

**THE NOUN PREFIX IN ZULU:
INTRA AND INTER PHENOMENA**

by

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Declaration

I hereby declare that THE NOUN PREFIX IN ZULU: INTRA AND INTER PHENOMENA is my own work both in conception and execution. The sources used have been indicated by means of complete reference. I also declare that am responsible for the opinions expressed and conclusions reached at in this work.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Z.E. XALA', is written over a horizontal line. The signature is enclosed within a large, hand-drawn oval.

Z.E. XALA

JANUARY 1996

DEDICATION

TO

My parents

My brother and sisters

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I record my gratitude to the following:

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1

Introduction		
1.1	The statement of theme	1
1.2	Scope and Methodology	2
1.3	Definition of terms	5
1.4	Identification of the noun prefix	10
1.4.1	Phonological criterion	10
1.4.2	Syntactic criterion	12
1.4.3	Morphological criterion	14
1.4.4	Intergrated criterion	16

Chapter 2

Evolution		
2.0	Introduction	19
2.1	VCV- to VC-	23
2.1.1	Permanent deletion of V2	23
2.1.2	Temporary deletion of V2	26
2.1.3	[+High] vowel deletion	32

2.2	VCV- to V-	35
2.2.1	VCV- to V1	37
2.2.1.1	Permanent evolution of VCV- to V1	38
2.2.1.2	Temporary evolution of VCV- to V1	44
2.2.2	aba- to o- evolution	47
2.3	Recapitulation	52

Chapter 3

Structure

3.0	Introduction	54
3.1	Simple structures	60
3.1.1	Simple normal noun prefixes	61
3.1.2	Simple shortened noun prefixes	66
3.2	Composite structures	82
3.2.1	Compound noun prefixes	83
3.2.2	Complex noun prefixes	91
3.3	Recapitulation	105

Chapter 4

Significance

4.0	Introduction	107
4.1	Deictic significance	107
4.1.1	The noun prefix and space	108
4.1.2	The noun prefix and person	110
4.2	Emotive significance	111

4.3	Meaning-structure significance	113
4.3.1	Simple noun prefix	115
4.3.2	Composite noun prefix	126

Chapter 5

Conclusions

5.0	Introduction	132
5.1	Evolution and adaptations	133
5.1.1	Evolution	134
5.1.2	Adaptations	135
5.2	Structure	138
5.2.1	Simple noun prefix	138
5.2.2	Composite noun prefix	139
5.3	Significance	142
	Bibliography	145

SUMMARY

In this work an attempt is made to discuss a noun prefix in general. Particular attention is given to moving away from the thought that the noun prefix is only the part of the noun that is agreement giving. It also incorporates elements that are non agreement giving. The simple noun prefix is differentiated from the composite noun prefix.

Criteria of discerning the simple noun prefix are given, viz. phonological, syntactic, morphological and intergrated criteria. Once identification of the simple noun prefix is properly handled, it is only then that one is able to identify the composite noun prefix. The composite noun prefix has more than one morphological entry. Compound noun prefixes have series of simple prefixes while complex noun prefixes have an additional element bearing some semantic content. The noun ubuntombi and isangoma have composite noun prefixes. The noun ubuntombi has a series of simple prefixes therefore compound, in ubu- (cl.14) followed by -in- (cl.9) forming a compound ubu-(i)n. On the other hand the noun isangoma, over and above the series of simple prefixes isi- (cl.7) and -in- (cl.9), has an additional element -a-, hence the complex prefix isi-a-in-. The identification of composite noun prefix contributes to a proper identification of the noun stem. From nouns ubuntombi and isangoma the noun stems are -thomb(a)-i (become of age) and -goma (heal), rather than *-ntombi and *-angoma respectively. The identification of composite prefixes is lexicographically friendly, wherein a dictionary the entry would be -goma (heal) rather than -angoma (Nkabinde, A.C. (1982:1) Doke C.M., Malcolm D.M. & Sikakana, J.M. (1958:4) and Doke, C.M. & Vilakazi, B.W. (1990:11)).

Of interest, to confirm the importance of composite prefix identification, is a related word to isangoma, viz. ubungoma. At present the entry for ubungoma is

-ngoma (Doke, C.M. Vilakazi B.W. (1990:557)) whereas that of -isangoma is -angoma.

In fact both nouns ubungoma and isangoma must have the same entry as -goma. The noun ubungoma has a compound prefix ubu- (cl. 14) and in- (cl. 9), as ubu-in-; whereas isangoma has a complex noun prefix isi-a-in.

The dynamics of the (simple) noun prefix is vested on what is termed evolution of the noun prefix in this work. The noun prefix undergoes changes. The changes within the noun prefix is at present literature mixed with morphological constraints brought about by the phonological shape of the noun stem. The noun prefix with [+High] vowels is susceptible to change. The noun umufana has the noun prefix umu-, but it changes to um- as in umfana without being constrained by a vowel initiated stem. This is evolution experienced by a noun prefix. Some changes become permanent and others remain temporary. Permanent changes necessitate sub-classes. The noun ugogo has the noun prefix that evolved from umu-. The fact that the changes from umu- to um- to u- have ultimately caused u- to be a permanent evolutionary form then it sub-classes to umu-. Scholars in Zulu have noted the sub-classes but without showing how they came into being.

The noun prefix is generally known to play a role of giving agreement to other word forms with which it co-occurs. The role of the noun prefix goes beyond agreement giving. This work reveals other roles significant to the noun prefix, viz. deictic, emotive and meaning-structure significancies.

A fully fledged simple noun prefix signals to a 3rd person, pointing to non-proximate object. Spatially, it points yonder. If a speaker does use a fully fledged noun prefix he (generally) has a

reference to the hearer (nearer to him), or even himself. The following utterances will indicate the positions:

Umuntu uhambile.

(A person has gone.)

The reference 'umuntu' is not somewhere near the speaker, because of umu- fully fledged noun prefix. But, if the noun prefix is used without the initial prefix, we have:

Sukuma mfana

(Stand up boy!)

Sengishilo mina mthakathi wezindaba.

(I have said it I of the daring one.)

The reference is near the speaker. The reason being that the noun prefix has not been used in its fully fledged form.

Non-emotive nouns become emotive if the noun prefix is used without the initial vowel in nouns that pertain to body and belongings.

Hamba lapha sidwaba senja.

(Away from here you the skirt made of dog's skin.)

Woza lapha mhlathi wakho.

(Come here you jaws of yours!)

The nouns sidwaba and mhlathi are now emotive as against normal nouns isidwaba and umhlathi.

The meaning contained within the noun prefixes makes the noun stem to be selective as to which noun prefix to append/affix to give to a particular meaning to the noun. The range of meaning within nouns is falling within the broad spectrum of [+ Human] to [-Concrete] vested on the noun prefix. Hendrikse, A.P. and Paulos, G. (1992:195-209) refer to this spectrum as a continuum interpretation of the Bantu noun class system. They visualise the continuum interpretation as ranging from [+ Concrete] to [- Concrete] (abstract). In this work [+ Human] feature is considered to be the one that plays an important role as this feature may be found from class I umu- as in umukhwe (father-in-law) to class 11 as in u(lu)hlanya (madman). In Hendrikse and Paulos (1992:203) class 11 is interpreted as attributive class. In this work [+Human] feature has been used as a diagnostic measure, hence [+Human] and [-Concrete] dichotomy.

Also of importance in meaning-structure significance is the interaction of meaning within the composite prefix. This work looks closely how 'noun prefix' within the composite prefix interact in terms of meaning to effect their composite structure. In the noun ubunja (dog-like behaviour), we have composite noun prefix ubu-in-. The noun ubunja is derived from the noun inja with only simple prefix in-. The in- prefix is [-Human, + Concrete], and the ubu- prefix is [-Human,-Concrete]. After preposing ubu- to inja deriving ubunja, the composite noun prefix 'ubu - in' becomes [-Human - Concrete]. The interaction is that the ubu- features dominates over the in- features. The aspect of 'dominance' goes hand in hand with 'percolation' of Leber (1981), Selkirk (1982), Mbadi (1988). They advocate that 'the derived word adopts all the feature values of its outermost morpheme.' (Mbadi, L.M. (1988:124) in Nkabinde, A.C. (1988)). The outermost morpheme, in his case, the pre-posed noun prefix interact with the rest of the 'noun prefixes' by dominating over them. This work maintains that 'the last morpheme to be introduced, whether preposed, (post-posed) or imposed dominated over the others. The word abelungu (whites) we have the outermost noun prefix aba- which is [+Human]. We have *aba-lungu, as in aba-ntu etc. After the imposing of additional morpheme -e- with its semantic

content [+Race] we have now the composite noun prefix ab(a)-e- which is {+Human, + Race} as in :

which is {+Human, + Race} as in :

ab(a) - e - Suthu (Sotho people)

ab(a) - e - Nguni (Nguni people) etc.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Statement of Theme

A noun, in Zulu, is constituted of two morphemes viz. a prefix and a stem, hence a noun prefix and a noun stem. In this study only the noun prefix is investigated. The noun prefix plays an important role in the Zulu language, without which it would have taken a different form. The noun prefix sustains Zulu language grammar.

The noun prefix is looked at within itself and also in relation to other morphemes and/or words. It must be noted that there is no water-tight demarcation between a noun prefix in isolation and the one occurring with other morphemes. Though the noun prefix may be looked at in isolation it never does exist in isolation. It is always found in syntagmatic relation with the noun stem. Some words (categories), other than the noun, employ the services of the noun prefixes directly or indirectly, hence concordial agreement. Concords are disguised noun prefixes. The difference between noun prefixes and concords is that noun prefixes are no longer in syntagmatic relation with the noun stem, but with other word categories, therefore no more noun prefixes. The noun prefixes are used in the formation of word categories like pronouns and qualificatives; and they may also be used with the verbs. Concordial elements have permanent structure. In short, concords are derived from their respective noun prefixes. This provides the motivation for delving into *the evolution of the Zulu noun prefix, its structure and its significance.*

1.2 Scope and Methodology

The scope of this dissertation solely rest on Zulu noun prefix, which excludes non-noun prefixes, i.e. it excludes all prefixes which do not form a noun in Zulu. It is only prefixes that are used with noun stems to form a noun which are considered here. In other words *only prefixes which bear category feature noun are considered here. A prefix is an affix.*

Secondly, the scope of this dissertation is not limited to norm forms of the prefix, but expands to other forms which are composite and shortened. For composite noun prefixes their structure include more than one prefix and / or other morphemes which are prefixal and do not derive another word category, but the noun. For shortened noun prefixes the structure is below par to that of a basic prefix mainly through evolution.

For example

Compound Noun Prefixes

usi-	: usihlalo	: (u- + -si-)
ubun-	: ubunja	: (ubu- + -n-)
aman-	: amamtombazane	: (ama- + -n-)

Complex Noun Prefixes

uma-	: umanqoba	: (u- + -ma-)
uso-	: usokhaya	: (u- + -so-)
*uma-	: umaZwane	: (u- + -ma-)
abe-	: abelungu	: (aba- + -e)

Compound-Complex Noun Prefixes

unoma-	: unomathemba	: (u- + -no + -ma-)
umalu-	: umaluthuli	: (u- + -ma- + -lu-)
unoni-	: unompempe	: (u- + -no- + -n(I)-)
unozi-	: unozipho	: (u- + -no- + -zi-)

Shortened Noun Prefix

u-	: <i>ugogo</i>	: (u(mu) -)
in-	: <i>inkomo</i>	: (in(i) -)
i-	: <i>ithivi</i>	: (i(ni) -)

Compound-Shortened Noun Prefix

o-	: <i>ogogo</i>	: (a(ba) - + -u-)
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Lastly, not least, the dissertation shows how the noun prefix is related with other word categories with which a noun co-occurs. It also shows how noun prefixes (simple) interact among themselves.

Research methods employed in this dissertation are both literary and in fieldwork. In this study a noun has been closely observed from literary works and from the ordinary conversation of the native speakers. From rigorous investigation, made through various literary works, it was found that only the simple prefix has received attention from various linguists and scholars. In this dissertation some forms other than the simple noun prefix are unveiled and given necessary attention, viz. compound, complex and shortened forms. Scholars like Nkondo, P. (1976): Ungerer, H. (1983 and 1988) dealt with compound nouns but without dealing with compound prefix *per se*.

It was also found that some nouns in Zulu remain unclassified, because there is no class provided for them. The words like:

irediyo	(radio)
ithivi	(TV set)
ikhompiyutha	(computer)
iwayilense	(wire-less)

iMozambiki	(Mozambique)
iRashiya	(Russia)

had no class all along. It is unthinkable where these nouns, and many others, were classified. It is only now that these nouns get their proper class viz. 9a). (Canonici 1988: a paper delivered in ALASA National Conference; a 10th Anniversary).

It is also in the interest of this study to look at how a noun prefix is affected when other words occur with the noun. It has been realised that the form of a noun prefix is some how affected by certain words of a particular kind. A note must be made that this study is only interested to those effects upon a noun prefix *without changing the word category* (N). The noun prefix is mainly affected by words which are diacricised as [+Negative], [+Person, +/-Plural, +Recipient].

For example

[+Negative]	<u>Akukho</u> <i>bantwana</i> .	(There are no children).
	<u>Angitholi</u> <i>siqiniseko</i> .	(I attain no confirmation).
	<u>Akaficanga</u> <i>mntu</i> endlini.	(He did not get anyone in the house).

