown below.

1. *They change the semantics of the base*
   Whenever they are applied evaluative rules change the semantics of the base to which they are applied. The semantic change may be
radical or slight. The affixes on the same base can have two different or opposite meanings, e.g.

a). \textit{indoda} ‘a man’

\textit{indodakazi} ‘a daughter’ \textit{indojevana} ‘the so-called man’ \textit{indodana} ‘a son’

b). \textit{inkosi} ‘a king’

\textit{inkosikazi} ‘wife’ \textit{inkosazana} ‘princess’ \textit{inkosana} ‘heir/prince’

c). \textit{hamba} ‘walk’

\textit{hambisa} ‘send/cause to walk’ \textit{hambisisa} ‘walk intensively’

The radical change of meaning usually occurs in nouns whereas the slight shift usually occurs in verbs, e.g.

\textit{inkosi} ‘a king’ - \textit{inkosazana} ‘a princess’

\textit{hamba} ‘go’ - \textit{hambisisa} ‘go intensively’

2. \textit{Two or more of such rules may apply in succession, and at every application the result is an existent word or root.}

Two different evaluative morphemes may be applied on one base where the second one may be put after the other. This normally occurs in suffixes. It is not usual that it occurs on other affixes. It is also
remarkable that on every application the result is an existent word or morpheme.

a) indoda + -kazi + -ana = indodakazana 'damn daughter'
b) umufo + -kazi + -ana = umfokazana 'a man of a lower status'
c) hlek- + -is- + -iwa = hlewiswa 'caused to laugh'
3. *Evaluation rules may apply before or after both derivational and inflectional rules*

In the first section the point has been made that evaluative morphology depends on affixes but not all affixes are evaluative in nature. That is why evaluative rules may be applied before or after both derivational and inflectional rules.

1. stem - derived word - evaluative affix

- *-hamba* uhambo + -*ana* uhanjana

`go` `a journey` `dim` `short journey`

4. *To a limited extent the same rule may apply on adjacent circles.*

This rule applies easily in Zulu words although it is to a limited extent. This normally occurs in diminutives where one finds that an already diminutive noun is further diminutivised to indicate either an extra small thing or an extra young thing. It is noticeable that even if a rule has been applied on adjacent circles (twice or thrice) there is still a semantic shift. This is what Mbuli (1975) calls reduplication of a morpheme to express most extreme diminution.

a) *umufo* + -*ana* + -*ana* + -*ana*

`a man`

- *umfana* umfanyana umfanyanyana

(a boy) ( a little boy) (an extremely little boy)
5. *These rules do not change the syntactic category of the base they apply to.*

As said above, when the evaluative rules are applied to a word base, the semantics of that base changes. That is the only change that occurs. The syntactic category does not change; it remains the same even after the second adjacent circle, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. the noun (base)</th>
<th>the noun (evaluative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umfana 'a boy'</td>
<td>umfanyana 'a little boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikati 'a cat'</td>
<td>ikatsha 'a little cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imvu 'a sheep'</td>
<td>imvukazi 'a big sheep'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. the verb (base)</th>
<th>the verb (evaluative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-hamba 'go'</td>
<td>hambisisa 'go intensively'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hlala 'stay'</td>
<td>hlalahlala 'stay for a while'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-geza 'wash'</td>
<td>gezana 'busy washing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. *Although evaluative rules by definition preserve the morpho-syntactic features of the base, they do not preserve other features.*

The addition of the diminutive morpheme causes phonological changes when ever it is affixed to the base. Such changes include vowel elision and prepalatalisation which occur at the terminative syllable of the base. It is these changes that causes the evaluative rule not to preserve all the morpho-syntactic features, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ikati 'a cat'</th>
<th>ikatshana 'a small cat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uphaphe 'a feather'</td>
<td>uphashana 'a small feather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indoda 'a man'</td>
<td>indodana 'a son'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.7. The Place of Evaluative Morphology in Zulu Morphology

a. EVALUATIVE MORPHOLOGY & DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

These are both subcomponents of morphology but they differ in their areas of focus. Derivational morphology deals with affixes that are added to a word with an aim of changing the syntactic category of the base. Therefore derivational morphology derives a new syntactic category from the base. Evaluative morphology on the other hand deals with affixes which are affixed to a word with an aim of assessing situations. Such affixes are used to indicate the emotions of the speaker. This can be observed from the following examples:

- **Derivational**
  - hamba > isihambi
  - (travel) (traveller/stranger)

- **Evaluative**
  - indoda > indodana
  - (a man) (a son)

Evaluative morphology has a wider scope than the derivational morphology as it include both the affixation and the meaning thereafter.

b. EVALUATIVE MORPHOLOGY AND INFLectional MORPhOLOGY

Evaluative morphology and inflectional morphology are very limited in their interaction with each other although they are subcomponents of a single whole, i.e. morphology. The inflectional morphology uses inflections in order to arrive at different paradigms of the same word whereas evaluative morphology uses affixes...
with an intention of assessing the situation that is supposed to be evaluated. This therefore means that the output of inflectional morphology is the paradigms whereas the output of evaluative morphology is there to pass judgement about a particular situation.

\[\text{e.g. inflectional} - \text{umuntu} \rightarrow \text{kumuntu} / \text{yomuntu} \]
\[
(\text{a person}) \ (\text{to a person}) \ (\text{of a person})
\]

\[\text{evaluative} - \text{indoda} \rightarrow \text{indodana} / \text{indojevana} \]
\[
(\text{a man}) \ (\text{a son}) \ (\text{a man of a lower status})
\]

c. THE INTERACTION OF EVALUATIVE MORPHOLOGY AND MEANING

Meaning plays a vital part in evaluative morphology. It uses affixes to make a semantic shift which is used in passing judgement about the situation at hand. Evaluative morphology cannot be evaluative if meaning is not taken into account. It is therefore a combination of both a morphological construction and the meaning thereafter. Evaluative morphology uses affixes to change the word from its original form in order to make it assess the situation. It is therefore based on context.

1.8. The Value of the Study

This study will be vital to development of Zulu as a language and morphology as a discipline as it presents in a wider sense a discipline that has not been presented by many linguists and grammarians in the past. The other objective of this study is to put some facts straight by reclassifying topics that have not been well classified before. There has been very few grammar studies in the recent past years
especially in morphology, this is therefore a challenge to other students to do their researches in grammar.

1.9. Organisation of the Study.

Chapter One
This will be an introductory chapter as it will cover topics which include; the problem statement, aim of study, methodology, definition of terms literature review and the value of the study.

Chapter Two
The second chapter will focus on the evaluative affixes used with nominals. Such affixes include the diminutive affix and the augmentative affix.

Chapter Three
Chapter three will cover evaluative affixes used with personal nouns.

Chapter Four
This chapter will cover evaluative affixes used with the verbs in Zulu.

Chapter Five
This will be the concluding chapter, it will consist of the findings of the whole study.
Chapter Two

EVALUATIVE AFFIXES USED WITH NOMINALS

In this chapter the researcher will give an account on the affixes that are used with common nouns, pronouns, adjectives and relatives. In this study the term nominals will be used to encompass nouns, pronouns, adjectives as well as relatives.

2.1 Diminutives with a suffix

The diminutive suffix is an affix indicating smallness in physical space, age and quantity. It can be metaphorised and it can also indicate metonymy. The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (1993:336) defines diminutive suffix as follows:

“...of a suffix indicating smallness. Word formed by the use of a suffix of this kind.”

This shows that a diminutive suffix means smallness in all respects.

Zulu diminutives share the following properties:

Firstly, they are evaluative and not inflectional, derivational or juxtapositional (reduplication), e.g.

- indoda + -ana = indodana
  (a man) (a son)
- uphahlana + -ana = uphahlana
  (a roof) (a small roof)
Second, all diminutives are alternative in that the respective word formation rules do not change categorisation of the base.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{indoda} & \rightarrow & \text{indodana} & = & \text{nouns} \\
 & \quad (\text{a man}) & & (\text{a son}) \\
\text{ugodo} & \rightarrow & \text{ugoijwa} & = & \text{nouns} \\
 & \quad (\text{a log}) & & (\text{a small log})
\end{align*}
\]

Third, the connotative change is either positive (endearment or affection) or negative (derogatory and worthlessness) depending entirely on context.

Forth, their construction prompt the occurrence of morphonological and phonological processes which involve: palatalisation, fronting, labialisation, vowel elision and consonantisation.