(It must be noted that once an object concord is included in, the negatives then the noun prefix becomes *normal*). As in:

Angisitholi *isiqiniseko*.
Akamuficanga *umuntu* endlini.

[2nd Person]:	<u>Wena</u> <i>mufana</i> uyedelela.	(You boy are indolent).
	<u>Nina</u> <i>zintaba</i> zosizi.	(You mountains of sadness).

1.3 Definition of terms employed

Prefix

Various definitions of a prefix have been given, but what is striking is that they all have a morphological inclination. This general trend in the definition of a prefix shows that it is a morphological entity. For example;

Crystal, D. (1980:281) defines a prefix as:

- an affix which is added initially to a root or stem.

Robins, R.H. (1981:160) says:

..... always precede the root or other prefixes.....

Definitions of this nature show that the prefix is found prior to either the root or the stem.

Robins even goes further that this in saying that;

it precedes other prefixes.

This definition shows that we may have prefixes following one another thus forming a series / sequence of prefixes before the root or stem. This study also maintains the same, in the sense that a prefix is always found before the root or stem. But because this study is only concerned with a particular prefix viz. Noun prefix looks at a root and/or stem as ascribed to a noun.

The Noun Prefix

From the above definitions it has become obvious that a prefix, without any qualification, precedes the root or the stem. Crystal's definition is of vital importance in this study, when he says:

“.....is added..... to a root or stem”.

This immediately implies that we have a root or stem before we have a prefix. Therefore

any form of qualification to a prefix will receive its qualification from a root or a stem. In Zulu a noun root or stem does not constitute a word (Cope, A.T. (1972); Nkabinde, A.C. (1976)). The noun stem has the category [N] and extends its category membership to affixes (in this case prefix) (Mbadi, L.M. (1988)).

Any prefixal element occurring before
a stem, which stem is a category member
[N]oun category, and stem's membership
extended to prefixal element/s.

Simple Noun Prefix

This term is used to indicate the noun prefix form in Zulu. A Zulu noun, basically, has an initial vowel (IV) (Ziervogel and Mabuza (1976), Dewees (1985), or pre-prefix (Doke (1927)) and a real prefix (Doke (1927)). A real prefix is acclaimed to be the one which matters most over the initial vowel because it gives concordial agreement. Some scholars refer to the real prefix as the basic prefix, may be because it gives rise to concordial agreement. In this study the real prefix is rather seen as a “nucleus” of a noun prefix. It gives “life” to the noun prefix itself, to the noun and to other words with which it co-occurs. (Not only giving concordial agreement). The real prefix is life giving to Zulu language as a whole. This is viewed in this manner because even if a noun prefix has evolved in any manner a “nucleus” will always evoke a basic prefix, whereby the “nucleus” shows itself up and then an initial vowel.

For example

(Wena) *mfana* woza lapha.

(you, boy come here.)

(Wena) --*dwala* vuleka ngingene.

(you, rock gape open that I may enter.)

For noun prefix /m-/ and /() / it is their respective “nuclei” that ultimately arrive at the simple prefixes. Where “nucleus”/ -mu-/ and/ -li- arose and then their respective IV s/ -u-/ and / -i-/ appeared with their “nuclei” to arrive at /umu-/ and /ili-/ as simple prefixes. Then simple noun prefix is:

IV + NUCLEUS

Composite Noun Prefix

Composite noun prefixes are either compound or complex. They exhibit a composite nature of the noun prefix.

Compound Noun Prefix

These show compositeness of simple prefixes. A series / sequence of simple prefixes become compounded. The important feature of compound noun prefix is that each simple noun prefix must have an “independent status” as a noun prefix elsewhere.

For example:

ubu- + in- : as in **ubunja**

where **ubu-** may be independent noun prefix as class 14 and **in-** as class 9. In the word **ubunja**, **ubun-** is the compound noun prefix.

In the series of simple noun prefixes forming a compound noun prefix, the last simple noun prefix is a class prefix. This means that the last prefix to be prefixed is concord generating. The word **ubunja** has the compound noun prefix **ubun-** where simple noun prefix **ubu-** is concord generating and (i) **n-** non- concord generating. Therefore the noun **ubunja** is classified as class 14 of **ubu-**. The noun **ubunja** is not classified as class 9 because **in-** of class 9 is not concord generating. The compound noun prefix may be formalised as:

Simple + Simple + (Simple) : Compound

Simple noun prefix in brackets is optional.

Some data:

u-	+	(i)si-	>	usi-	:	usihlalo	(chairperson)
ama-	+	(i)n-	>	ama-	:	amantombazane	(girls)
izi-	+	(i)n-	>	izin-	:	izingane	(children)

Complex Noun Prefix

This term, here, is used to show a combination of simple noun prefix with any other formative that does not form part of the simple prefix. These formatives have semantic content they bring to the whole noun prefix. These additional formatives may not be concord-generating because they may not be independent noun prefixes elsewhere. They only add meaning to the noun prefix.

The complex noun prefix may be formalised as:

1. Simple + Semantic Formative

or

2. Simple + Semantic Formative + Simple

For example:

	Smp	SF		Cplx	
1.	u-	+ -ma-	>	uma-	: umashonisa (money accruer)
	ab(a)-	+ -e-	>	abe-	: abelungu (white folk)

	Smp	SF	Smp		Cplx
2.	u-	+ -so-	+	(a)ma-	> usoma- : usomaqhinga (diplomat)

u- + -no- + (u)ku- > unoku- : unokulunga (timid person)

The examples in 1. show that there is only one simple noun prefix which also act as a classifying prefix. In 2. there are two simple noun prefixes, where the first one is non-concord generating and the last one is concord generating therefore classifying.

Shortened Noun Prefix

In Zulu a simple noun prefix may phonologically not surface as a complete simple noun prefix then necessary *shortened*. A shortened noun prefix refers to any form of the simple noun prefix which lacks any of segments in a VCV- structure. These may take various forms depending on how a basic noun prefix has been affected.

For example:

- | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|-----|---|---------------------|------|---|-----|
| 1. umu- | > | um- | : | umfana (boy) | VCV- | > | VC- |
| 2. umu- | > | u- | : | ugogo (grandma) | VCV- | > | V- |
| 3. ili- | > | li- | : | litshe (you stone!) | VCV- | > | CV- |
| 4. isi- | > | s- | : | sdakwa (you drunk!) | VCV- | > | C |
| 5. ulu- | > | () | : | phondo (you horn!) | VCV- | > | () |

There are various causes of shortened noun prefixes and they are fully discussed in Chapter

4. The shortened noun prefix may be formalised as:

(V)(C)(V)-

This formal structure of the shortened noun prefix may be read as: one, some or all segments may be deleted.

1.4 Identification of the Noun Prefix

Identification of a noun prefix needs employment of various criteria before one may really come to the proper identification. A single criterion may, at times, not suffice to identify a noun prefix. One may need some or all criteria be employed simultaneously in order to arrive at a correct noun prefix identification.

1.4.1 Phonological criterion

A phonological structure of a noun prefix is a *Vowel-Consonant-Vowel* (VCV-). This entails that a noun prefix has two syllables, the first one being a V- and the second being CV-. The VCV- structure may be changed because of evolution or morphological constraints. These changes will subsequently alter the VCV- structure into one of the following phonological shapes:

VC- structure:	e.g. <u>um</u> fana	(boy)
V- structure:	e.g. <u>u</u> gogo	(grandma)
CV- structure:	e.g. akukho <u>man</u> zi	(no water)
C- structure:	e.g. wena <u>m</u> fana	(you boy)
(-) structure:	e.g. tshe likaNtunjambili	(you stone of Ntunjambili)

The above shapes are only variations of the VCV-.

Looking at the repertoire of the noun prefixes, it is observed that only primary vowels are used in the noun prefixes. These primary vowels are used in both syllables simultaneously.

for example:

i) a-a:	aba- : <u>a</u> bantu	(people)
	ama- : <u>a</u> matshu	(stones)
ii) i-i:	ili- : <u>i</u> litshe	(stone)

	imi-	: <u>imikhuba</u>	(custom (pl.))
	ini-	: <u>inkomo</u>	(cow)
	isi-	: <u>isitha</u>	(foe)
	izi-	: <u>izilwane</u>	(animals)
iii) u-u:	ubu-	: <u>ubuthi</u>	(poison)
	uku-	: <u>ukudla</u>	(food)
	ulu-	: <u>uluthi</u>	(stick)
	umu-	: <u>umuthi</u>	(medicine)

For any one who wishes to identify a noun prefix may employ the above in most cases successfully, but in certain cases one may fail in attaining a noun prefix as anticipated. A failure hereof is caused by the fact that other criteria must also apply simultaneously with the phonological criterion. In certain cases the phonological patterns a-a, i-i and u-u are not followed. For example in a word like:

usuku (day)

one may be tempted to say that the prefix thereof is *usu-* by employing iii) above. To avoid such misunderstanding, one has to check against u-u where it will be realised that there is no -s- in u-u pattern. Only / b, k, l, and m, / can fit in this pattern. (cf syntactic method). In words like:

ubisi (milk)

isango (gate)

one immediately dismisses an idea that the prefixes are *ubi-* and *isa-* for ubisi and isango respectively, because one realises that there is no such phonological pattern as *u-i* or *i-u* in the Zulu noun prefix system. All the same, one may be tempted to say that the prefixes are ubu- and isi- respectively, maintaining that in u-u there is consonant / b / and in i-i there is

consonant /s/. These deductions will definitely be *true* only under phonological considerations. Phonologically, nothing really stops one from deducing that the prefixes for the nouns ubisi and isango are ubu- and isi-. Moreover, there are phonological variants which show that noun prefixes may surface as VC-, hence one who deduces in this manner is “correct” as one would find VC- structures, as in:

ubomi > ub(u) - omi : (maggots)

isono > is(i) - ono : (sin)

The question is: are these deductions grammatically correct or not? The answer is no until such time other criteria are employed to testify the validity of such deductions. For example, if one would employ utterances with these words, one would say:

A. Ubisi olumhlophe lunempilo.

(White milk is health-giving)

Isango elide likhulu.

(Long gate is big)

where one realises that concordial agreement in both cases does not tally with the deductions reached at afore. If those deductions were true then we would have:

B. Ubisi *obumhlophe *bunempilo.

Isango *eside *sikhulu.

1.4.2 Syntactic criterion

Here we look at how concordial agreement is formed in a particular utterance emanating from a particular noun prefix. It is the concord that will reveal the prefix in case a noun

prefix has changed (evolved) in one way or another. For example in the cases cited above, one may employ syntactic method to arrive at a correct noun prefix:

ubisi oluningi luthengiwe,

(large quantities of milk have been bought)

isango elidala liyahlupha,

(old gate is troublesome)

Concordial agreement lu- for ubiisi and li- for isango are the pointers to the noun prefixes they emanated from. Since the concords will always bear the second syllable of a prefix, then the prefixes for these nouns are /ulu-/ and / ili- / respectively.

This criterion cast away any doubt as to which prefix is relevant for a particular noun. Though this criterion is highly reliable care must be taken. There are instances where we have permanent evolution. For example the u- prefix has all corresponding concordial agreements subscribing to umu- prefix. For u- prefix it will be correct to say that the prefix is umu- if one considers all the corresponding concordial agreements it exhibits. This implies that the prefix umu- has evolved permanently to be noun prefix u- for certain nouns. Therefore this criterion does not only provide a reliable noun prefix tracing ability but also show exactly as to where a permanently evolved prefix may be *sub-classified*. For a long time u- prefix was only classified sub-class 1a) whereas it may further be classified as sub-class 3a) depending on concordial agreement exhibited.

For example

ugogo ngiyamuthanda. (1a)

(I love grandma)

VS

ubhiya ngiyawuthanda (3a)

(I like beer)

Though these prefixes exhibit the same phonological form / u- / they have different concordial agreement hence subscribing to different noun prefixes. Needless to say that even though phonologically prefixes may show the same structure, they are different prefixes because of different concordial agreement hence different classes.

1.4.3 Morphological criterion

In this criterion we look at the form of the noun, i.e. we check a noun stem and what is appended prior to the noun stem must be a noun prefix. There are various ways of checking the noun stem and subsequently a noun prefix, from an existing noun.

i) Feature plurality may be used; e.g

umukhuhlane [-pl]	vs	imikhuhlane [pl]
isikhumba [-pl]	vs	izikhumba [pl]

the unchanging / constant element in a pair is the stem e.g.

/ -khuhlane / and / -khumba /

are stems. The varying elements, which of course precede the stems, are noun prefixes. Therefore umu- and imi- are noun prefixes for the noun stem / -khuhlane / and isi- and izi- for the noun stem / -khumba/.

ii) The second method is to provide a paradigm of elements preceding the noun stem without changing the category noun (N). If all those elements appended prefixally to a particular noun stem do not change category noun (N), then such appendages are noun prefixes.

For example

-ntu: may have prefixal elements;

umu-:	<u>umuntu</u>	(person)
isi-:	<u>isintu</u>	(tradition)
ubu-:	<u>ubuntu</u>	(humanity)

-galo: may have prefixal elements;

u- :	<u>ugalo</u>	(lower limb - leg)
ini- :	<u>ingalo</u>	(upper limb- arm)
umu-:	<u>umgalo</u>	(centre limb - penis)

This criterion is important in that it does not only reveal a noun prefix in its simple form but also shows a noun prefix in its composite and shortened forms. (see Chapter 3).