Fifth, the rule of diminutive formation do not have a single categorical base as they can be constructed from nouns, pronouns, adjectives and relatives.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muhle} & \rightarrow & \text{muhlana} & \rightarrow & \text{ingane} & \rightarrow & \text{inganyana} \\
 & \quad (\text{she’s beautiful}) & & (\text{she is a bit beautiful}) & & (\text{a child}) & & (\text{a little child}) \\
\text{ugotho} & \rightarrow & \text{ugoshwana} \\
 & \quad (\text{he is loyal}) & & (\text{he is a bit loyal})
\end{align*}
\]
2.1.1 MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ZULU DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX

Traditionalist, following Doke are of the view that the diminutive form of a noun is constructed through the suffix -ana. This has its variation -wana which is a result of consonantisation which occur to the final vowel. If the final vowel is -u, they claim that -wana is affixed. They argue that if the final vowel is -a then -ana is affixed. This is evidenced by Doke (1956:73) who says:

"The general rule for the formation of the diminutive: If the final vowel of the word be -a, -i or -e substitute the suffix -ana; If the final vowel be -o or -u substitute the suffix -wana."

Doke has seven rules which are used in the construction of diminutives. Rules number 2 to 7 concern the substitution of the final consonants which involves phonological processes like palatalisation in rule 4. Doke's rules have some loopholes, there is a problem with the nouns that end in a bilabial consonant and a vowel -e or -a. The problem is that it is impossible to form a palatal glide from either of these vowels. Palatal glides are used to trigger palatalisation. Khumalo in Nkabinde (1988:81) contends that:

"The problem arises with the nouns that end in a bilabial consonant and /a/ or /e/. There is no way in Zulu phonology that we can derive a palatal glide from these vowels."

Khumalo then calls for a review of the fact that the diminutive affix is -ana. He proposes that the affix be changed to -yana as he says:
"Let us propose, therefore, that the diminutive suffix in Zulu is -yana and that a resyllabification rule stipulates that the final syllable of the noun and the initial syllable of the diminutive suffix converge and are realised as one syllable."

The sole aim of Khumalo is to give a principled explanation for palatalisation in diminutives. His view on the formation of diminutives has some loopholes as he supports through the word "indojejana" in Zulu. There are some cases where one cannot apply -yana, e.g.

\[ \text{isandla} + -ana = \text{isandlana} \]
(hand) + 'dim' (a small hand)

\[ \text{indlu} + -ana = \text{indlwana} \]
(house) + 'dim' (a small house)

The suffixation of the diminutive suffix -ana may prompt various changes to the original noun which changes include, semantic change and phonological change to the final syllable, e.g.

\[ \text{umufo} + -ana = \text{umufana} > \text{umfana} \]
(a man) (a boy)

\[ \text{isicathulo} + -ana = \text{isicathulwana} \]
(shoe) (a little shoe)

\[ \text{ibhodlela} + -ana = \text{ibhodlelana} \]
(a bottle) (a little bottle)
The suffix -ana may have a range of related meanings or semantic effects. Such semantic effects are not uniform which indicates that a diminutive is a kind of polysemous words, moving away from the most significant core meaning, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{umufo} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{umfo (a man)} \\
\text{umufo} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{umfana (a boy)}
\end{align*}
\]

Peripheral meanings of diminutives may not mean exactly the same but they are linked to the central sense of smallness in physical space. Such a linking is through metaphor and metonymy, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ubuthongo} & \quad - \quad \text{isithongwana (a short nap)} \\
\text{muhle} & \quad - \quad \text{muhlana (little beautiful)} \\
\text{isalukazi} & \quad - \quad \text{isalukazana (small granny)}
\end{align*}
\]

Diminutives have separate forms. The first one being those that use suffix -ana which are common in isiZulu and the second form which is the diminutives using the suffix -azane.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. usakazane} & \quad \text{from} \quad \text{isaka} \\
& \quad (a \ small \ sack) \quad (a \ sack) \\
\text{ubangazane} & \quad \text{from} \quad \text{ibanga}
\end{align*}
\]

It is however observable that the suffix -azane is used greatly to construct diminutive nouns which are of a feminine gender. In the above examples it is shown that -ana and -azane have different semantic effects.
2.1.2 THE MEANING OF THE DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX

There is a variety of semantic effects that the suffix -ana has. Such effects are not uniform. The meaning of diminutives is divided into morphosemantic denotation and morphosemantic connotation and morphopragmatics.

a. Smallness in Physical Space

This sense of diminutive refers to smallness in size, quantity and age. This is a core meaning of the diminutive. Doke (1992:73) support this and says:

The diminutives form of the noun is used to indicate a small thing corresponding to the noun.

Nyembezi (1956:64) contends that:

"Leligama elithi isinciphiso esilibiza ngalo loluhlobo lwamagama esixoxangawo, likhomba into encane uma iqathaniswa nenye."
(The word diminutives with by which we call this kind of words indicates something small if compared to the other)

This is the denotative semantics of diminutives as it refers to the basic concept of dimensional smallness, which relates to the prototypical standards of dimensions and objects.
This means that the diminutive is all about smallness either in size, age or quantity. These facts are intertwined, it is commonly understood that a younger animal is also small in size than the old animal although it is not always the case, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ikati} & & + & -\text{ana} & + & \text{ikatshana} & -\text{size} \\
(a \text{ cat}) & & & & & (a \text{ small cat}) \\
\text{amanzi} & & + & -\text{ana} & + & \text{amanzana} & -\text{quantity} \\
(water) & & & & & (water) \\
\text{indoda} & & + & -\text{ana} & + & \text{indodana} & -\text{age} \\
(a \text{ man}) & & & & & (a \text{ son})
\end{align*}
\]

Nyembezi (1956:64) supports this when he says:

"Ngaphandle kokuqathanisa ubukhulu nobuncane singaqathanisa ubuningi bento... kokonye sisuke' sigonde ukuqathanisa ngobudala njengalapho siyi amntlwana ; indodana; -isiphongwana."

(Besides comparing bigness and smallness we can compare according to age).

2.1.3 THE METAPHORIC EXTENSION

Metaphorisation refers to the use of diminutives as metaphor. In this case the diminutive is not used to mean the core meaning; physical space, but refers to its peripheral meaning where it is metaphorised into abstract qualities and entities. This means that nouns designating most abstract
qualities may be diminutivised. Most abstract qualities can be diminutivised.

A metaphor is a figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities without using explicit comparison words 'like' and 'as'. This is brought to diminutives of abstract things because they are made the same as nouns depicting concrete things. Metaphorisation of abstract entities is common in Zulu. As it is said above, abstract entities can be diminutivised. This refers to cases where things that can not bee seen are believed to be small, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ubuthongo</th>
<th>ubuthongwana/isithongwana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a nap)</td>
<td>(short nap)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isihluku</td>
<td>isihlukwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cruelty)</td>
<td>(little cruelty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubuhlakani</td>
<td>ubuhlakanyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wisdom)</td>
<td>(little wisdom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uthando</td>
<td>uthanjwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(love)</td>
<td>(little love)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isihe</td>
<td>isihana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mercy)</td>
<td>(little mercy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these examples it is clear that none of abstract entities can be small in physical space but it can be belittled through metaphor. No one can measure the size of an abstract entity, but is believed to be small in size and therefore it is diminutivised.
2.1.4 EVALUATIVE AFFIXES USED WITH PRONOUNS

Pronouns can be made to express the evaluative or expressive meaning through the affixation of the diminutive suffix -ana. It is not all the pronouns that can be used with the diminutive but it is the quantitative pronouns especially the inclusive -nke and the exclusive -dwa. The use of the suffix ana makes these quantitative pronouns stronger in meaning. This is evidenced by the following examples:

Baletheni bonke (bring them all)
Bafike bonkana (they arrived in their entirety).

The expressive meaning of -nkana is emphasised by Doke (1956:93-94) where he argues that:

"Note the common use of the 'diminutive' of this stem, viz -nkana, which is stronger in meaning than -nke. It signifies 'the entire', 'every single one'."

It is correct that -nkana means 'in entirety', it is more inclusive than -nke. It includes even the least or the most remote or the most unnoticeable. This can be clearly illustrated by the following example:

Baghamuke nkalo zonke (they came from all directions)
Baghamuke izinkalo zonkana (they came from each and every direction)
The second example includes every individual direction and that make it more inclusive. It includes all the individuals in their entirety.

Doke does not attach any meaning to the use of -dwana, nobody has given it any importance. Like -nkana -dwana exerts more meaning than -dwa. It extends the meaning of -dwana to 'all by himself'. The affixation of -ana to -dwa makes it more exclusive. This can be seen in the following example:

Izingane zifike zodwana (the kids came all by themselves)
Usisanda udabule ehlathini vedwana (Sisanda went into the thick bush all by herself.)

2.1.5 THE DIMINUTIVE AFFIX USED WITH ADJECTIVES AND RELATIVES

Adjectives can also be diminutivised through metaphorisation. The qualities signalled by adjectives are abstract, therefore they can not be measured through size, quantity nor age but in reality they may be viewed to be small, which can only through metaphorisation. In some instances the speaker does not mean smallness at all, e.g.

Kuhlana lokhu kwengane; ngizokushela.
(this little lady is a bit beautiful, I will propose to her)

In the above example the diminutive is used for endearment or pragmatism. It can be seen in these examples:
muhle = muhlna
(she is beautiful) (she is a bit beautiful)
uqotho = uqoshwana
(he is loyal) (he is a bit loyal)
umpofu = umpofana
(she is poor) (she is a bit poor)
mkhulu = mkhulwana
(she is big) (she is a bit big)

These suffixes add to the qualificative the expressive meaning which is comparative in nature. This idea is supported by Mbuli (1975:13) where he argues that:

“They add to the qualificative a comparative meaning. The use of nominal suffixes with qualificatives is understood in the light of the relationship between the noun and its qualificative in the sentence.”

The suffix -ana expresses a comparison according to size, quantity, age and colour, which is done with two or more substantives in mind. Their evaluative nature rests on the fact that they change the semantics of the base to express or pass the judgement about the situation or an entity. They can also be applied in adjacent circles as it is also the case with other diminutives and augmentatives. They also apply the principle of preserving some features of the base to which they apply. The other property of evaluative rules that follow is that they can be applied in succession which is mostly the case with the diminutive suffix. This can be observed on the following examples:
2.1.6 METONYMIC EXTENSION

Metonymy refers to the use of the diminutive to express an attitude of affection, depreciation, derogation or dismissiveness. All these are instances of metonymic transfer. This is supported by the Encyclopaedia Britanica (Vol. 5, 1991:263) which contents that:

"Greek : change of ‘name’ or ‘misnomer’, figure of speech in which the name of an object or concept is replaced with a word closely related to or suggested by the original."

a. Affection / endearment

The affectionate meaning of the diminutive is dependent to context. It refers to the meaning that has to do with love. This means that diminutives can be used to express love, e.g.

| omkhulu          | - | omkhudlwana          |
| (which is big)   |   | (the slightly bigger) |
| omhlophe         | - | omhloshana           |
| (a white)        |   | (the slightly whiter) |
| obanzi           | - | obanzana             |
| (the wide)       |   | (the slightly wide)  |
| obomvu           | - | obomvana             |
| (the red)        |   | (the slightly red)   |

ikhehla - ikhehlana
(an old man) (a little old man)
isalukazi - isalukazana
(an old woman) (a little old woman)

If this is put out of context it can mean smallness in physical space but its metonymous meaning can be heard vividly when it is put into context, e.g.

Ubani lo ongithanda kangaka, ongiphe lesisipho?
(who is it that loves me, who gave me such a present?)
Isalukazana sakho phela uZinhle.
(it is you beloved little old woman Zinhle)

This illustrates vividly how the suffix -ana has been used to evaluate the situation where the spirit of love has been expressed through the diminutive. This is even supported by Nyembezi (1956:64) where he contends that:

"Masikuphawule fuhi nokuthi izinciphiso lezi singazisebenzisa ngesiye isikhathi ngokuteketisa."
(Let us note that diminutives can also be used to indicate endearment).

b. Length or Longness

A meaning of a diminutive suffix may differ from its core meaning (smallness in size) and involve the dimension of length. This occur in the diminutivisation of adjectives and relatives.

e.g. mude = mujana
      (he is long)      (he is a bit long)
mufishane = mfishanvana
(she is short) (she is a bit short)
ibangana = ibangana
(a distance) (a little/short distance)

Contrary to its core meaning of smallness or shortness the diminutive suffix in ibangana is generally used to mean a relatively longer distance, e.g.

Ngizokhathala uma ngizohamba ngezinyayo negiy eMthunzini ngoba kuvibangana elide impela
(I will get tired if I go to Mthunzini by foot because it is a little longer distance)

It can go beyond the visual perception (the cognitively most important mode of perception) to embrace things that has to do with hearing which is acoustic perception.

umsindo 'noise' = umsinjwana 'weaker noise'

This can even include the sense of smallness where one can diminutives events and odours and say:

iphunga = iphungana
(a smell) (a weaker smell / a bad smell)

Usually (iphungana) is used to express a bad smell.
c. Derogation (Pejorative)

Smallness also goes with low esteem and less worth. It only depends on the viewpoint of the speaker who is acting as an evaluator to the situation at hand. Diminutive words alone can not be able to portray the derogative meaning of a word but it can be expressed through context. Nyembezi (1956:64) also supports this when he argues that:

"Asigcini lapho; ungamuzwa omunye ethi : Thing singekhulume namadojevana. Ukubiza abanye abantu ngamadojevana ukuhevisa."

(We do not end there; you can here someone say : We can't speak about the so-called men. To all other people the so-called men is being rude to them all.)

This is evidenced by the following example:

Le ndojevana iyadelela ngempela (this damn man is rude)

In some instances a separate suffix can be used for a derogatory diminutive noun.
indoda (man)

indojevana       indodana
(damned/silly man)   (a son)

Indojevana - above uses the suffix -eyana for it to sound different from indodana and thus they mean two separate things; a man of less dignity and a son respectively.

d. Dismissiveness

Small things can be associated with little importance. This leads to the dismissive sense of the diminutive which means a matter of no significance. This is one of the peripheral meanings of the diminutive, that means there is a slight semantic shift because it no longer mean smallness in physical space. This type of expression can even diminutives even an augmented noun. This is because it only concentrate on the significance of a thing/phenomenon to the speaker and it does not take into cognizance the size of that thing. It also depends on context. These are examples that show dismissiveness:

Angifune madlana vakho mina.
(I do not want your damned money)

Yile ntonjana vakhe engasile
diminutives where there are diminutives that are existing whose derived nouns can not be traced. These derived nouns no longer exist in the language. This can be seen in the following example:

\[\text{idlanzana}\\n\text{(a group of few people)}\\n\text{isidlozana}\\n\text{(cruelty)}\]

Nouns stated above are structurally similar to diminutives and they mean small thing as they are diminutives. The difference with them is that their original bases cannot be traced. The diminutive 'isidlozana' cannot have its derivand as 'isidlozi' 'isidloza' nor 'isidlo'. It only exist as a diminutised noun. The same also applies to the diminutive noun 'idlanzana' where there is nothing like 'idlanzi' or 'idlanza' the only noun that exist is 'idlanzana'. Such derivands may be believed to have existed some time ago but have faded as time goes on.

2.1.8 DIMINUTIVES WITHOUT A SUFFIX
These are diminutives that are structurally different from those that use the suffix for their construction. They use the prefix isi- which is the prefix in search of the diminutive meaning. These diminutives have their diminutive nature based on meaning. This can be observed in the following examples:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Umsele} & \Rightarrow \text{isisele} \\
\text{(a furrow)} & \text{(a little furrow)} \\
\text{ibele} & \Rightarrow \text{isibele} \\
\text{(female breast)} & \text{(a little male breast)}
\end{array}\]
The prefix isi- can be used to indicate something small in size, value and quantity. These diminutives can be traced even in other African languages. That is observable in the following Ur-Bantu examples where the prefix ku- for plural and ka- for singular are used.

Musha > kamusha
(a village) (a small village)
igo > kago
(a wasp) (a small wasp)

in the Swahili the diminutive prefix is ki-. Khanyeza supports this when he says:

"It would be remembered that ur-Bantu ki- remains ki- before i. It is not surprising to have ki- and isi- as diminutive prefixes in Swahili and Zulu respectively."

2.1.9 FAKE/ FALSE DIMINUTIVES

These are nouns that are structurally similar to diminutives whereas they are not diminutives semantically. In most cases they do not express smallness at all such that they may even mean things that are big either in size or in significance. This can be illustrated by these examples:

1. umnumzana - (sir)
2. umlanjwana - (an illegitimate child)

These nouns do not refer to small things at all. Umnumzana is a highly respected someone whose name cannot be diminutised. Umlanjwana refer to an illegitimate child in general and doesn’t take into consideration anything about physical space.

2.1.10 PHONOLGICAL PROCESSES TRIGGERED BY THE SUFFIX -ANA

a. Palatalisaton

Palatilisation as used here refers to a phonological process where non-palatal sounds, normally alveolar and bilabials, become palatal sounds. Doke (1992:21) supports this and says:

"But in other cases, notably in the formation of noun diminutives,... the bilabials consonants give place to a corresponding prepalatal sound. This is termed palatalisation."