In i) above we have revealed that a constant element constitute a noun stem and in ii) the constant factor still shows that it is a noun stem. These criteria in i) and ii) will also reveal composite and shortened noun prefixes.

For example

<i>isihlalo</i>	(chair)
<i>izihlalo</i>	(chairs)
<i>usihlalo</i>	(chairman)

where -hlalo is constant and follows prefixal elements, therefore a stem. Even in the word usihlalo usi- is regarded as a prefix since it precedes a noun stem -hlalo. (see Chapter 3). This prefix is compound, since it exhibits more than one noun prefix. There are two forms where the first one is a concord generating prefix and the second form a non-concord generating prefix. This may be schematised as:

CONCORD GENERATING	u-
NON-CONCORD GENERATING	-si-
COMPOUND	usi-

A note must be taken here that the non-concord generating prefix is rendered so (non-generating) because of the other prefix that has been affixed prior to it, (in this case u- is prefixed prior to isi-). If there is no other antecedent prefix, isi- can generate a concord.. Therefore the morphological method of identifying a noun prefix rests entirely on the general form of the noun in Zulu, viz.

$$\text{Noun Prefix} + \text{Noun Stem} = \text{Noun}$$

and anything before a noun stem is a noun prefix.

1.4.4 Intergrated criterion

This criterion combines all the above three criteria to attest for a noun prefix. It has been realised that a single criterion may not suffice to validate identification of a noun prefix in Zulu. Even if any of the criteria is used in one way or the other one is bound to encroach on other criteria while dealing with the other. For example, the mere fact that in phonological criterion it is claimed that a noun prefix structure is VCV-, is because a morphological criterion is indirectly employed, i.e. one has already singled out a noun prefix from a noun stem.

Basically, to identify a noun prefix one has to use all three methods simultaneously. Using phonological criterion one immediately looks at a prefix as VCV- and further scrutinizes whether the vowels are the same or not. This does not suffice if one does not discern morphologically which part of a noun is the prefix and which is the stem. Finally one has

to test whether concordial agreement does tally with the second syllable of the “claimed” prefix or not.

In isiko for example one would phonologically say that the prefix is isi- because one sees that there is VCV- in isi-, and also that the vowels are primary and the same as i-i. The i-i also contains the consonant /s/ as in isitha (foe) where isi- is the prefix for isitha. Reaching the conclusion that the prefix is isi- for isiko will prove disastrous grammatically. When other criteria are incorporated one realises that the conclusion is a false one; because:

a) syntactically; “isi-” of isiko does not yield to -si- agreement but to -li- e.g.

isiko elihle liyathandeka
 (good custom is likeable)
 but never
 Isiko *esihle siyathandeka

Hence now one would conclude that the noun prefix for isiko is ili- because of concordial agreement yielded by isiko.

b) Morphologically: applying the rule of identifying a noun prefix from a noun stem by pluralising method one comes to:

isiko [-pl] amasiko [pl]. (custom/s)

This immediately shows that constant element is siko, hence a stem. Therefore the conclusion that the noun prefix for isiko is “isi-” is ruled out because it is realised that -si- is part of the stem and not part of the prefix. Then -si- of isiko is not part of isi- as formerly concluded.

In combining the three criteria one may never falter in identifying a noun prefix. In the above case the syntactic method played a vital role in determining the prefix for isiko;

where it is realised that it is ili-, hence ifisiko. Phonologically, it has become obvious that the noun prefix of isiko is a variation V- of the general form VCV- ili-.

It is of great importance to identify a noun prefix correctly,. This helps to finding:

- a) simple shape of the noun prefix (and any other variation),
- b) various forms (composite and shortened), and
- c) noun prefix usage.

CHAPTER 2

EVOLUTION

2.0 Introduction

Evolution of the noun prefix in Zulu means a change from a VCV- phonological shape to any other shape. The change must neither be morphologically, nor syntactically nor semantically constrained. Such change will entail conditioned variants which are not part of evolution.

Morphologically the noun prefix may change its VCV- shape in the environment of the vowel initiated noun stem.

For example:

- (1) umu- elusi > umelusi (umu- > um-)
 (2) uku- enda > ukwenda (uku - > ukw-)

Examples (1) and (2) are morphologically constrained and ultimately phonologically conditioned to VC- and VCw-, respectively.

Syntactic constraints are mainly brought about by 1st and 2nd persons, and negative preceding the noun.

For example:

- (3)a) Mina mfo kaXala vs Mina *umfo kaXala.
 (I of mr Xala)

- b) Thina zingane zikaXala vs Thina *izingane zikaXala.
(We the children of Xala.)
- (4)a) Wena lithemba lami vs Wena *ilithemba lami
(You my trusted one)
- b) Nina bafowethu vs Nina *abafowethu
(You brothers)
- (5)a) Angitholi mithombo vs Angitholi *imithombo
(I found no sources)
- b) Akukho mahlathi la vs Akukho *amahlathi la
(There are no forests here)

Examples 3-5 show the deletion of VI (initial vowel). Some examples infer semantic features; where in 3 and 4 infer [+Animate, +Human], 5 infers [-Positive]. Example 4 a) has [+Human] feature through semantic feature spreading. (cf. chapter 4).

All the above examples (1) - (5) are not part of noun prefix evolution because they are constrained either morphologically, syntactically and/or semantically. Evolution of the noun prefix excludes all the cases evidenced in (1) - (5). It explains adequately other changes outside the realm of constraints.

Dewees (1985: 121) is of the idea that the noun prefix is constituted of 'nucleus' and a 'left extension'. To Dewees the noun prefix is extended left wardly from the nucleus. It is an indication that in Zulu the noun prefix evolved from its nucleus, leftwardly. The 'left extension' would be equated to an initial vowel and the nucleus to a real prefix or basic prefix or classifier.

According to Guthrie (1948) his group S is constituted by Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Nguni and

Ndebele. This group is one of Bantu groups characterised by what he (Guthrie) terms a 'double independent prefixes'. By 'independent' it would mean the prefix occurring with nominals. This in Zulu would be seen as:

- (6) [Independent Prefix] [Independent Prefix] = Full Noun Prefix
 [Initial Vowel] [Real Prefix] = Full Noun Prefix

Guthrie's initial vowel (Dewees' left extension) is independent; the real prefix (Dewees' nucleus) is also independent. If Guthrie sees the initial vowel as independent then it may function on its own. This is possible, an opinion upheld in this dissertation.

For example class 1 umu- may evolve to um- as in:

- (7) umufana > umfana

and ultimately um- evolving to u-, as in:

- (8) *umugogo > *umgogo > ugogo.

In (7) the evolution of the noun prefix is

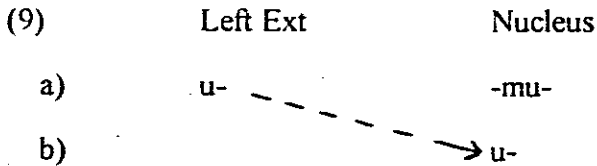
VCV- > VC- : umu- > um-

whereas in (8) it takes a step further:

VCV- > V- : umu- > u-

The example in (8) shows that u is now acting on behalf of the full blown prefix umu-. This espouses Guthrie's notion that the initial prefix is independent. Dewees' notion that the

initial prefix is independent is also supported in that “nucleity” of the nucleus is extended leftwardly. This may be seen as:



Deletion of -mu- in (9) a) changes the status of u- in (9) a) by assimilating the nuclear feature from -mu- to attain “nucleity” as in (9)b)

The important aspect of this is that this takes place without constraints imposed by sequence of other morphemes or other words. That is changes taking place here are evolutionary and not allomorphic. It is also important to note that evolution of the noun prefix may either be permanent or temporary. Permanent evolution will show the characteristics of full independency, whereas temporary evolution will be semi independent.

Permanent evolution show cases where a changed prefix will no more be used alternatively with a full prefix. This necessitates a sub-class. In 8 u- has formed a sub-class because it may no more be used with umu-. On the other hand temporary evolutionary forms may still be used alternatively with their full prefixes. In 7 um- may still be used alternatively with umu-, as in

<u>umufana</u>	or	<u>umfana</u>	(boy)
<u>uluthi</u>	or	<u>uthi</u>	(stick)
<u>ilitshe</u>	or	<u>itshe</u>	(stone)

The evolution of the prefix effect eliminates the problems where scholars: (cf. Chapter 3)

- a) use temporary evolutive noun prefix forms in noun classification.

- b) do not differentiate between allomorphs and temporary evolutive forms.
- c) refer to sub-classes without looking at the reason/s behind it (unawareness of permanent evolutive forms).

2.1 VCV- to VC-

It is noticeable that the change from VCV- to VC- is posed by the deletion of the second vowel (V2). This form of deletion is predominant in [+Nasal] classes; and it may also be noted in [+Sibilant] classes;

(10) For example:

<u>um</u> thwalo	vs	<u>um</u> thwalo	(load)
<u>im</u> ithwalo	vs	<u>im</u> ithwalo	(loads)
* <u>in</u> igane	vs	<u>in</u> igane	(child)
<u>is</u> ibani	vs	<u>is</u> bani	(lantern)
<u>iz</u> ibankwa	vs	<u>iz</u> bankwa	(lizards)

2.1.1 Permanent deletion of V2

The deletion of V2 implies that after the second vowel has been deleted a noun prefix will always surface as VC, before a noun stem. In Zulu there is only one noun prefix that has permanently deleted its V2 and evolved to a VC- structure. This may be shown by the permanent deletion of /-i-/ of the normal noun prefix /INI-/ which is no more used with its normal prefix form.

For example:

inkomo < in(i)khomo < ini- + -khomo.

Hereunder it is shown that /-i-/ of /INI-/ will never be used as part of the noun prefix in Zulu. The /-i-/ deletion takes place in the environment where it is found between an alveolar nasal and the morpheme boundary (+) before a noun stem. The morpheme boundary in this case merges and coincides with the syllable boundary (\$) for the syllable \$N1\$, hence the syllable boundary becomes redundant. The morpheme boundary (+) in this particular case show that the noun prefix \$1\$N1\$+ has been reduced to \$i\$N\$+, where it directly shows that \$ni\$S+ has become \$n+. Once a form \$C+ is attained for any noun prefix then C must be syllabic C. In this particular case the C is represented by /N/, therefore /N/ is syllabic N. This also shows that /N/ becomes N if it occurs after the V- and the deleted vowel [i] followed by the morpheme boundary (noun prefix - noun stem boundary). But since the noun is constituted of two morphemes viz. the noun prefix and the noun stem, morphological constraints leave these (morphemes) separate morphological entities. The morpheme boundary between them has to dissipate, to form a single noun. Once the morpheme boundary has dissipated then the syllabic nasal identifies itself with the succeeding consonant. An internal dynamic sandhi rule is effected, hence the syllabic nasal N becomes a homorganic nasal N before a consonant, through an assimilatory process. It is for this reason that the V2 /-i-/ will never 'show up' again in /ini-/.

An if-then constraint is now reached with regard to the permanent deletion of V2, i.e. /-i-/ in this particular case. This may be stated thus:

If a vowel is deleted after the nasal
that ultimately identifies itself with
the succeeding consonant, then such a vowel
deletion causes a permanent evolution of a
noun prefix.

Hence, we have an evolution from /ini-/ to /in-/ which can be regarded as permanent.

The above exposition seems only true of consonant initiated noun stems. It also holds true to vowel initiated noun stems. The only difference is that the vowel initiated noun stems epenthesize a glide (G). The glide makes up for the non-consonant existence at the initial position of the noun stem. It has been observed that each noun stem which is vowel initiated and is [+Bantu] in general and [+Zulu] in particular epenthesize the glide (G). The glide epenthesized is /Y/. When the nasal is identifying itself with the glide we attain a perfect consonant blend as referred to by Goyvaerts, D.L. (1978:64). This exhibits a total fusion of consonants. From the examples below we witness glide epenthesis.