It is notable that when palatalisation occur the following changes takes place:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ph} & \rightarrow \text{sh} & \text{p} & \rightarrow \text{ts} & \text{bh} & \rightarrow \text{j} \\
\text{m} & \rightarrow \text{nj} & \text{mp} & \rightarrow \text{ntsh} & \text{mb} & \rightarrow \text{nv} \\
\text{t} & \rightarrow \text{tsh} & \text{th} & \rightarrow \text{sh} & \text{d} & \rightarrow \text{j} \\
\text{n} & \rightarrow \text{nv} & \text{nt} & \rightarrow \text{ntsh} & \text{nd} & \rightarrow \text{nj}
\end{align*}
\]
Palatisation always involves the deletion of a vowel or a glide which conditions it. This then suggests that palatalisation does not represent an assimilatory process but the merger/fusion of two segments so that certain distinctive articulator properties of both original segments are still restored and maintained.

b. The Glide Formation/Consonantalisation

The glide formation is a dissimilatory process whereby vowels /i/ and /u/ are strengthened as they become consonants /y/ and /w/ respectively. Consonantalisation is one of the processes that occur if the diminutive suffix is affixed to nouns that end with the vowel /i/ or /u/ with an aim of making them dissimilar to the vowel /a/ of the diminutive suffix. This is evidenced by the following examples:

\[
\text{indlu} + \text{-ana} > \text{indluana} > \text{indlwana} \\
\text{isihlibhi} + \text{-ana} > \text{isihlibhvana} > \text{isihlijana}
\]

It is vivid that one cannot separate phonology from morphology as any other aspect of a language because they are intertwined but separate parts of a single whole. That is why they are inseparable. This is how one can use the diminutive to evaluate the situation at hand as it may indicate love or dismissiveness. The formation of diminutives is evaluative, that is to say they are used to express an evaluation or a judgement as to the value according to the evaluator’s intentions, perspectives and standards of evaluation. This can be viewed as a mental operation, which assesses the value of an item, event or quality.
2.2 The Augmentative affix

The augmentative refers to a noun indicating largeness in number, sizes or value. It may be used either in metaphor or literally and it is usually contrasted with the diminutive where the general meaning is small. In fact they are direct opposites. Nyembezi (1982:68) supports this by saying:

"Kuye kuthi la pho sifina ukubonisa ubukhulu bento obubabazakayo, sisebenzise isikhuliso."

(If we want to show extreme bigness of something we use the augmentative.)

The augmentative share similar properties with the diminutives. They are both inflectional and they change only the semantics and not the category of the base.

2.2.1 THE MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF AN AUGMENTATIVE AFFIX

In the construction of an augmentative noun the suffix -kazi is suffixed to nouns. This morpheme may be affixed to both nouns and adjectives or relatives. This augmentative morpheme may be varied by the suffix -azi in certain instances. There is no morphological rule/reason behind this variation and it is used in limited and isolated cases, e.g.

ikhanda + -kazi > ikhandakazi
‘a head’ ‘a big head’
If -azi is affixed to nouns two vowels come into close proximity which is not allowed in Zulu. That therefore prompts a phonological process to happen and normally it is deletion whereby a final vowel of a noun is deleted and substituted with the first vowel of the suffix -azi, e.g.

\[
isaluka + azi = isalukazi
\]

### 2.2.2 THE MEANING OF THE AUGMENTATIVE SUFFIX

The meaning of augmentatives varies according to context.

**a. Largeness in physical space**

When the augmentative is used literally it means bigness or largeness in size. This is supported by Nyembezi (1982:69) who argues that:

"Kuye kuthi lapho sifuna ukubonisa ubukhulu bento obobubazekayo sisebenzise isikhuliso."

(If we want to indicate the extreme bigness of a thing we use the augmentative).

This argument signals the fact that the augmentation basically or literally mean bigness in size, e.g.
2.2.3 THE METAPHORICAL EXTENSION OF THE AUGMENTATIVE SUFFIX

Like diminutives, augmentative can be metaphorised. This is an instance where augmentative morpheme is affixed to abstract nouns and relatives or adjectives. In this instance the augmentation is done to abstract entities, e.g.

\[
\text{uthando} + -kazi = \text{uthandokazi}
\]

(love) (great love)

The augmentation of adjectives can be both literal and metaphorical depending on the adjective stem to which the suffix is affixed, e.g.

\[
\text{elikhulu} + -kazi = \text{elikhulkazi}
\]

(which is big) (which is the biggest)

\[
\text{elide} + -kazi = \text{elidekazi}
\]

(which is long) (which is the longest)

The metaphorically augmented relative can be used with an already augmented noun for emphasis, for example:

\[
\text{ikhandaka} + -kazi > \text{ikhandakazi} \quad \text{(big head)}
\]

\[
\text{umkhaba} + -kazi > \text{umkhabakazi} \quad \text{(big tummy)}
\]

\[
\text{umlenze} + -kazi > \text{umlenzekazi} \quad \text{(big leg)}
\]

No phonological change occurs to the base when the augmentative morpheme is affixed to nouns. The reason is that all Zulu nouns end with vowels and \(-kazi\) does not begin with a vowel.
Nansi lendoda nekhandakazi elikhulukazi
(there is this man with a damn big head)
Ngimbonile loyo wekhalakazi elidekazi.
(I did see that one with the big nose)

2.2.4 THE AUGMENTATIVE QUALIFICATIVE

The suffix -kazi [the augmentative suffix] can be suffixed to adjectives and relatives. Like the diminutive suffix the augmentative suffix adds the expressive meaning to the qualificative thus making it evaluative. It adds the sense of extreme bigness. Mbuli (1975:13) supports this when he says:

They add to the qualificative a comparative meaning.

The augmentative suffix -kazi maintains its role of indicating a big size of the referent in relation to its size even if it is used with adjectives and relatives. It can be used twice in a sentence for emphasis or to show contempt when it is affixed to both the referent and the adjective or relative, e.g.

Lo mfana wekhandakazi elikhulukazi uvachwensa.
(This boy with the biggest head is unruly.)

This evaluative rule can also be applicable to relatives which fall under the whole spectrum of colour, e.g.

obomvu - obomvukazi
This qualifies to be the evaluative rule on the fact that it suffices almost all the properties of evaluative morphology. It changes the semantics of the base to which it is applied, as it is shown above.

2.3 The Ideophone as a Device of Expressing Excessiveness

The ideophone is a free morph which can be used to express the most or excessive value of a certain colour. It is not all the ideophones that can be used as excessives, but it is only the ideophones that are used with the adjectives of colour. These ideophones pass judgement about the colour they are used with. Such ideophones cannot be used alone in a sentence and that makes them behave like bound morphemes. This can be seen from the following examples:

Le ngubo imhlophe qwa
(this dress is very white)

igazi libomvu tebhu
(the blood is very red)

lo mfana umnyama su
(this boy is pitch black)

lovo uluhlaza cwe
(That one is very rude)
All ideophones used above signal the most extreme levels of each colour. Owa means the whitest of them all, teblu – the most red; su – the most black and cwe means the most blue or green or else rude.

2.4 Reduplication of noun stems

Reduplication means using the same morpheme more than once in a word. In Zulu this normally occurs in nouns and verbs stems. The reduplicated noun stem then forms an affix and thereafter makes the noun able to assess the situation and therefore passing judgement. Reduplication of nominal stems means multitude or multiplicity in Zulu, e.g.

- Imifulafula > (too many rivers)
- Iminyakanyaka > (too many years)

If the root is monosyllabic the stem is reduplicated but /yi/ is inserted between the reduplicated parts, e.g. imihlayihla > (many days)

In some cases, reduplication may be used in the construction of derivative nouns, e.g.

- uNkulunkulu > (the most Great of them all)
- iqhalaghala > (the most brazen faced person)
- inyalanyala > (the most shamefaced person)
- isiphalaphala > (the most beautiful person)
2.5 Conclusion

The foregoing discussion permits one to conclude that both the diminutive and augmentative affixes do qualify as part of evaluative morphology. This is based on two facts: Firstly that they pass judgement about the situation they are meant to assess. They may also be used to reveal the emotions of the speaker; either derogation or endearment.
Chapter Three

EVALUATIVE AFFIXES USED WITH PERSONAL NAMES

3.1 Pejorative nominals in Zulu

In this chapter pejorative nouns in isiZulu will be looked at. In the past these has been treated by various scholars who have given it various names. Van Eeden (1956:90) puts these under the locative class, that is class 17 because of the prefix -ki-. His sentiments are far fetched because these are not locative at all. Wilkes (1989:34) refers to these as ‘the so-called indefinite copulative relatives’. He thoroughly discussed and scrutinized this phenomenon but he fails to give a proper name for it, he describes all the names but still calls it ‘the so-called copulative relatives’. He concluded that they form an emotive class which is no longer existent in Zulu. The question is still there: if these nouns are still in use and are similar to other nouns which are no longer used why isn’t there a class for them to fit in?

a. Their Relative Nature

These have nothing in their use and meaning that can make one associate them with relatives. They do not qualify the subject in a sentence but they rather work as emotives which are nouns. The following examples illustrate this:

Umfana omnyama uyahamba - relative
‘the black boy is going’
Okuwumfana kuyahamba
‘The boy of less dignity is going’
It is the uncertainty about origin of their initial vowel /o/- that has made scholars associate this with relatives. They argue that the vowel /o/ is a result of vowel coalescence that occur when the relative /a/ is preplaced to indefinite prefix /uku/.

This is not the case because these words never function as qualificatives and their semantics (emotive) is different from that of relatives. It is only that they seem to have the same morpheme /o-/, which characteristic is only structural. They behave like nominals or nouns in all respect. They can either be a subject or the object in a sentence like all other nouns.

b. *Their Predicative Nature*

These evaluative nominals are derived from the copulatives which are inflected nouns, which can used predicatively. It is the copulatives that are formed firstly then the evaluative nominals. This can be seen in the following example:

- **umfana** - noun
  
  ‘the boy’

- **neumfana** - compulative
  
  ‘it is the boy’

- **okungumfana** - emotive/evaluative nominal
  
  ‘The boy of alower status’

The question lies with /oku/ which is prefixed to copulatives. Wilkes (1989:37) argues that:
"According to the form of this concord, this head noun must have been a member of a noun class with the prefix uku- which is not to be confused with infinite class prefix of class 15 ... clear evidence of the worthwhile existence of such an emotive noun class in Zulu is provided by the nouns: ukunto, unkunto, uku."

Wilkes' idea is true because these emotive nouns are confined to emotions, which are endearment and sympathy. The other problem is that the emotive class in Zulu is no longer existing. This emotive class and nouns signifying endearment only, such nouns include:

- ukunto
- unkunto
- ukuthokozi

(playing pet)

It does not include the bad side of emotions which is derogation and dismissiveness. If one looks at /oku- / as a relative concord then he has to account for the noun class form which it is taken which is impossible because the 'original' substantive is not there. The major question that comes to the fore is about the noun class in which they belong. African languages like Kongo; Gisu, Ganda, Swahili, Nyanja; Chwana and Herero do not have the exact emotive noun class but some of them do have diminutive noun class. This leaves the problem for this emotive class of Zulu. One has to trace the originality of these nouns. They are inflected nominals and are from copulatives which are also inflected nominals (which are from simple nouns).
These emotive nouns are derived from human nouns in most cases which belong mostly to class 1a or 1. The semantics of the emotive nominals have emotive nature which makes them fit correctly into evaluative morphology. Their evaluativeness depends on context and it varies between sympathy, endearment and derogation.

### 3.1.1 The Semantics of the Pejorative Prefix

#### a. Derogation

Emotive nominals can be used to express derogation or less worthiness. This notion is carried by the basic prefix-ku which is normally used in non-human noun of class 15. This meaning depends on context. Wilkes (1989:35) contends that:

"This emotive value is often rendered in English by words such as 'wretched', 'wicked', 'confounded', 'good for nothing', 'blessed', 'damned', 'dared', etc."

He clearly indicates that their derogatory use depends on context. This derogatory nature of emotive nouns can be seen in the following examples:

Ngizokuthola okuwuZodwa
(I will ultimately get the so called Zodwa)

Ave ngikwenyanya okuwuNdlanzi
(I hate the so called Ndlanzi)

The above examples signify derogation less worthiness and dismissiveness which can be associated with wicked, damned or confounded in English.
b. **Endearment**

In other languages like English, this can be expressed by adjectives but in isiZulu it is expressed through the use of emotive nouns. This sense is also dependent on context because it is carried by the same morphological entity which can also mean derogation. The context is therefore there to draw a clear demarcation between the two. Endearment in this regard goes together with sympathy. They can be expressed by the same word. This can be seen in the following example:

Engabe okuwuBonga kudleni nje ekhaya ngingekho.

(I would like to know what did my sweet little Bonga eat at home in my absence.)

Wilkes argues that:

"Note in the text that the agreement morpheme ku- ... has no derogatory reading despite its reference to [-human] nouns thus refuting the standpoint adhered to by so many Zulu scholars namely that the concord ku- has derogatory implications when referring to human."

The view that these nominals do not have the endearment implication when referring to humans is far away from being true because in practice they are used to show endearment and sympathy.
c. **Emotive nominals as independent nouns**

There are scholars who hold onto the view that emotive nominals can function as independent nouns. Wilkes (1989:35) supports this view as he says:

"Evaluative nominals have finally also much in common with other nouns as far as their syntax is concerned."

This is true but it occurs to a limited extent. There are times where the emotive nominals can function in the same manner as independent nouns.

Firstly emotive nominals can substitute independent nouns when they are used as subjects or objects in a sentence, but the overall meaning is changed somehow, which is always the case with evaluative rules.

They do not mean exactly the same even if the noun is dimunativised through the suffix-ana. This can be seen in the following example:

- **Okuyingane kuyeza manje** (The sweet little baby is coming now)
- **Inganyana iyeza manje.** (The little baby is coming now.)
- **Okungumthakathi kuyangikhwifa** (The damn witch is bewitching me)
- **Umithakashana uyangikhwifa.** (The little witch is bewitching me)

**Emotive nominals and diminutivised nominals can not substitute each other in a sentence and maintain exactly the same meaning.** There need be a slight shift of meaning unless new words are put into the sentence to bring more light to the desired meaning.
Secondly, emotive nominals can not be used to mean smallness in physical space, quantity and age. They only signify either derogation or endearment. Therefore okuyimoto and imotwana will never mean exactly the same, although they both have the element of smallness.

Thirdly both the independent noun and evaluative nouns can function as descriptive nouns; where they function as relative, but the meaning they carry is not exactly the same. This can be vividly illustrated in the following example:

- Umfana ovikhehlana angimthandi (I do not like the boy who behaves like an old man)
- Okuvikhehla lomfana angikuthandi (I do not like the sweet oldish boy)
- Nakhu lokhu komfana okuvikhehla (There comes this damn oldish boy.)

The major problem is that emotive nominals are nouns (inflected nominals) they can function as independent nouns. They have a descriptive nature just like other nouns, this can be seen in the following examples:

- Angikudli ukudla okuncane (I do not eat the small food)
- Ngifuna okuyingane (I want that sweet little child)
- Vilokhu okuwumfana okungishavile. (It is this damn little boy which beat me up.)
Inflected nominals do not form a syntactic class of their own. This is because they have been put under different parts of speech which are not nouns (copulatives, locatives, possessives, etc). That is why the evaluative nouns could not be referred to as inflected nominals. These will therefore be treated as nouns with additional prefixes (diminutive in nature).

The problem of the nominal class of the nouns with the additional prefixes can be remedied by looking into the structure/nominal prefixes of different African languages and their semantics.

The previous studies on this matter did not attempt to classify these nouns into any nominal class as they did not view these as nouns. It is believed that isiZulu does not have classes 20 and 22 which have prefixes (oku-) and (aga-) in Ganda and (ku-) in Venda. These nominal class (20) contains nouns which are mainly derogatives; augmentative diminutives and mannerisms whereas class (22) contains the plural of class (20). This is therefore in line with the Zulu nouns (with additional prefix) which bears the sense of derogatives and diminitory. This singular form which begins with the prefix oku- falls under class 20 and the plural form with the prefix oko- falls under class 22.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NC</th>
<th>GANDA</th>
<th>VENDA</th>
<th>ZULU SEMANTICS OF NOUN CLASSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>omu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>umu- human beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>u- proper names; kinship terms;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>personification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aba-</td>
<td>vha-</td>
<td>aba- plural of class 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>vho-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>plural of class 1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>omu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>umu- natural phenomena; bodyparts,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Length</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>emi-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>plural or class 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>eri-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>natural phenomena, animals, body parts, collective nouns, undesirable people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ama-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>plural of class, mass terms and liquids, time references, action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>eki-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>utensils, tools, insects, languages, decreases, outstanding people, body parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ebi-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>plural of class 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>en-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>animals, people, body parts, tools, natural phenomena, instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>zi-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>plural of class 9 or 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>olu-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>long, thin entities implements, utensils, languages body parts, natural phenomena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>aka-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>derogatives, diminutives,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>out-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>plural of class 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>obu-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>abstracts locatives collects infinitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>oku-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>infinitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>location terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>location terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>location terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ogu-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>derogatives, diminutives, augmentatives pejoratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>di-</td>
<td>Augmentatives, derogatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The suffix -se in Zulu is used to form proper names which belong to noun class 1a. Such proper names are applicable to females. The suffix can be used to mean 'the extreme' or 'the most' of the base to which it is applied. In its general application this suffix does not imply contempt or endearment but it can be used evaluatively to express mostly contempt. This means it can, in most instances be evaluative in nature as it is the case with other evaluative rules. Doke (1956) viewed this as a nominal derivative which is a type of a feminine formation and he never looked at its evaluative nature. That can be seen from the following:

"The formative suffix -se is used extensively in Zulu to form proper names in class 1a, applicable to girls; this is a type of feminine formation."