- (11) in- + -ama > in- + -yama > inyama (meat)
 cf Sotho nama < n- + -ama
 in- + -osi > in- + -yosi > inyosi (bee)
 cf Swahili noki < n- + -oki
 in- + -ongo > in- + -yongo > inyongo (bile)
 cf Lamba noko < n- + -o(n)go

In Zulu we have an epenthesis of /Y/ before noun stems initiated by vowels and prefixed by /in-/. The following situation then arises:

- (12) # in + (G) (VCV.....CV) #

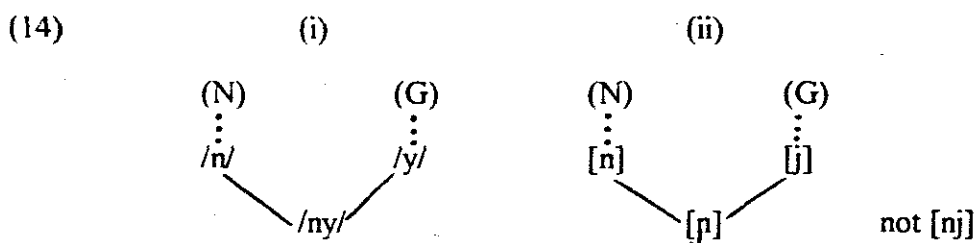
which was formerly without a (G)lide before epenthesis, and appeared formerly as:

- (13) # in + () (VCV.....VC) #

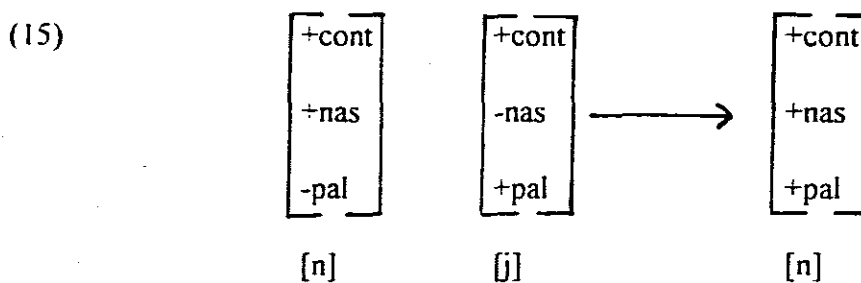
The perfect consonant blending is evoked after morpheme boundary dissipation where homorganic nasal blends with the (G)lide [j] to form [n] and not [nj]. The sequence of segments that have given rise to by glide epenthesis, show:

-NGV- sequence (where G = [j]).

The assimilatory process takes place between the homorganic nasal and the glide in this manner:



This is because the characterisation of the above sequence yields to plausible results as follows:



This shows that after anasal has formed a consonant blend with the glide, there is no chance for V2 /-i-/ to 'resurrect' to form again a VCV- structure of the noun prefix in the form of /ini-/ in the context of the noun stem. The original status of V2 is completely lost. Therefore /ini-/ evolution to /ini-/ is permanent, an evolution from VCV- to VC-.

2.1.2 Temporary deletion of V2

The pattern VCV- to VC- may also be noted in other [+Nasal] classes, other than /ini-/ class, and in [-Sibilant] classes. For these particular classes, viz. /umu-, imi-, ama-, isi-, and izi-/, deletion is temporary. This is because these noun prefixes after evolution may still employ the services of VCV-, at will. Before we delve into analysis of these noun prefixes

let us have relevant information, in form of data.

DATA:

Nasal Classes

	VCV-	>	VC-	Gloss
(16a)	<u>um</u> ulilo	>	<u>um</u> lilo	fire
	<u>um</u> uthungo	>	<u>um</u> thungo	stich
	<u>um</u> ulungu	>	<u>um</u> lungu	white man
	<u>um</u> ukhwekazi	>	<u>um</u> khwekazi	mother-in-law
(16b)	<u>im</u> ithwalo	>	<u>im</u> thwalo	loads
	<u>im</u> ilingo	>	<u>im</u> lingo	magic [pl]
	<u>im</u> ifula	>	<u>im</u> fula	rivers
	<u>im</u> ikhumbi	>	<u>im</u> khumbi	ships
(16c)	<u>am</u> akhambi	>	* <u>am</u> khambi	herbs
	<u>am</u> alahle	>	* <u>am</u> lahle	coal
	<u>am</u> aqabunga	>	* <u>am</u> qabunga	leaves
	<u>am</u> akholwa	>	* <u>am</u> kholwa	believers

Sibilant Classes

	VCV-	>	VC-	Gloss
(16d)	<u>is</u> ikole	>	<u>is</u> ikole	school
	<u>is</u> ibhamu	>	<u>is</u> bhamu	gun
	<u>is</u> iketekete	>	<u>is</u> ketekete	lantern
	<u>is</u> ilumo	>	<u>is</u> lumo	periodical pains

(16e)	<u>iz</u> klabhu	>	<u>iz</u> klabhu	sheep [pl]
	<u>iz</u> bhamu	>	<u>iz</u> bhamu	guns
	<u>iz</u> cathulo	>	<u>iz</u> cathulo	shoes
	<u>iz</u> lwane	>	<u>iz</u> lwane	animals

Data in	(16a) (umu-	>	um-)	
	(16b) (imi-	>	im-)	
	(16d) (isi-	>	is-)	and
	(16e) (izi-	>	iz-)	

show that there is evolution from VCV- to VC-. Data in (16)c show that /ama-/ resists evolution, since it never deletes its V2. It is also observed from data in (16)a that there is /u-/ deletion, whilst from data (16)b), (16)d) and (16)e) there is /i-/ deletion. This clearly shows that [High] vowel [a] resists deletion whilst [+High] vowels [u] and [i] are amenable to deletion. For nasals both vowels [u] and [i] are deleted, whilst for sibilants only the vowel [i] is deleted. It may then be concluded that only [+High] vowels become deleted in the environment where they are preceded by either a labial nasal [m] or a sibilant [s] or [z] before the noun stem. Either the labial nasal or the sibilant becomes syllabic after the deletion of the [+High] vowels. The important thing, here, to mention is that both the labial nasal and the sibilants remain syllabic and they never attain homorganism, even after the dissipation of the morpheme boundary (+). The following will exemplify this:

Nasal Classes

(17a)	/umu-/ class		
	umu-	>	um- / _____ N Stem
			-zimba : <u>um</u> zimba (body)
			-xhaka : <u>um</u> xhaka (bag)

(17b)	/imi-/ class		
	imi-	>	im- / _____ N Stem

-thwalo : imthwalo
(loads)

-khuba : imkhuba
(customs)

Sibilant Classes

(17c) /isi-/ class

isi- > is- / ____ N Stem

-lima : islima (fool)

-phefu : isphefu (lamp)

(17d) /izi-/ class

izi- > iz- / ____ N Stem

-tembu : iztembu (stamps)

-dwedwe : izdwedwe (torn cloths)

The above examples confirm that either the labial nasal or the sibilants become syllabic before a noun stem after [+High] vowel deletion. In Zulu this is only true to polysyllabic noun stems. The above exposition does not hold true for monosyllabic noun stems. This may be witnessed in the following examples:

Nasal Classes

(18a) umuthi > *umthi medicine

vs

umuthinyane > umthinyane kitten

umuntu > *umntu person

vs

umuntwana > umntwana child

(18b)	<u>i</u> mizi	>	* <u>i</u> mzi	home steads
			vs	
	<u>i</u> mizimba	>	<u>i</u> mzimba	bodies
	<u>i</u> mithi	>	* <u>i</u> mthi	trees
			vs	
	<u>i</u> mithimba	>	<u>i</u> mthimba	bridal entourages

Sibilant Classes

(18c)	<u>i</u> sixha	>	* <u>i</u> sxha	stick bundle
			vs	
	<u>i</u> sixhanti	>	<u>i</u> sxhanti	beast's neck
	<u>i</u> sibi	>	<u>i</u> sbi	speck of dirt
			vs	
	<u>i</u> sibili	>	<u>i</u> sibili	second (numerical)
(18d)	<u>i</u> zixhwe	>	* <u>i</u> zxhwe	ill voiced people(mus)
			vs	
	<u>i</u> zixhwembe	>	<u>i</u> zxhwembe	ladles
			vs	
	<u>i</u> zibi	>	* <u>i</u> zbi	dirt collection
			vs	
	<u>i</u> zibindi	>	<u>i</u> zbindi	courage [pl]

The above data show that the deletion of [+High] vowels [-i-] and [-u-] is blocked by the monosyllabic structure of the noun stems for the noun prefixes in question. There are more noun stems that are polysyllabic than those that are monosyllabic. This indicates that the deletion of [+High] vowels in the context of nasal and sibilant classes is becoming a 'trend' because more nouns in the said classes have a propensity for [+High] vowel deletion.

especially in a spoken language. This takes place as an alternative of the form VCV-. The monosyllabic noun stems have blocked this tendency from permanency of V2 deletion in the said classes. Otherwise all the nasal and sibilant classes would have long been evolved to permanency as in /in-/ class if it were not constrained by monosyllabic noun stems. In Zulu literature temporary deletion is used to a greater extent:

(19) “Uyamfimfa umlando wemvelaphi yembongolo.” (Ntuli & Ntuli, 1986:102)
(History of donkey’s origin is hazy.)

“Ngithe angiphelezele umfowethu lo” (Ntuli & Ntuli, 1986:35)
(I thought of coming together with my very brother.)

The deletion of [+High] vowel in nasal and sibilant environments do not attain the full status of permanent deletion because:

- i) They are blocked in doing so by monosyllabic noun stems.
- ii) They may be used side by side with their normal forms;
for example:

umlando vs umulando (history)

The evolution of the noun prefix from VCV- to VC- is found with the **nasal** (except /ama-/ class) and **sibilant** classes viz.

PERMANENT DELETION

(20) Nasal Classes

VCV-	>	VC-	EXAMPLE	
/ini-/	>	/ini-/:	<u>inikhomo</u> > <u>inkomo</u>	(cow/bull)
			<u>inigalo</u> > <u>ingalo</u>	(arm)

TEMPORARY DELETION

Nasal Classes

	VCV-	> VC-	EXAMPLE		
(21a)	/imi-/	> /im-/:	<u>im</u> ithombo	>	<u>im</u> thombo (fountains)
			<u>im</u> ikhuba	>	<u>im</u> khuba (customs)
(21b)	/umu-/	> /um-/:	<u>um</u> hlaba	>	<u>um</u> hlaba (world)
			<u>um</u> usindo	>	<u>um</u> sindo (sound)

Sibilant Classes

	VCV-	> VC			
(21c)	/isi-/	> /is-/:	<u>is</u> ithebe	>	<u>is</u> thebe (eating mat)
			<u>is</u> bhamu	>	<u>is</u> bhamu (rifle)
(21d)	/izi-/	> /iz-/:	<u>iz</u> ikole	>	<u>iz</u> kole (schools)
			<u>iz</u> ithole	>	<u>iz</u> thole (young cows)

2.1.3 [+High] Vowel Deletion

It has been indicated that only [+High] vowels which are prone to deletion, viz. [i] and [u]. [-High] vowel [a] resists deletion. The moot question here is: why do we have deletion of [+High] vowels only in the context of nasals and sibilants, whereas in the same context [-High] vowel does not?

In order to answer this question we need to specify the characteristics of vowels concerned, viz.

[a], [i] and [u].

(22) Matrix I

	[a]	[i]	[u]
high	-	+	+
back	+	-	+
round	-	-	+
consonantal	-	-	-
vocalic	+	+	+

The above matrix has allowed redundancy, so as to have maximal features for each vowel concerned. The feature [cons] is totally redundant because it is in opposition with the feature [voc], and all vowels are [-cons]. The feature [back] is also redundant because it may be subsumed under the feature [rnd], i.e. all [+back] vowels are [+rnd] and all [-back] vowels are [-rnd], hence:

(23) Matrix II

	[a]	[i]	[u]
high	-	+	-
back			
round		-	+
consonantal			
vocalic	+	+	+

The vowels [a], [i] and [u] are [+voc], but only vowels [i] and [u] that are [+High]. It is this feature [+High] that makes them ([i] and [u]) to be able to attain colour or chromatism. (cf. matrix III below). (The term colour or chromatism 'describes a vocalic quality used to mark a consonant' (Donegan 1985: 66)). They, [i] and [u] oppose or differ from each other in respect of the feature [round]. The feature [round] when specified [+rnd] entails colour

[+Labial], and when specified [-round] entails colour [+Palatal]. The matrix which follow hereunder shows how vowels in Zulu may be chromatic.

(24) Matrix III

	-CHROMATIC	+CHROMATIC			
	-Palatal	+Palatal		-Palatal	
	-Labial	-Labial		+Labial	
	-tense	+tense	-tense	+tense	-tense
high		[i]		[u]	
mid		[e]	[ɛ]	[o]	[ɔ]
low	[a]				

Adopted from Donegan 1985:v

It is here observed, from Matrix III, that vowels [i] and [u] are [+tense].

Tense vowels are less sonorant, and lax vowels are more sonorant. The higher the degree of sonority the more the degree of syllabicity is i.e. tense vowels are more susceptible to deletion than lax vowels. Since [i] and [u] are tense vowels they are easily deleted, hence their temporary deletion in the context of nasal and sibilant classes.

The other reason why [-High] vowels are deleted in the context of nasals and sibilants is the casual speech as it prevails among the native speakers of the Zulu language. In Zulu language which has generally a high tempo of articulation, the V2 deletion is prompted by the chromatism in [+High] vowels viz. [+Palatal] for [i] and [+Labial] for [u]. The deletion of these high vowels eliminates the possibility of either the nasal or the sibilant assimilating to [+High] vowels, i.e. the colour avoidance. The above illustrates that the V2 of VCV- is temporarily deleted in the context of nasal and sibilants. This of course excludes careful,

guarded and guided speech; and before monosyllabic noun stems (____ CV#).

2.2.0 VCV- to V-

The evolution from full noun prefix to a vowel (V) is generally the deletion of the basic noun prefix; where V2 is deleted and then the C(onsonant). This will appear like that because there is a tendency if V2 to delete as in:

umufana > um(u)fana > umfana (boy)
 *inikhomo > in(i)khomo > inkomo (beast)
isibhamu > is(i)bhamu > *isbhamu (gun)

From the above examples it is clear that the V2 is deleted. In certain instances further deletion takes place and effects a deletion of the C of the noun prefix. The deletion of V2 and of the C may take place simultaneously (cf 25) or the deletion of the V2 first and thereafter of the C (cf 26) It must be noted that in a case where there is a deletion of V2 and the C of the noun prefix is a N(asal) and the initial consonant of the noun stem is also a nasal then there would be a nasal fusion (cf 27).