It is correct to say the suffix -se is used on the derivation of personal nouns but it is further remarkable that these carry the sense of dismissiveness and excessiveness which expresses dislike, contempt. This can be seen from the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Evaluative Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kholwa + -se = uKholwase (a damn believer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khanda + -se = uThandwase (the damn loved)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>themba + -se = uThenjwase (the so called trusted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Doke committed a grave mistake of classifying this under derivational morphology as he regards them as nouns derived through the suffix -se. This is so because there are other proper nouns that can be used to refer to females but these are mainly used to express contempt and dismissiveness. They can not be used to express endearment. Nobody can use such a name to his/her child without being angry or eager to express this contempt.

3.3 The diminutive suffix -ana

The diminutive suffix -ana can also be used with personal names in Zulu. Its meaning can also vary ranging between the core meaning of smallness in physical space, age or quantity to its peripheral meaning of endearment, contempt or dislike.

a) The use of a diminutive suffix in proper names

Proper names can have the diminutives from their original source, the one who gives the name to the child. It can not be diminutives by other people anyhow, there are proper names that can not take the diminutive suffix and there are also those that do allow it in their construction.

The first group of proper names that can use the diminutive suffix -ana are those that are constructed from qualificatives and indicate the complexion of the child. In many instances such names are used as nicknames which they may be given by anyone but it should be borne in mind that there are those that are used as first names.
In many occasions such names are given to people with a different complexion, differing from the whole family or other kids in the family or in some cases at school or in class. This use of the diminutive is commonly used to indicate endearment although there is no boundary which boarders it from being used to show dislike.

Secondly there are cases where the diminutive suffix is used to indicate dislike. This is used in most cases to secret nicknames that the bearer does not know. Such a situation it is used at work-places by subordinates referring to a Senior or by a learners at school referring to their teacher. Normally they tend to call him/her through anything bad about him or her. It can be his or her deformed/crippled body part, his little ways or her bad habits, e.g

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uSandlana} &= \text{isandla} + \text{-ana} \\
(\text{l Little hand}) \\
\text{uKhanjana} &= \text{ikhanda} + \text{-ana} \\
(\text{little head})
\end{align*}
\]

This should not be confused with the -ana of the reciprocal verb extension which is also used for the same purpose, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uMaklinvana} \\
(\text{the one who suffocates others})
\end{align*}
\]
uMaklwebhana
(the one scrap others)

The diminutive suffix _-ana_ to the proper noun. If the diminutive morpheme is suffix proper nouns it changes the proper noun to express affection, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uVusi</th>
<th>&gt;</th>
<th>uMavusana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uDanger</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>uMadenjana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uVovi</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>uMavovana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uGugu</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>uMagugwana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Normally this sense is used together with the initial morpheme _-ma_ which also expresses affection. This _-ma_ should not be confused with the abbreviated _-ma_ of compound nouns which means the 'daughter of'. This _-ma_ expresses affection only, as it has no other semantic implication. This linguistic phenomenon is evident in the dialect of young peer groups. They use to love each other in a group as a result they call each other with names that are changed to express the bond between them. This can also happen in a family. In English they use these diminutivised proper nouns, e.g.

Eddie for Edward
Reggie for Reginald

Commonly in Zulu they use condensed names to express affection, e.g.
This phenomenon of using diminutives is not that much common, that is why it did not get any linguistic attention in the past

b. The use of diminutive suffix -ana in Surnames

There are many surnames in Zulu which are in the diminutive form. In many cases these surnames have the relationship with the ones that use the undiminutivised form. This means that certain surnames in Zulu operate or are in pairs. There are those that are not diminituised and those that are diminutivised in form. In some cases the adoption of the diminutive suffix -ana is historical, i.e. one may find that somewhere along the historical line such surnames were one, using the unduminutivised form and as the time went on they clashed and the others left the place and broke away from others and used the diminutivised form, but they share the same genealogy and are still related. This means that -ana in that instance is used to indicate ‘people of the lower house’ or the little house that broke away from the big one. This is the case with the following example:

Ndlovu - Ndlovana
3.4 Conclusion

This shows that proper nouns like other nominals do form part of evaluative morphology on the note that they can use the evaluative affixes like the diminutive affix for either endearment or derogation in assessing different situations. In most cases the evaluated situations happen towards or during the child's birth in case of names. This is also the case with surnames because they also bear a historical resemblance.
Chapter Four

EVALUATIVE RULES IN ZULU VERBS

Evaluative rules in Zulu are also applicable in verbs. Stump (1992) in his application of evaluative rules to Zulu never mentioned their applicability to Zulu verbs, he only confined his study to Zulu nouns. This part of the study will concentrate mainly on the applicability of evaluative rules to Zulu verbs which will encompass verbal extensions, reduplication of stems in verbs, evaluative concords as well as evaluative modals.

4.1 Evaluative Concords in Zulu

There are some concords in Zulu which have the evaluative roles if they are affixed to any verb stems. As it is by definition of evaluative morphology such concords changes the semantics of the base to make it pass judgement about the situation at hand. According to Crystal (1993:73) the concord is:

"The way in which a particular form of one word requires a corresponding form of another' also called agreement .... Concord is the main means of expressing grammatical relationships."

This definition of a concord is correct but the evaluative concord goes beyond bringing about agreement between word forms as it adds the judgmental value to the base to which it is applied. They add the expressive meaning either of result,
endearment or dismissiveness to the base. This section will concentrate on evaluative concords in Zulu.

a) The Honorific Concord

Honorifics are based on the divisions of the society. Such stratification can be based on age (the younger respects the older person), rankes, sex. Concords are some of many devices which are used in expressing respect. Concords in the plural form.

In Zulu plurality is commonly used to pay respect. This is because Zulu people have a tendency of using indirect talking strategies. They use plural concords even for a single person. This is even evident in their way of greeting one another where they address one person as the whole family because he/she is regarded as a representative of his/her family. This automatically goes with the prefix of the substantive (which is respected) which also changes to plural instead of singular, e.g.

Sanibona!

Ninjani?

In some instances politeness in Zulu can be expressed by a singular concord which is used in the indirect manner and together with the recent past tense, e.g.

**Polite**

UBABA UBEFUNANI?

(What was the father looking for?)

**Impolite**

UFUNANI BABA?

(What are you looking for, father?)
b. **The pejorative concords**

There is only one pejorative concord in Zulu and it is also evaluative in nature because it changes the semantics of the base and develop a sense of disapproval, belittlement or endearment. This pejorative concord is ku .... This concord is used together with the pejorative nouns of class 20 (singular) and 22 (plural) (chapter 3). Like all other concords pejorative concords can represent the substantive in a sentence, e.g.

Ave kuhuthele okuwuZwe
(Zwe is very diligent)
Awukubuke lokhu okuyisilima (dislike)
(Look at this damn fool)
Kwenzani lokhu (disapproval/dislike)
(What does this damn someone do)

The pejorative concord is true example of evaluative concord as it carries in it the emotive meaning and it is a bound morpheme. Like the pejorative nouns the pejorative concord has be given various names and classifications. Doke and other scholars have put this under the intuitive whereas it is a concord with its own nominal class.

### 4.2 Evaluative Modals in Zulu

Modality in Zulu deals with the semantics of the auxilliary verb and this does not include the whole verb construction. These is a clear difference between the auxilliary verb and the auxiliary. The former refers to stems like hleze, lokhu, vele damane etc whereas the latter refers to morpheme like -za-vo-nga- ya- sa-
etc. such morphemes can be used evaluatively which means they are evaluative in nature. Therefore the modality includes the qualities of auxiliaries. It should be borne in mind that the meaning attached to auxiliaries is not straightforward as it is the case with most morphemes. Not all modals form part of evaluative morphology, the only evaluative modals are the modals of ability and possibility.