Examples:

Simultaneous Deletion of C and V2

(25)

ili- > i-: ilihhashi > ihhashi (horse)
ilitshe > itshe (stone)
 ulu- > u-: ulukhamba > ukhamba (beer pot)
uluthi > uthi (stick)

umu-	>	u-:	<u>*umubaba</u>	>	<u>ubaba</u>	(father)
			<u>umukhiye</u>	>	<u>ukhiye</u>	(key)
ini-	>	i-:	<u>*inithivi</u>	>	<u>ithivi</u>	(TV set)
			<u>*iniredivo</u>	>	<u>irediyo</u>	(radio)

Deletion of V2 and then of C

(26)						
ini-	>	in-:	<u>*inifashini</u>	>	<u>imfashini</u>	: V2- Deletion
in-	>	i-:	<u>imfashini</u>	>	<u>ifashini</u>	: C-Deletion (fashion)
ini-	>	in-:	<u>*inifiva</u>	>	<u>imfiva</u>	: V2-Deletion
in-	>	i-:	<u>imfiva</u>	>	<u>ifiva</u>	: C-Deletion (fever)

Deletion of V2 and then fusion of Nasals

(27)						
ini-	>	in-:	<u>*inimali</u>	>	<u>inmali</u>	: V2-Deletion
in-	>	i-:	<u>*imali</u>	>	<u>imali</u>	: Nasal fusion

The above shows that in Zulu language the existence of the V as the noun prefix involves the total deletion of the basic prefix. The deletion of the basic prefix renders the initial vowel to attain the status of the full noun prefix. However it must be noted that there are instances where the V is permanently enacted as the full noun prefix and thus rendering such a V to attain a class of its own and sub-classes to the class from it (V) evolved. This may be found in classes 1, 3 and 9; for example:

- (28) umalume 1a) (uncle) : sub-class to main class 1 (umu-)
 ushukela 3a) (sugar) : sub-class to main class 3 (umu-)
 ifemu 9a) (firm) : sub-class to main class 9 (in-)

It must be recalled that there is also a V noun prefix form which is permanently enacted in the language in the instance of o- as in:

- (29) *abagogo > ogogo (grandmas)
 *abakhiye > okhiye (keys)

The noun prefix o- exhibits composite structures (see 2.2.2).

2.2.1 VCV- to VI

This form of evolution is necessarily a deletion of a real prefix either permanently or temporarily. If the evolution has allowed a VCV- to become VI then VI acts not only as an initial vowel but also as a full monosyllabic prefix, without being a real prefix. The real prefix may be manifested in agreement of a noun exhibiting a VI as a noun prefix in relation to other words with which it co-occurs within a sentence or an utterance, as in:

Permanent

- (30a) u- < umu-
 ugogo ngiyamuthanda I love grandma.
 ukhiye omude uvula kahle. Long key opens well.
- (30b) i- < ini-
 ithimu enhle idlala kahle. Good team plays well.
 iwayilense endala ikhala kabi. Old wireless has bad sound.

Temporary

- (31a) i- < ili-
itshe elikhulu liyasinda Big stone is heavy.
ihembe elingcolile liyahlanzwa. Dirty shirt is being washed.
- (31b) u- < ulu-
uthuli lungena lugcwale amehlo. Dust storm irritates eyes
ubumba lubunjiwa luseva. Donga mud is moulded whilst soft.

2.2.1.1 Permanent evolution of VCV- to VI

It is only the nasal classes that may evolve permanently from VCV- to VI. This permanency necessarily entails sub-classes. Such sub-classes have their agreement attached to their own respective source/main classes.

2.2.1.1.1 umu- to u-

Certain forms of noun stems no longer take the full prefix umu-, but instead they use initial vowel u-. This research has obtained that noun stems that no longer use the full prefix in this regard is four fold viz.

- i) [-Human, -Foreign]
- ii) [+Human, +Foreign]
- iii) [-Human, -Foreign] and
- iv) [-Human, +Foreign] noun stems; For example:

- (32a) [-Human, -Foreign]
- | | |
|----------------|---------|
| <u>ugogo</u> | grandma |
| <u>umalume</u> | uncle |
| <u>udade</u> | sister |

(Doctor [he] heals.)

[-Human]: Ushukela wona umnandi.
(Sugar [it] is sweet.)

Unogwaja wona uyabaleka.
(Hare [it] runs away.)

ii) Demonstrative [+Human]: Nangu umalume.
(Here is uncle.)

Nangu uZondi.
(here is mr Zondi)

[-Human]: Nanku/nawu usheleni.
(Here-is a shilling.)

iii) Quantitative [+Human]: UBotha uhlala vedwa.
(Mr Botha lives by himself.)

Ukhondathi uyiqoqa vedwa imali.
(A conductor collects money
all by himself.)

[-Human]: Ngifuna ugwayi wodwa.
(I want only tobacco.)

Wathenga uswidi wodwa?
(Why do you buy only sweets?)

(33b) Possessive: [+Human]: Ingane yakhe umama, ilimele
(Mother's child got hurt)

Umsiko wakhe ubaba muhle.
(Father's tailoring is good.)

[-Human]: Inyama yawo unogwaja imnandi.
(Hare's meat is tasty.)

Ubumnandi bawo ushukela abupheli.
(Sugar's sweetness is unending.)

(33c)

Concords:

- i) Object [+Human]: Ngiyamuthanda ugogo.
(I love grandma.)
- Bayamuzonda unesi ongelaphi.
(They hate a nurse who doesn't heal.)
- [-Human]: Ngiyawudla ubhanana.
(I eat banana.)
- Ngiyawuzonda uthekwane.
(I hate scorpus umbretta.)
- ii) Subject-Neg. [+Human]: UKhuzwayo akafuni ukukhuzwa.
(Mr Khuzwayo doesn't like to be told.)
- Udokotela omuhle akabhemi.
(Good exemplary doctor doesn't smoke.)
- [-Human]: Usheleni awuthengi manje.
(A shilling is no longer in circulation.)
- Unogwaja awumnandi uyahlola.
(Hare's meat is more than tasty.)

The above examples reveal the difference in concordial agreement of the npun prefix umu- as evolved to u-. Therefore, the difference in agreement rests mainly on the semantic content of the noun stem rather than that of the noun prefix. The semantic content of the noun stem with the feature [Human] is inherent to the noun prefix umu- and subsequently to u- from umu-. As a result the noun prefix with a specific inherent [Human] feature will react differently syntactically. The agreement of these nouns act exactly as in umu- class.

(34a)

umuntu

- i) **Umuntu vena uyadla** (A person (he) eats.)
- ii) **Nangu umuntu.** (Here is a person.)
- iii) **Umuntu uhlala yedwa.** (A person leaves alone.)

- iv) Umthungo wakhe umuntu muhle. (A person's tailoring is good.)
- v) Ngiyamuthanda umuntu. (I like a person.)
- vi) Umuntu akafani nenja. (A person is not like a dog.)

(34b)

umufula

- i) Umufula wona uyageleza. (The river runs.)
- ii) Nanku/nawu umufula engiwuphuzayo. (Here is the river from which I draw water.)
- iii) Umufula ugeleza wodwa. (The river runs by itself.)
- iv) Izibuko lawo umufula libi. (River's ford is bad.)
- v) Ngiyawuphuza umfula. (I draw water from the river.)
- vi) umufula awufani nolwandle. (The river is not like an ocean.)

Agreement of umu- and u- tally in every respect, then umu- must have evolved to u- in relation to certain noun stems.

2.2.1.1.2 ini- to i-

It has already been attested that ini- evolves to in- permanently, i.e. will never attain VCV-status any more. Here we are faced with ini- evolving to i-, where the whole real prefix -ni- is done away with. For this particular instance there is a strong possibility that ini- evolved to in- then i-. This possibility is self attested in (17) above. The example in A show that in the Zulu language there is a nasal retention of /n/ from /ini/ noun prefix. The examples in B show that there is no nasal /n/ of /ini/ noun prefix. Tough the information in (17) is true, but it does not hold true for a greater part of this type of evolution (ini- to i-). Foreign words which belong to /ini-/ class show a direct tendency of evolution from ini- to i-

without the initial change to in-.

For example:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------|
| (35) | <u>i-thivi</u> | TV set |
| | <u>i-rediyo</u> | radio etc |

were never

- | | | |
|------|------------------|----------------|
| (36) | <u>*intivi</u> | for TV set |
| | <u>*inrediyo</u> | for radio etc. |

Because most foreign words in /ini-/ class did not go through the process of vowel deletion only but through real prefix deletion, then the evolution is a direct one from /ini-/ to /i-/. This may be witnessed in various fields and spheres.

For example:

<u>Field. Sphere</u>		<u>Gloss</u>
Technology	<u>iwayilense</u>	wireless (radio)
Clubs	<u>iPhayireyithsi</u>	Pirates
Sport	<u>ikhilikithi</u>	cricket
Language	<u>igirama</u>	grammar
Literary terms	<u>ihamashiya</u>	hammartia

These nouns never had nasal /-n-/ in their prefixes, i.e. we did not experience in the language words like *imPareyithsi, *ingwayilense, *inkilikithi, etc.

Therefore we have an evolution from /ini-/ to /i-/. This is mainly because of the advent of foreign ideas and artefacts that have been adopted by the language.

The above data show that there is a form of evolution from /ili-/ and /ulu-/ to /i-/ and /u-/ respectively. The problem now is to ascertain whether it is /i-/ and /u-/ of the real prefix or of the initial vowel that remains after the evolution. To determine that, various tests were made to the effect, and it became obvious that it is the initial vowel that remains, or alternatively it is the real prefix that is deleted. Various scholars have viewed this phenomenon differently.

Louw, J.A. (1963:32) says:

“Die singularisprefiks ulu- word by polisillabiese nominale stamme verkort tot u(l)u-.”

Doke, C.M. (1927:47) has the following to say:

All words in this class may be used either with full form or with contracted form of prefix..... The full form, however, is practically confined to rhetorical and poetical expression, and the contracted form is almost universal in common speech. It is important to remember that the i- of the contracted form is long.

Nyembezi, C.L.S. (1956:47) says:

“Esigabeni ubunye, lesi siqalo ili- asisasebenzi manje namabizo aneziqalo (*aneziqu) ezinamalunga amaningi. Kanti futhi nasemabizweni aneziqu ezinelunga elilodwa akusibo bonke abantu abasebenzisa lesi siqalo ili-.”

[* aneziqu is mine; seemingly he used aneziqalo (prefixes) for aneziqu (stems).]

In the singular, the prefix -ili- is no longer used with the nouns bearing polysyllabic stems..... Also with nouns bearing monosyllabic stems, it is not all people who use this prefix ili-.

Doke (1927:56-6) and Nyembezi (1956:47) repeat same statements as above for /ulu-/ class. The above scholars do not explicitly say whether it is the vowel of the real prefix or simply the initial vowel that remains for the prefix. For Doke, it is implied, though not explicit, that it is the initial vowel that remains; as he says:

.....
the i:- (ibid 47)

the u:- (ibid 56)

of the contracted form is long.

These imply that both i:- and u:- are long because of the deletion of the real prefixes -ili and -lu- respectively. The length, inferred here by Doke, suggests that it compensates for the deletion of a syllable in form of the real prefix.

Louw (1963) and Nyembezi (1956) have almost the same notion as Doke, but they slightly differ from Doke if they say that it is the [+liquid] that is deleted:

i(l)i- Louw (1963:28) and Nyembezi (1956:47)

u(l)u- Louw (1963:32) and Nyembezi (1956:47)

According to Louw and Nyembezi the deletion of the [+liquid] makes the vowels 'long'; [ii] and [uu]. The phenomenon of deletion of the [+liquid] between vowels will not make the vowels 'long' nor geminate. This is because their 'peaks' will not assimilate to each other, i.e. they will maintain their own syllabicity rather than fusing together. These two scholars do not put forth what actually prompts the deletion of the [+liquid]. The [+liquid] does not become syllabic in Zulu. Even after the deletion of V2 in il(i)- and ul(u)- the -l- does not become syllabic. The non-syllabic nature of the liquid prompts it to be deleted. This ultimately shows that the whole real prefix is deleted. Therefore, we have a situation:

Okhiv e abadala abasebenzi.

Old keys are useless.

Ziervogel, D, (1967:15) expresses the importance of the noun prefix:

The importance of the class prefixes does not lie in the fact that they indicate the classes to which the nouns belong, but rather in the fact that they are employed in linking to other parts of the sentence by means of a concord which is derived from a class prefix.

Since the agreement of /o-/ is ba- then it is here claimed that /o-/ evolved from the full noun prefix aba-. The claim here appears to be an anomaly because it presents a 'noun-conforming' agreement phonologically. It is phonologically not viable to link o- with agreement ba-. In other noun classes there is phonological correspondence between the prefix and the concord, e.g.

(42) Isinkwa sibhakiwe. Bread is baked

Ubhle bakhe buyabonakala. Her beauty is conspicuous. etc.

This is not the case with noun prefix /o-/. One needs to delve into syntax, morphology and phonology in order to account for discrepancy of o- and aba-.