### 4.2.1 MODALS OF ABILITY AND POSSIBILITY

The modal of ability and possibility is the only evaluative modal in Zulu. It is named differently by different scholars. Many Zulu linguistics classify this modality wrongly as they refer to it as a mood. A mood refers to a predicature form which it assumes under different positions and circumstances in a sentence. This pertains to the whole verb whereas modality looks into the auxiliaries and auxiliary verb not the whole verb. Ability and possibility are brought about by the auxiliary –nga- which makes them modals and not moods. Doke (1961:194) calls this the 'potential mood', Louw (1968:125) refer to it as the 'potential form', Cole (1975:268) calls it the conditional mood. Hlongwane (1983:84) argues that:

"It might be preferable to call it the conditional mood. However to call it a mood would suggest that the conditional semantic force is grammaticalized differently from all other predicative forms in the language. We shall simply refer to it as a conditional which shows that it is always subordinate".
Hlongwane (1983:83) does see that this is not a mood but he cannot correctly classify it. I fully agree with him when he doubts its classification as a mood but as it has to do with semantics of an auxiliary.

The core incoming of the auxiliary -nga- is ability which according to Coats (1993:10) is distinguished by the following features:

1. A subject is animate and has adjectival role.
2. The main verb denotes physical action.
3. Action is mainly determined by inherent properties of the subject.

Coats' properties are good but they need some modifications especially when it comes to Zulu. The first feature confines the modal of ability to animate subject. It sounds correct when one says inanimate things cannot have the ability to do any action but grammatically speaking the modal of ability can apply to Zulu inanimate subjects and have a proper meaning. e.g.

**Uphaphe lungawa**
(A feather can fall down)

**Ugodo lungagoba**
(The log can bend)

**Induku ingaphuka**
(The stick can break)

**Uphaphe**, **ugodo** and **induku** are all inanimate but in their use in the above examples indicates both ability and possibility. Therefore this feature needs to be modified like this:
"A subject is either animate or inanimate and has an adjectival role".

The second feature is also not absolutely correct on the note that the action denoted is not always physical. May be one needs to know the clear demarcations of the physicality of the action. The auxiliary can be used with the verb denoting psychological or mental action which is not at all physical. This can be seen from the following examples:

Angadlinza kakhulu uSipho (Sipho can meditate a lot.)
Ugogo angakhumbula konke (Granny can remember everything)

Angadlinza and angakhumbula are all not physicality denoting verbs but they can take the auxiliary -nga- which calls for the modification of the second feature. It could be proper if this feature is modified like this:

"The main verb can denote action either physical mental, any other kind of action".

The third feature is proper for all Zulu examples which means that the features of the ability with stand as follows:

1. "A subject is either animate or inanimate and has an adjectival role.
2. The main verb can denote either physical mental or any other kind of action.
3. Action is mainly determined by inherent properties off the subject".
The ability morpheme -nga- signifies the core meaning that the subject has the natural ability to do something this can be used to signify the peripheral meaning which is different from the core meaning. In such a case it does not necessarily refer to ability but it is the ‘possibility’ open to the subject. The following examples illustrate this clearly:

1. **Manje esingakwenza ukuthola isisusa** (ability)
   (What we can do now is to get the cause).

2. **Ungangibizela uThemba** (possibility)
   (Can you call me Themba)

The modals of ability and possibility are evaluative to pass the judgements or assess the situation. Secondly it changes the semantics of the base and thirdly it does not change the syntactic category of the base; fourthly it can occur before infectional rules. This shows that it has most of the properties of evaluative rules.

### 4.3 The Evaluative Verbal Extentions

All Zulu verbal extensions use affixes / morphs for their construction but not all of them are evaluative in nature. There two verbal extensions that are evaluative, the two verbal extensions are : the intensive and the reciprocal verbal extensions. The other five do not form part of evaluative morphology because of the fact that although they use affixes for their construction, and they change the semantics of the base they do not pass the judgement, they do not have emotive an expressive meaning. This brings us to the point of looking into these two evaluative verbal extensions.
a. **The intensive verbal extension**

This verbal extension uses the bound morph **-isisa**. There are two opposing views surrounding the construction of verbal extensions. First, there are those who say that it is the suffix **-isisa** that is put to the verb stem. Others say it is not the suffix that is used but an infixedes which are put between the final vowel and the last consonant. Or [infixed into the final syllable] this is not the argument of this study but for convenience and logic use we will opt for the suffix option which brings us to the conclusion that the intensive verbal extension uses the suffix **-isa**. This suffix adds to the verb stem the expressive meaning of “Something/ action done intensively and thoroughly. Nyembezi (1956:131) supports this when the contends that:

”Siyabona-ke ukuthi lempambosi isho ukwenza ngamandla nangokucophelela.”

(We can see that this means doing something thoroughly and carefully)

This is absolutely correct because the intensive verbal extension can be used to denote something carefully and completely done. Most of Zulu linguists ended on this level with this verbal extension and they did not look at the expressive meaning of this verbal extension. It passes the judgement that one does the particular action intensively or carefully. It therefore distinguish it from other verb extensions, that can be seen in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>evaluative verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hamba</td>
<td>hambisisa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It also preserve almost all the features of the base although the last syllable is disturbed. Other evaluative or inflectional rules may be applied after this evaluative rule e.g.

Doke (1956) committed a mistake by putting this verb extension a derivative. Firstly this can not change the word category nor does it change the base to pass judgement which is a feature of evaluative morphology. Doke (1956) does realise the fact that this affixation results into a semantic shift but never indicated that the shift results to an expressive meaning. This can be evidenced by Doke (1956:139) where he says!

"In this way definite variations of meaning are derived."

This evidences the fact that as an evaluative rule the intensive verbal extension changes the semantics of the base to pass judgement without changing the syntactic category of the base.
b. The reciprocal verb extension

The reciprocal verb extension is the evaluative rule which indicates that the action is performed upon one another by two or more subjects. It is constructed through the affixation of the suffix -ana. This -ana should not be confused with the diminutive suffix which is used in nouns. When this suffix is affixed to a verb stem vowel elision results with an objective of separating two vowels which come into juxta position. This morphological phenomenon qualifies to be part of evaluative morphology because of its engraved expressive meaning of dismissiveness and contempt or dislike. Zulu linguist which wrongly classified this under derivational, morphology where they argued that verb extensions are verb which are derived from other verbs. Doke (1956:130)says:

"The most important regular verbal derivatives in Zulu are (1) the passive (2) the neuter (3) the applied (4) the reciprocal (5) the causative (6) the intensive and (7) the diminutive."

It is improper to categorise these verb extensions under the derivational roof. The reciprocal extension is commonly used with plural concords but in Zulu in particular it can be used with singular concords mostly in cases where it is used evaluative i.e. to express dislike or dismissiveness. In Shona it is mostly used with plural concord. This is evidenced by Fortune (1956:215) who contends that:

"The reciprocal species is commonly used with plural concords; the parties to the reciprocal action being associated as a plural subject".
This can be seen from the following Shona example:

Mombe nakafundza-mombe zinobatsirana
(the head-of -cattle and the tick-bird help one another.)

In Zulu the reciprocal can be used to express two different meanings the first being the general reciprocal end the second being dismissiveness. This idea is supported by Doke (1956:148) who argues that:

“Nevertheless in Zulu a singular subject may be used with a reciprocal verb, provided the verb followed by the conjunctive formative -na.”

That is further illustrated by the following examples:

1.a) Inja nekati kuyalumana
(A dog and a cat bite each other)
1.b) Ngikhuluma nawe ufundana nephepha
2.a) Ikati negundane kuyabonana
(the cat and the mouse see on another)
2.b Ngivakhuluma ufundana nephepha

The reciprocal in 1.a denotes a reciprocal action whereby two parties perform the same action to one another – and which is a fair judgement which is not prejudiced by one’s emotions. On the other hand the reciprocal verb in sentences 1.b indicates an expressive meaning of dislike and dismissiveness. This does not necessarily indicate any reciprocally, it is remarkable that in 1.b the action is carried by one substantive (wena) and
the other substantive is passive and more over can never carry that action (of reading) to the other substantive. This is also applicable to the second sentence which is 2.b. It is clear that the engraved expressive meaning of the reciprocal can be expressed without being confused with the actual reciprocal action be animate it is not always the case with the second one especially if it is used to indicate dislike.

This also applies to instances where the reciprocal verb extension is used to indicate associativeness or association. This species is not commonly used in many verb stems in Zulu. Some of them are used as a single substantive. This is used with reference to the parts of such substantive in relation to each other. That is vividly illustrated by the following words e.g.

- hlangana (meet)
- xubana (mix)
- phambana (go across one another)

Doke (1956:147) supports this when he says:

"Certain reciprocals have a slightly different significance from the plain idea of reciprocal action, in that they are intransitive or neither in force carrying also the idea of association."