2.2.2.1 /aba-/ to /abo-/

It is argued in this dissertation that the noun prefix aba- has evolved to abo-. Many scholars have attempted to give an explanation as to how the V noun prefix o- was realised. It is our view that there has been a process of prefix stacking that has led to the formation of abo-. The prefix stacking has been caused by pre-posing the noun prefix aba- of class 2 to an already existing noun prefix u- of either class 1a or 3a. (It will be recalled that the u- in question is the one that has either evolved from umu- of classes 1 or 3.) When aba- is pre-posed to u- then there is a process of vowel coalescence between -a- of aba- and u- yielding to an o-. From the noun ugogo for example the u- is retained then there is

preposing of aba- to ugogo forming a sequence aba-ugogo, hence abogogo.

The retention of noun prefixes is prevalent in various instances; as in:

u - isi- hlalo > usihlalo (chairperson)

cf. isi - hlalo (chair)

ama - in - thombazane > amantombazane (girls)

cf. in - thombazane (girl)

ama - i - hlo > amehlo (eyes)

cf. i - hlo (eye) etc.

Mlondo, A. (1983:20) maintains that:

.....it is the "a" of the basic prefix -ba- of class 2 which coalesces with the prefix u- of class 1a,.....

It is equally important to show that the resultant noun prefix abo- is now a sub-class of the noun prefix aba- of class 2. It has long been established that this is the case by scholars like Doke, Meinhof, Nyembezi, Taaljaard & Bosch, inter alia; but not a single one has attempted to show or indicate why it is so. This is of great importance as to why the abo- noun prefix must be a sub-class to class 2. The abo- noun prefix shares the characteristics of classes 2 and 1a or 3a i.e. aba- (cl.2) + u- (cl. 1a /3a) > abo- (cl.2a). The reasons why the abo- noun prefix is a sub-class of class 2 are both morphological and syntactic.

The morphological reason is that:

The noun prefix that appears first in a noun is the one that act as a classifying noun prefix. Or, the last pre-posed noun prefix will always be a classifying prefix.

This may be realised in the following examples:

- (43) ama- + -in- + -thombazane > amantobazane (girls)
 6 + 9 + Nstem > 6
- ubu- + -in- + -ja > ubunja (despicable act)
 14 + 9 + Nstem > 14
- ama- + -(li)- = -hlo > amehlo (eyes)
 6 + 5 + Nstem > 6
- u- + -(u)lu- + -thuli > uLuthuli (Mr Luthuli)
 1a + 11 + Nstem > 1a

From the above examples it is clear that the first noun prefix is the one that attains the classifying ability in the noun. Other noun prefixes that collocate with the first noun prefix are rendered non-classifying. It is for the same reason that noun prefix abo- is:

aba- + -u-
 2 + 1a/3a.

The syntactic reason being that the noun prefix abo- has the agreement that is exactly the same as that of aba- and not at all to that of u-/umu-.

- (44) abogogo abadala bayadondolozela. (Old aged grandmas are clutching.)
 as in:
abantu abadala bayadondolozela. (Old aged people are clutching.)

Both morphological and syntactic reasons show that the noun prefix abo- subscribes to aba- of class 2, hence class 2a). The above raises the notion that even the phonological process involved is not directly the merging of vowels -a- of the noun prefix aba- and u- which has

abo > awo: Consonant Weakening (/b/ eased to /w/)

This may also be considered as a phonemic variation of abo- and awo-.

2.2.2.3 /awo-/ to */ao-/ to /o-/

Here, at this stage it is necessary to clarify the existence of the starred form **/ao-/*. In the history of the Zulu language /ao-/ has never been employed as a noun prefix. This is, more so, because phonological system of Zulu does not allow a VV- sequence of segments. In this dissertation it is asserted that the change from /awo-/ to /ao-/ and then to /o-/ is a matter of process, rather than the stages that have been attained by the prefix, per se. It is here maintained that the noun prefix has evolved from the stage /awo-/ to /o-/ through the phonological process where **/ao-/* was also involved without being a prefix!

Since /awo-/ has a VCV- structure and /o-/ is V2, then the change is from VCV- to V2. This change is attributable to /-w-/ of /awo-/ in the context of /o/ before the morpheme boundary (+).

2.3 **Recapitulation**

The evolution of noun prefix is noted in Zulu language and other Bantu languages. It is important for the scholars of Zulu as it contributes to eliminating misconceptions about the noun prefix.

Only permanent evolutionary forms need to be included in noun classification because they further classify nouns into their sub-classes. It is linguistically not correct to include temporary evolutionary forms in noun classes because they may still be used alternatively with their source/full noun prefixes. The use of temporary evolutionary forms has caused confusion with alternants or allomorphs. For example it is not grammatically correct to include i- and u- of classes 5 and 11 respectively because they are not allomorphic but temporary evolutionary. They are unlike i- of class 9 and u- of either class 1 or 3 because

they are permanently evolutionary, therefore sub-classifying. Evolution of noun prefixes contributes also to the understanding of different noun prefix surface structures which appear phonologically the same.

For example:

(47) um- in umfana , umthwalo etc. will be different from

(48) um- in umona, umehluko etc.

um- in (47) is evolutionary (temporary) whereas um- in (48) is allomorphic.

CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURE OF THE ZULU NOUN PREFIX

3.0. Introduction

The classification of the noun prefix in Bantu and in Zulu in particular has seriously lured scholars to regard classifiers as noun prefixes. Only in certain instances when classifiers may be noun prefixes. Interestingly, most, if not all scholars do regard the so called pre-prefix as part of the noun prefix. That is they take into account both the classifier and the pre-prefix to constitute a noun prefix in Zulu.

(1)	Pre-Prefix	Classifier	:	Noun Prefix
	i-	-si-	:	isi-
	a-	-ma-	:	ama-
	u-	-ku-	:	uku-

In this dissertation the prefix is not only regarded as constituting the pre-prefix and the classifier. The noun prefix may be constituted of more than the two. The situation in (1) is the example of a simple noun prefix. If the noun prefix exceeds elements in (1) than we have a composite structure of the noun prefix as in (2) below.

(2) a)	Pre-Prefix	Classifier	Extra Morpheme	:	Composite N. Prefix
	a-	-ba-	-e-	:	abe-

as in

<u>abe</u> Suthu	(Sotho people)
<u>abe</u> Tswana	(Tswana people)
<u>abe</u> Nguni	(Nguni people) etc

b)	Pre- Prefix	Classifier	Non- Classifier	:	Comp. N.Prefix
	a-	-ma-	-(i)n-	:	aman-

as in amantombazane (girls) etc

It is also noteworthy that composite noun prefix izin- is actually regarded and considered a noun prefix whereas cases in 2 have the same structure in izin-. May be that is what has prompted Canonici(1990) to classify this composite noun prefix as classes 10/9. This implies that both izi- an -ini- are active classifiers!

By simple noun prefix structure it is meant any structure that shows a VCV- structure and/or any structure that may overtly or covertly be below a VCV- structure. Composite noun prefix structure is the one that overtly or covertly exhibits any structure beyond VCV- structure.

Simple noun prefix structure may be normal. Normal noun prefix structure will always have deep and surface structures as VCV-. On the other hand the shortened noun prefix structure will only have a deep structure as VCV- but surfaces either as: i) VC-; ii) V-; iii) -C-; or iv) () (a zero morpheme). It must be noted that shortened noun prefixes may further be divided into two, viz. adaptive and evolutive shortened noun prefix structures. The adaptive shortened noun prefixes are those that become shortened through morphological constraints with the noun stem with which they co-occur, hence morphological adaptation; or through syntactic constraints where a normal noun prefix is coerced to be shortened in certain syntactic structures without changing the word category noun, hence syntactic adaptation. On the other hand the evolutive shortened noun prefixes

are those that have, through evolution, become shortened. Those that are permanently shortened may no longer be used alternatively or side by side with their own deep structures or simple structures whereas those that are temporarily shortened may still be used with their deep structures. The simple noun prefix structure may be exemplified as:

(3) **Simple normal noun prefixes.**

VCV- : umu- in umuntu (person), umuhlwa (termite).

aba- in abantu (people), abaThwa (Koi-San).

uku- in ukudla (food), ukusa (morning). Etc.

(4) **Simple shortened noun prefixes.**

(4) a) Simple shortened adaptive.

i) Simple morphological shortened adaptive.

VC- : um- < umu- in umoya (air),

umona (jealousy).

is- < isi- in isenzo (act),

isono (sin).

iz- < izi- in izono (sins),

izaba (dillies).

ub- < ubu- in uboya (air),

ubomi (maggots) etc.

ii) Simple syntactic shortened adaptive.

-CV- : -ba- < aba- e.g. Nina bantu anizwa.

(You people are deaf.)

-mu- < umu- e.g. Akukho muntu endlini.

(There is no one in the house)

-mi- < imi- e.g. Angithuli mithwalo.

(I will not off-load) etc.

-C- : -s- < isi- e.g. Azisafune skole manje.

(They (children) no longer want schooling)

-n- < in (i)- e.g. Angifuni ngane.

(I want no child)

-m- < umu- e.g. Asiqedi mbhantshi kujiya.

(We do not know) etc.

() : -- < in (i)- e.g. Abathathanga () mali.

(They didn't take money)

-- < u (mu)- e.g. Akukho () b'aba endlini.

(There is not a single father in the house)

— < ili- e.g. Inja idle () thambo yadla

() phalishi.

(The dog ate even a bone and porridge) etc.

(4) b) Simple shortened evolutive.

i) Simple shortened permanent evolutive.

VC- : in- < ini-

e.g. inkawu (monkey), inhlebi (gossiper).

V- : u- < umu-

e.g. umalume (uncle), utiki (tickey (two-and -half cent)).

ii) Simple shortened temporary evolutive

VC- : is- < isi-

e.g. isibhamu (rifle), isthupha (thumb).

iz- < izi-

e.g. izthebe (meat dishes), izkhalo (complaints).

um- < umu-

e.g. umfana (boy), umsindo (sound).

im- < imi-

e.g. imthende (stripes), imfino (vegetables).

Composite noun prefix structure may be divided into two where we have simple+simple or simple+”extra-morpheme” noun prefixes. The composite noun prefix with a simple+simple structure may combine any of the above forms, i.e. the variety of the simple noun prefix structure combination. The composite noun prefix with simple+extra-morpheme structure will have any of the simple structures as the first part and then have a extra-morpheme. By extra-morpheme we mean the morpheme that is imposed onto a simple structure to give a particular meaning to a noun as whole, hence it has semantic significance it bears. Composite noun prefixes are said to be **compound** if they exhibit a simple+simple structure, and **complex** if they have a simple+extra-morpheme + (simple). Composite noun prefix structures may be exemplified as:

(5) **Compound noun prefix.**

aman- < ama- + ini- : e.g. <u>amantombazane</u>	(girls)
cf. <u>intombazane</u>	(girl).
izin- < izi- + ini- : e.g. <u>izinkomo</u>	(cows)
cf. <u>inkomo</u>	(cow).
usi- < umu- + isi- : e.g. <u>usihlalo</u>	(chairperson).
cf. <u>isihlalo</u>	(chair)
o- < aba- + umu- : e.g. <u>ogogo</u>	(grandmas). etc.

(6) **Complex noun prefix.**

uma- < umu- + ma : e.g. <u>umanqoba</u>	(the real stuff)
cf. <u>nqoba</u>	(defeat).
usom- < umu- + so + ini- : e.g. <u>usompisi</u>	(the hyena's father)
cf. <u>impisi</u>	(hyena).
unozi- < umu- + <u>no</u> + izi- : e.g. <u>unozipho</u>	(mother of gifts)
cf. <u>izipho</u>	(gifts).
abe- < aba- + e : e.g. <u>abelungu</u>	(white folk)
cf. <u>umlungu</u>	(white man). etc.

It has become obvious that in this chapter one has to delve into a much global structure of the noun prefix as found in Zulu. It must also be noted that these two broad structures, i.e. the simple and the composite noun prefix structures must be separated with utmost care. Some structures may look simple whereas in actual fact they are composite. This mainly

caused by the fact that the phonological structure of the noun prefix may mislead. For example abe- noun prefix may not seem composite if one looks at it as having a VCV-structure which of course spells simple noun prefix structure. But if one looks at it carefully it is realised that it is composite because it has a simple structure aba- and a extra-morpheme -e- which has a semantic feature [+nation], cf. also abeSuthu, abeTswana, abeNguni, etc.

3.1 Simple structures

According to what has been reached at in Chapter 2, it has been realised that there are also sub-classes that subscribe to normal simple noun prefix structures. In the foregoing paragraph these are described as shortened simple structures. At this point in time, it must be noted that there is a sub-class that is not simple though shortened and also used as a sub-class viz. o- of class 2a). The noun prefix izin- is also used as in the noun prefix classification whereas it is a composite noun prefix. Therefore there are two noun prefixes that are used in noun prefix classification that are not simple noun prefixes, hence they will not feature here under simple structures. With the exception of these two noun prefixes o- and izin- all the noun prefixes that are used in noun prefix classification are simple noun prefixes. Before we delve into various forms of the simple noun prefix it is necessary that we list the class prefixes as they to a greater extent reveal a tendency towards simple noun prefix structures.

1. umu-
- 1a) u-
2. aba-
- 2a) o-
3. umu-
- 3a) u-
4. imi-

5. ili-
6. ama-
7. isi-
8. izi-
9. in-
- 9a) i-
10. izin-
11. ulu-
14. ubu-
15. uku-

The above list shows that classes 2a) and 10 are composite classes.

3.1.1 Simple normal noun prefixes

The simple normal noun prefixes have been shown to have a VCV- structure as in : umu-, aba-, ili-, ama-, isi-, ulu-, ubu-, etc. This normal structure may vary only phonologically, because if it varies morphologically then it becomes shortened.

For example

(7)	Phonological variation	Morphonological variation
uku-	ukwenda (marrying)	ukona (sinning)
ubu-	utshwala (liquor)	ubomi (maggots)
ulu-	ulwazi (knowledge)	ulaka (fury)
umu-	unyezi (moonlight)	umendo (trail) etc.

In the column phonological variation we still have normal noun prefix structure whereas in the column morphological variation we have shortened noun prefix structure. One may argue that in the column morphological variation we do have phonological variation

because of the elision of the second vowel (V2-deletion), but the fact remains in that the noun prefix is now shortened morphologically because of the very same elision. It is now clear that the normal noun prefix in Zulu may have a VCV- structure or only its phonological variation. The phonological variation of the normal noun prefix may be two-fold. On one hand we may have the second vowel changing into a glide without affecting the succeeding consonant (VCV- to VCG-) where VCG- means vowel-consonant-glide. On the other hand we have the second vowel changing into a glide and such glide has the effect on the succeeding consonant either with the retention on such glide or without the retention of the glide. For simple noun prefix only the retention of the glide that will be considered because without the glide then the noun prefix will be shortened.

3.1.1.1 Simple normal noun prefix structure without phonological variations

This structure will always be the same as the underlying structure of the Zulu noun prefix.

Most of the classes still maintain this structure as seen in:

(8)	1.	umu-	umuntu (person)
	2.	aba-	abakhwenyane (sons-in-law)
	3.	umu-	umufula (river)
	4.	imi-	imithi (medicine (pl.))
	5.	ili-	ilitshe (stone)
	6.	ama-	amahhashi (horses)
	7.	isi-	isicelu (sun-basking area)
	8.	izi-	izicephu (sitting mats)
	11.	ulu-	uluthi (stick)
	14.	ubu-	ubuthi (poison)
	15.	uku-	ukudla (food).

The structure of the VCV- normal noun prefix is the initial vowel (IV) and the basic prefix

(-CV-). The basic prefix or real prefix or classifier is generally the prefix of Bantu. The two together makes a simple normal noun prefix in Zulu. Therefore we have:

	<u>Initial Vowel</u>		<u>Basic Prefix</u>	<u>SNNP</u>
(9)	a-	+	-ba-	> aba-
			-ma-	> ama-
	i-	+	-li-	> ili-
			-mi-	> imi-
			-si-	> isi-
			-zi-	> izi-
	u-	+	-bu-	> ubu-
			-lu-	> ulu-
			-mu-	> umu-
			-ku-	> uku-

3.1.1.2 Simple normal noun prefix with phonological variations

Here we find that the V2 is changed into a glide affecting or without affecting the succeeding consonant.

3.1.1.2.1 Without changing the succeeding consonant

This is the case of V2 becoming a glide without any effect on the succeeding consonant where a noun prefix now becomes a VCG-. It has been observed that it is /-u-/ that changes into a glide. Therefore /-u-/ will change into glide /-w-/. Since /-u-/ is [+labial] then it must have a labial effect on the succeeding consonant. If the succeeding consonant is not a labial then the effect would be realised only as a form of consonant labialisation without changing the basic form of the succeeding consonant. The noun prefixes that happen to be in the context of /-u-/ and with a non-labial consonant are /-u-/ and /uku-/. Does this mean that whenever there is either /ulu-/ or /uku-/ then we have these consonants labialised? No! It must be noted that the noun stems that are vowel initiated are [-high]

The next question, is whether do we have the noun prefix utsh- or not? The answer is simply yes! Because morphologically this is the prefix whose structure has phonologically been modified, and may be represented as:

- (12) UR PR
 ubu- utsh-
 (UR= underlying representation
 PR= phonetic realisation)
 cf. also utshani (grass)

3.1.2 Simple shortened noun prefix

It has been mentioned that the simple shortened noun prefix may be adaptive or evolutive; where adaptive prefixes may adapt morphologically or syntactically, and evolutive prefixes evolve temporarily or permanently. All prefixes here must have a structure that is below a VCV- structure.

3.1.2.1 Simple shortened adaptive

The noun prefix may be forced to adapt to a particular situation, depending on the tactical make up of the noun or to the sequence of words in a sentence which involves a noun. If a noun prefix is followed by a noun stem which is initiated by a vowel, at times, it becomes imperative for the noun prefix to delete its second vowel. Once the second vowel is deleted it becomes deficient. The noun prefix has to adapt to a vowel initiated stem. If a noun is preceded by a particular word category having specific diacritics then the noun is shun of its initial vowel which happens to be the part prefix. This also becomes the case of shortening on the part of the noun prefix.

3.1.2.1.1 Simple morphological shortened adaptives

Morphological constraints are the direct cause the noun prefix to delete its second vowel.

It is general that noun structure must have a prefix and a stem. If the word-structure-conditions are such that the noun stem is vowel initiated then the noun prefix has to adapt to the conditions. The noun prefix is constrained and it adapts through the deletion of the second vowel of the noun prefix. In the process the noun prefix becomes shortened. This shortening is of course morphological where the agreement marker is now only a consonant, instead of consonant-vowel make up. Most the noun prefix classes have these forms, and these forms become allomorphic to simple normal noun prefix structures.

For example:

- | Class | |
|-------|--|
| (13) | 1. um- > umu- :
umongameli / umengameli (president)
cf. engamela (preside) |
| | 2. ab- > aba- :
abelusi (herd people),
cf. elusa (herd) |
| | 3. um- > umu-
umehluko (difference),
cf. ehluka (differ) |
| | 4. im- > imi- :
imendo (trails),
cf. enda (follow) |
| | 7. is- > isi- :
isono (sin)
cf. ona (to sin) |

8. iz- > izi- :
 izenzo (actions)
 cf. enza (do)
11. ul- > ulu- :
 ulembu (spider web) variant of ulwembu.
14. ub- > ubu- :
 ubomi (maggots)
15. uk- > uku- :
 ukona (sinning)
 cf. ona (to sin).

The structure of the above examples is VC- from VCV- where the second vowel has been deleted. There are no morphological constraints that might go beyond the VC- structure. This is mainly blocked from doing so by the morpho-tactics of both the noun prefix and the noun stem involved. The morpho-tactics of these two morphemes are such that the vowel of the noun prefix gives way to the vowel of the noun stem, and the vowel of the noun stem does not substitute the deleted vowel of the noun prefix. Because it that were the case then the noun prefix would still have the second vowel obtained from the noun stem, and on the other hand the noun prefix would be without the initial vowel which would have been transferred onto the noun prefix. This can be exemplified as:

- (14) uk-osa not *uko-sa (fry)
 ub-oya not *ubo-ya (uboya)
 ab-elusi not *abe-lusi (herd men)
 um-abo not *uma-bo (bridal gifts)

3.1.2.1.2 Simple syntactic shortened adaptives

This particular noun prefix structure is peculiar in the sense that shortening is prompted from the beginning of the noun prefix. This shows that the constraints are not within the noun itself, but other extraneous forces have the effect onto the noun and ultimately the noun prefix per se. These extraneous elements are nothing else but words. If certain words occur before a noun then the noun prefix loses its initial vowel. These words must bear a particular meaning for the noun prefix to lose its initial vowel. Von Staden, P.M.S. (1973:63-181) has made reference to such loss of the initial vowel of the initial noun prefix as generic or non-particularising or non-individualistic. In this study we are interested on their form rather than their semantic content. It must be noted that von Staden has considered both the primary and the secondary forms of the noun. Here only the noun prefix in its primary form is considered, because once the noun is in the secondary form it changes its word category. Here it must be noted that even if the initial vowel is deleted the noun remains in its primary form therefore it is treated in its own category noun [N]. It is not refuted that the noun prefix may lose its initial vowel in its secondary form, or lose its initial vowel to change to a secondary form.

For example:

(15) Loss of initial vowel in secondary form

Akamshayanga ngatshe. (adv. instrumental)

(He didn't hit him by a stone.)

Akukho nazitsha. (adv. connective)

(There is not even dishes.)

Loss of initial vowel

Nkosi! < inkosi (interj. vocative)

(Hail King!) < king

Mahlanze	<	amahlanze. (adv. manner)
(empty)	<	(open vast shrubs)

The above examples are in no way disputed, but the context of this considers only the nouns therefore in their primary form.

Now let us look at these elements that coerce the initial vowel to be deleted in the context of words occurring prior to the noun. If the initial vowel is elided the remaining agreement marker serves as a complete noun prefix. These external forces may be found if:

- i) a noun in the 3rd person is transferred to the 1st or 2nd person, hence preceded by mina or thina for 1st pers. and wena or nina for 2nd pers.
- ii) a demonstrative precedes a noun.
- iii) a verb precedes a noun, which is either a post-poned subject or an ordinary object.
- iv) nouns following one another and expressed in a narrative sense.
- v) a noun before the enumerative.

3.1.2.1.2.1 3rd person transferred to 1st or 2nd persons

If a noun is transferred to either 1st or 2nd person that noun will be preceded by an absolute pronoun mina, thina, wena, or nina. Either of these pronouns will force the noun prefix to delete its initial vowel in the environment where such pronoun precedes a noun.

3.1.2.1.2.1.1 Mina preceding a noun

When mina precedes a noun it usually contains a self-praise utterance.

For example:

In H. Sishi's (1968) unpublished radio play Isikhumba Sehubesi we have:

- (16) Ngasho mina nguqunguqu.
 Ngasho mina godo olulala amankankane.
 Ngasho mina mthunzi ophumula amatshitshi namajongosi.
 (Here I say, me, the untrustworthy one,
 Here I say, me, the log which sleeps hadida bird.
 Here I say, me, the shadow where young ladies rest.)

For, nguqunguqu cf. inguqunguqu (ever changing character)
godo cf. ugodo (log)
mthunzi cf. umthunzi (shadow).

Mina pronoun may be found to have these noun prefix morphological forms:

- (17) (-) CV- : Mina mufo kaXala ngiyaloba. cf. umufo (chap)
 (Me, of mr Xala, I write.)
 Mina sikhumba esihlula abeshuki. cf. isikhumba (hide)
 (Me, the hide that has defeated the skin tenders.) etc.
 (-)C- : Mina ndoda eqotho ngiyenqaba. cf. indoda (man)
 (Me, the firm man, I refuse.)

3.1.2.1.2.1.2 Thina preceding a noun

The absolute pronoun thina may be used before the noun. Its position before the noun forces the initial vowel to delete. Thina makes the noun prefix to attain the morphological form -CV-. Other forms may only be attained if the noun occurring with the pronoun thina is collectively used.

- (18) (-)CV- : Thina bantu siyahlu^{ph}a. cf. abantu (people)
 (We people are troublesome.)
 Thina zisebenzi siyahlu^{ph}eka. cf. izisebenzi (workers)
 (We workers are troubled.)
 Thina maqhawe enkosi si^qobile. cf. amaqhawe (heroes)
 (We the heroes of the king succeeded.)

Other form is -C- morpheme when the noun succeeding thina is a collective noun which is [+human] in its singular [-pl] form.

- (-)C- : Thina ngubo kaZibhebhu sibuthiwe. cf. ingubo (blanket)
 (We the blanket of Zibhebhu are peer-grouped.)

3.1.2.1.2.1.3 Wena preceding a noun

Wena is largely used before the noun. It may be used both overtly and covertly. In most cases it is used covertly. The morphological form of the noun prefix preceded by wena may be -CV-, -C-, or a zero morpheme.

- (19) (-)CV- : Woza lapha (wena) mungane wami. cf. umungane (friend)
 (Come here, (you) my friend.)
 (Wena) bulima ngiyeke. cf. ubulima (foolishness)
 ((You) foolishness vanish.)
 (Wena) kufa luphi udosi lwakho na? cf. ukufa (death)
 ((You) death where is thy sting?)
- (-)C- : Bakuqedile (wena) ntoko^zo. cf. intoko^zo (happiness)
 (They have finished (you) happiness.)

3.1.2.1.2.1.4. Nina preceding a noun

This pronoun is rarely used before the noun. It has the same effect as thina pronoun before the noun.

(20) (-) CV- : Nina zidalwa sikaSomandla. cf. izidalwa (creatures)

(You creatures of Almighty.)

Nina misindo ye-Afrika. cf. imisindo (sounds)

(You sounds of Africa.)

Nina mazulu vulekani ngingene. cf. amazulu (heavens)

(You heavens open that I may enter.)

3.1.2.1.2.2 Demonstrative preceding a noun

If a demonstrative precedes a noun there is a loss of an initial vowel of the noun prefix. The loss of the initial vowel is to maintain the noun in its primary form. Once the initial prefix is retained whilst the demonstrative is prior to the noun then the noun changes its word category noun [N] to a copulative. This is prompted by the fact that if the demonstrative precedes a noun with its initial vowel such initial vowel lowers its tone hence a copulative.