However there are some verbs which happen to be reciprocal in nature due to the fact that they have the suffix -ana but whose original or simple stems can not be traced correctly. Such verbs no longer have any connection in meaning with what seem to be their original stems, e.g.
hlangana - (meet)
lingana - (be equal)
fumana - (find)

ZierVogel and Mabuza (1976) support this when they say:

"Apart from the reciprocal meaning of the -an- extension which occurs in verb like -hlangana- which it is derived, -an- also expresses an action which is carried out in a severe manner or an action which expresses a particular nature or habit."

e.g. -lumana (bite each other) 
     -hlabana (gore one another) or (win)
     -phana (be generous to each other)

These verbs evidence the fact that the reciprocal can take a singular subject and act normally. The bases from which these reciprocals are formed are no longer existent in Zulu. They seem to be fossilised.

Hlangana is there as a verbal extension but hlanga does not exist. the same applies to fumana, there is no verb stem like -fuma which is also the case with linga.

The reciprocal can be compounded by other verb extensions, which are namely causative, and the applied verb extensions, e.g.

shayana - bashavelana ukudla (they beat each other for food)
bukana - babukanisa amakati (the make cats look at each other)

4.4 Reduplication of verb stems

Verb with appended stems have been classified incorrectly under verbal extensions by many Zulu scholars. Most of these scholars have been following the Dokean method of functional approach. They considered the fact that the verb with appended stems extend the original meaning of the verb with a single stem. In actual fact reduplication is not a verbal extension but it is a different construction with its own morphological rule. The expressive meaning the appended stems is that they denote an action not intensively done [extensively]. This idea is supported by Nyembezi (1956:121) who argues that:

"Umuntu uyaye athi uma into engezuyenza kuvaphi asebenzise yona lempambosi."

(if someone will not do something intensively he uses this verbal extension)

Verbs with appended stems are evaluative in nature since the stem is a bound morph and it is affixed to the other stem to assess the situation. They denote something not thoroughly done, something not given the proper enough time. This can be seen in the following examples:

Usipho uthe ukugijigijirna wavesema. –not thoroughly
(Sipho ran a little and stopped)

Umfana uvishayashave nje indoda endala –done easily
(The boy beat the man easily)
Appended stems may denote an action that has been done repeatedly. This expressive meaning seldomly occur in Zulu verbs. This can be seen in the following examples:

Izingane zidovadova izingubo
(The kids step on the clothes repeatedly)
U-Okpara ugxumagxuma epalini
(Okpara is jumping repeatedly between the poles)

Doke regarded the reduplicated verb stems as derivation and called them diminutive form of the verb. This can be seen in Doke (1956:152) where he argues that:

"The diminutive form of the verb, formed by a reduplication of the stem indicates a diminution of action, to do a little."

The semantics which he describes is correct but the classification is not. reduplication verb forms are not derivative but are evaluative in nature ad they pass judgement. All other Zulu linguist follows Doke on this view. Other verbal extension can be inflectional but the intensive and the reciprocal extensions goes an extra mile which makes them part of evaluative morphology.

Nkabinde (1975:60) introduces the phonological account of the reduplicated verb stems where he analysis the syllables forming the reduplicated complex verbal root when he argues:
"A complex root may be one of two types, viz. one made up of or reduplicated stem of which the possible types are found i.e. it may have a cvcvvc, cvcvvc or cvcvc phonic composition."

This is a good phonological account but is too brief it needed extra elaboration. Nkabinde committed a mistake of confining his argument on only three phonic compositions where as there are many other phonic compositions in which Zulu reduplicated verbal root may appear. One of them can to illustrated by the following example:

Uku + Iwayilw + a (to fight a little.)
(vcv + ccvcvcc + v)

Khumalo (unpublished paper ) comes with a more detailed phonological account of reduplicated verb stems in Zulu. He mentions two forms of reduplication which are preaxal in verbs of three or more syllables and suffixal in verbs of two or fewer syllables. This vividly explained by Khumalo (unpublished paper :2) where he says:

"In Zulu I am claiming that the reduplication affix is ‘prefix’ in verbs of three of more syllables and ‘suffix’ in verbs of two or fewer syllables."

Khumalo gives a good and well structured phonic compositions of reduplicated verb stems. It is true to say that in verbs of three or more syllables reduplication is prefixal and suffixal on verbs with two or less syllables but this can only be accounted for phonological that’s when one looks at the highness and lowness of tone in all syllables of the reduplicated verb stem. Which means that there is a morphological evidence behind this since it is a phonological view.
Morphological reduplication is always suffixal. Morphology and phonology can come together at some point and such a study is then known as morphophonology / morphophonemics which then allows for accounts of this nature to be adopted for morphology. As an evaluative construction this can be used to express anger against any action on its valuelessness.

Loyo ushintshashintsha izingubo nje
(That one knows only to change dresses unnecessarily)

Nango –ke uMenzi uzolokhu ephindaphinda into eyodwa.
(There comes Menzi, he will keep on repeating one and the same thing)

Reduplicated verb stems can be used in conjunction with the reciprocal verbal extension to express contempt. e.g.

1. Labo abasebenzi baphindaphindana nento eyodwa nje
(Those do not work they repeat one and the same thing.)
2. Abazi lutho othisha badicadicana nezingane zethu ngenduku nje kuphela.
(Teachers know nothing, they keep on harshly beating our kids.)

The construction of the reduplicated verb stems varies according to the number of syllables of the verb stem.
If the stem is monosyllabic the glide –y- is infixed between the stems together with the vowel/i/ eg fa > fayifa mba > mbayimba
(die) (die a little) (dig) (dig a little)

It is easy with disyllabic stems because they are merely reduplicated. eg.

hamba > hambahamba
(go) (go a little)

bona > bonabona
(see) (see a little)
The disyllabic stems beginning with the vowel behave differently. The glide may come into the fore to separate the find vowel of the first stem and first of the last stem. E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akh} & \rightarrow \text{akhavakha} \\
(\text{build}) & \rightarrow (\text{build a little})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eba} & \rightarrow \text{ebayeba} \\
(\text{steal}) & \rightarrow (\text{steal a little})
\end{align*}
\]

If the syllables are more than two the last syllable is deleted in the first stem but if the first syllable is a vowel only the last syllable is reduplicated and the first vowel is not reduplicated.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gij} & \rightarrow \text{gijigijima} \\
(\text{run}) & \rightarrow (\text{run a little})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phakama} & \rightarrow \text{phakaphakama} \\
(\text{rise}) & \rightarrow (\text{rise a little})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aphula} & \rightarrow \text{aphulaphula} \\
(\text{break}) & \rightarrow (\text{break a little})
\end{align*}
\]

Reduplication of stems can also occur in the demonstrative copulatives. In this case it no longer denotes something not ‘thoroughly’ done but it means ‘all by him/herself’ or alone. This can be seen from the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yilo} & \rightarrow \text{viloyilo} \\
\text{Wuye} & \rightarrow \text{wuyewuye} \\
\text{Yize} & \rightarrow \text{Yizoyizo}
\end{align*}
\]

This express an engrossed meaning of emphasis. Or there is no other option.
4.5 Conclusion

Zulu verbs have been disregarded as part of evaluative morphology even by Stump (1992) who is the first to indicate that evaluative morphology is also applicable to Zulu. The foregoing discussion has been successful in revealing that evaluative rules do apply to Zulu verbs.
CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion of evaluative rules and their application to Zulu permits various conclusions which can be drawn.

Firstly, evaluative rules and their properties as proposed by Stump (1992) are applicable to Zulu, for a very long time topics falling under evaluative morphology in Zulu have been classified wrongly by various scholars.

Secondly that Stump’s rule number one needs an extension especially when it comes to its applicability to Zulu. It should be phrased as follows: they change the semantics of the base to pass judgement.

Thirdly, evaluative morphology is not the only branch of morphology that exhibits the properties proposed by Stump (1992) but other branches, i.e. derivational and inflectional, can share some of these properties. It is evaluative rules that exhibits almost all of such properties.

Fourthly Stump’s application of evaluative rules to Zulu is very limited and it leaves too many topics that fall under this type of morphology, which topics have been included in the foregoing discussion. He only applied it to nouns and even in nouns he confined his discussion to diminutives whereas there are other rules like augmentatives and others.

The other conclusion is that not all judgement passing and emotive linguistic forms part of evaluative morphology. It only caters for those that use bound
morphs in their construction and it excludes emotive words like ngcingci, etc. that means that Zulu is one of the languages that have vivid examples of evaluative rules.
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