For example:

(21)	Noun	vs	Copulative
	Lesi <u>sihlabathi</u>	vs	lesi <u>isihlabathi</u>
	(this sand)		(this is sand)
	Lo <u>mugqa</u>	vs	lo <u>umugqa</u>
	(this line)		(This is a line)
	Laba <u>bantu</u>	vs	laba <u>abantu</u>
	(these people)		(these are people)

To maintain a noun in its primary form it is imperative that the initial vowel be deleted

before the demonstrative. A few examples will be given in each demonstrative position in (22).

(22) 1st demonstrative

lo <u>muntu</u> (this person)	cf. <u>umuntu</u> (person)
lesi <u>silwane</u> (this animal)	cf. <u>isilwane</u> (animal)
lezi <u>zitsha</u> (these dishes)	cf. <u>izitsha</u> (dishes)

2nd demonstrative

labo <u>bantu</u> (those people)	cf. <u>abantu</u> (people)
leso <u>sidakwa</u> (that drunk)	cf. <u>isidakwa</u> (drunkard)
lobo <u>busuku</u> (that night)	cf. <u>ubusuku</u> (night)

3rd demonstrative

leziya <u>zidwedwe</u> (yonder cloths)	cf. <u>izidwedwe</u> (cloths)
lawaya <u>mahhashi</u> (yonder horses)	cf. <u>amahhashi</u> (horses)
lokhuya <u>kudla</u> (yonder food)	cf. <u>ukudla</u> (food)

The demonstrative before a noun have these effects on the noun prefix; the noun prefix may have the forms CV- and C- morphemes, as:

(22) a) (-)CV- :	lesi <u>sicefe</u> (this nagger)	cf. <u>isicefe</u>
	leyo <u>mithi</u> (those trees)	cf. <u>imithi</u>
	lobuya <u>buhle</u> (yonder beauty)	cf. <u>ubuhle</u>
(22) b) (-)C- :	lo <u>moya</u> (this wind)	cf. <u>umu-oya</u>
	leso <u>sono</u> (that sin)	cf. <u>isi-ono</u>
	lowaya <u>meqo</u> (yonder charm)	cf. <u>umu-eqo</u>

3.1.2.1.2.3 Predicate preceding a noun

When a noun is preceded by a verb the noun is either a postponed subject or an object. Both cases will be viewed. What is important to note here is that the verb is usually in the

negative form when it makes the noun prefix to delete its initial vowel, though when preceded by positive its form may also delete the initial vowel. The nouns without the initial may be said to be generic, it is important to clearly understand the structure the noun prefix it attains.

3.1.2.1.2.3.1 Noun as a postponed subject

(23) (-)CV- : Akufuywe makati ekhaya. cf. amakati

(No cats are reared at home.)

Asifundwanga zidalwa isifundo. cf. izidalwa

(Creatures learnt no lesson.)

(-)C- : Akutholwanga mabo endleleni. cf. umu-abo

(Wedding gifts were not found on the road.)

Akufikanga samba namhlanje. cf. isi-amba

(No amount was received today.)

3.1.2.1.2.3.2 Noun as an object

(24) (-)CV- : Asifundi siZulu esikoleni. cf. isiZulu

(We do not learn Zulu at school.)

Abatheli manzi odakeni. cf. amanzi

(They do not pour water into the mud.)

(-)C- : Asifaki mona kubantu. cf. umu-ona

(We instil no jealousy to people)

Angibonanga salukazi. cf. isi-alukazi

(I did not see old woman.)

3.1.2.1.2.4 Sequence of nouns

In the sequence of nouns there is tendency that the nouns delete their initial vowel. This

tendency is brought about by the underlying presence of wena before the nouns. The nouns used in a sequence also show some form of narration.

For example:

(25) Izingane zadla (wena) makhekhe, (wena) maswidi, (wena) bhanana.

(Kids ate cakes, sweets, banana, etc.)

Amasela athathe (wena) mahalavu, (wena) sando, (wena) zipanela.

(The thieves took shovels, hammers, spanners, etc.)

3.1.2.1.2.5 Noun before enumerative

(26) Mntwana muni? (What type/sex is the child)

mihlola mini? (What on earth is this?)

muntu mumbé (A certain person.)

zintaba ziphi? (Which mountains?)

3.1.2.1.2.6

Though shortened adaptive noun prefixes are seen as both morphologically and syntactically adaptive, it must be realised that in certain instances these may overlap. The case where there is overlap of morphological and syntactic adaptations are found in the instance of -C- as it appears under syntactic adaptives (cf. 3.1.2.1.2). The reason for overlap is caused by the already adapted noun prefix to morphological adaptation. The morphological adaptives have a VC- structure and when the syntactic adaptation is effected on the VC- structure by initial vowel deletion, remains only a -C- noun prefix structure.

3.1.2.2 Simple shortened evolutive noun prefix

The simple shortened evolutive noun prefix structures are those that are derived through the evolution of the simple normal noun prefix. The noun prefixes evolve either temporarily or permanently. If the noun prefix has evolved temporarily it means that it may still be alternatively used with its normal form. In the case where it has evolved permanent-

ly it may no more alternatively be used with its normal form but it classifies the normal form. This brings about the sub-classes in noun prefix classification.

3.1.2.2.1 Temporary shortened evolutives

The structure of these noun prefixes is either a VC- or V- forms. The VC- structure has also been found in morphological adaptives. Though the structure is the same but it is not equivalent with regard to its morphological derivation. The morphological adaptives are derived by morphological constraints to which they adapt. Whereas the VC- structure of the evolutives is not derivable by morphological constraints but by constant change in the language (Zulu). The V- forms are only peculiar to evolutives. This is because the V- forms may either be formed by the deletion of the basic prefix as V(CV)-; or by the deletion of the initial vowel, a non-syntactic deletion but an evolutive one, and of the consonant of the basic prefix.

The temporary VC- evolutive forms are found in classes:

- (27) 1. um- < umu- : e.g. umfana instead of umufana (boy)
 2. um- < umu- : e.g. umfula umufula (river)
 3. im- < imi- : e.g. imzimba imizimba (bodies)
 4. is- < isi- : e.g. isbani isibani (lamp)
 8. iz- < izi- : e.g. iztulo izitulo (chairs)

The derivation of these noun prefixes is different from that of morphological adaptives in that they are not constrained morphotactically, but the deletion of V2 is optional (cf. ch.2).

The above forms may further be constrained syntactically when there are words that will force the deletion of the initial vowel after the second vowel has deleted optionally. This situation makes the deletion of the initial vowel obligatory and the deletion of the second vowel optional. This will give rise to a C- structure of the noun prefix. These may be found in (28) and (29).

(28) Postponed subjectAkutholwanga mfana endlini. cf. umufana

(No boy was found in the house.)

Akuvulwanga ztolo namhlanje. cf. izitolo

(No shops are open today.)

(29) Normal objectAsiqedi mbhantshi kujiya. cf. umubhantshi

(We do not know)

Lezi zingane azifune skole. cf. isikole

(These children no longer like schooling.)

The temporary V- evolutive forms are only experienced with two classes viz. classes 5. and 11. as /i-/ and /u-/ respectively. These are alternants of /ili-/ and /ulu-/. Bosch and Taljaard (1976) maintain that these temporary forms are "normal". Their being swayed to such conclusion is mainly resting on the usage frequency of /i-/ and /u-/ rather than /ili-/ and /ulu-/ in these classes. Though /i-/ and /u-/ are frequently used in these classes it does not warrant them to be normal, because they are still used side by side with their normal counter parts /ili-/ and /ulu-/ respectively. That is why they show an evolutive form. Great care must be exercised not to confuse these temporarily evolutive forms with permanent forms which show the same form phonologically. Permanent V- evolutive forms are found in classes 9a) and 1a) as /i-/ and /u-/ respectively. For example:

(30) a)

Temporary

ihhashi (horse) cl.5

uthi (stick) cl.11

(30) b) Permanent

irabha (rubber) cl.9a)

umalume (uncle) cl.1a)

The noun prefixes in (30) a) may be used alternatively with their normal forms, as ihhashi

to ilihhashi and uthi to uluthi. Whereas noun prefixes in (30) b) may no more be used alternatively with their counter parts, as irabha not to *inirabha nor to *inrabha and umalume not *umumalume.

3.1.2.2.2 Permanent shortened evolutives

The permanent shortened evolutives also show the structure VC- and V-. These structures are permanently enacted, hence they may no more be found alternating with their counter parts. By virtue of their permanent enactment they serve as sub-classes to their mother or source noun prefixes. It becomes hard to visualise the mother noun prefixes for these permanent shortened evolutives as they are not used side by side with their source noun prefixes. The agreement is the one that offers reliable help to relate these noun prefixes to their source noun prefixes. There is only one VC- noun prefix structure which is permanently shortened evolute viz. /in-/ from */ini-/. Other permanent deficient evolutives have a V- structure, these are /u-/ of classes 1a and 3a) and /I-/ of class 9a)

The VC- permanent shortened evolute /in-/ needs a particular attention as it adapts phonological to the succeeding segment and surfaces in a specific manner phonetically depending on how it has been adapted phonologically. This is of great importance because it had led and lured some Zulu scholars to this prefix /in-/ as it would appear in orthography rather than its structural form. Some Zulu linguistics say that there is an /im-/ prefix of class 9. This is just an orthographic manifestation where noun prefix /in-/ adapts prior to [+labial] segments which may even have different phonetic representations, but with the same orthographic representation /im-/. The /in-/ may adapt to a bilabial as [im-], and to a dentilabial as [im-] both represented orthographically as /im-/. On the other hand /in-/ may adapt to an alveolar as [in-] and orthographically represented as /in-/. This may be seen in the following examples:

- (31) a) Before labials : /in- > im-/
 with bilabials : [in- + -phuphu] > [imp'uphu] :: /impuphu/
 with dentilabials : [in- + -fɛnɛ] > [imfɛnɛ] :: /imfene/
- (31) b) Before non-labials : /in- > in-/
 with alveolars : [in- + -th] > [int] :: /into/
 with prepalatals : [in- + -dza] > [indza] :: /inja/
 with velars : [in- + -gal] > [ingal] :/ingalo/

No matter how the noun prefix /in-/ adapts phonologically to the succeeding consonant, it remains structurally as VC-. This phonological adaptation is also a pointer that even if the noun prefix has evolved but it may still adapt phonologically. This noun prefix is of interest because it may overlap to syntactic adaptation where the initial vowel may be deleted in syntactic constraints, thus having a C-. This is a morphological reduction of an already evolved noun prefix, which evolution has reduced its form from VCV- by permanent deletion of V2 to VC-. As;

- (32) /ini-/ > /in-/ : by V2 deletion (permanent evolution)
 /in-/ > /-n-/ : by V1 deletion (syntactic constraints)

This may be exemplified as:

(32) a) Postponed subject

Akuthengwanga mpuphu namhlanje. cf. impuphu (mealie meal)

(No mealie meal has been bought today.)

Akutholwanga ngane esizibeni. cf. ingane (child)

(No child was found in the swimming pool.)

(32) b) Normal object

Akukho mfene efuyiwe lapha ekhaya. cf. imfene (baboon)

(No baboon is petted in this home.)

Ubhebhenene alugundi ntshebe. cf. intshebe (beard)

(Hairy man does not shave his beard.)

The V- forms of permanent evolution are found to have evolved through the deletion of the basic prefix. Then the initial vowel acts as a complete noun prefix. These permanent evolutive forms are found in classes 1a), 3a), and 9a) as /u-/ , /u-/ and /i-/ respectively. The /u-/ of classes 1a) and 3a) has evolved from /umu-/ of both source noun classes 1. and 3. The difference between the two /u-/s is that of agreement rather than a morphological difference. These two /u-/s will be treated the same morphologically. The VCV- stricture of /umu-/ and /ini-/ has evolved in the same manner. There was first the deletion of the second vowel and then the deletion of the consonant of the basic prefix. In both cases the deletion of these "elements" being evolutive in nature. The only difference is that with regard to *ini- the second vowel /i-/ is permanently deleted and for umu- the second vowel /u-/ is temporarily deleted. The permanent deletion for the second vowel /u-/ in umu- is only effected when there is a deletion of /-m-/. This is because in words like umfana, umthombo, umkhwenyane, etc. the second /-u-/ is temporarily deleted. These words may employ their normal form at any time. The evolution from VCV- to V- may be shown as:

(33) VCV- > VC- > V-
 ini- > in- > i-
 umu- > um- > u-

There is an evidence that though these noun prefixes evolved the same way but the periods for evolution are different. The umu- to u- evolution is of an earlier period because u- prefix also includes words that are indigenous [+Bantu]. The *ini- to i- evolution is of course of a later period because only the non-indigenous words that may be found using

the i- noun prefix. The nouns in i- class are [+Foreign], which of course are newly adapted to the Zulu Language. For example;

(33) a)	<u>i</u> rabha	(rubber)	< * <u>i</u> nrabha	< * <u>i</u> nirabha
	<u>i</u> hamashiya	(hamartia)	< * <u>i</u> nhamashiya	< * <u>i</u> nihamashiya
	<u>i</u> mali	(money)	< * <u>i</u> nmali	< * <u>i</u> nimali

The nouns using u- are either [+Bantu] or [+Foreign] for both classes. They only differ in that the u- of class 1a) is [+Human] and that of class 3a) is [-Human]. All the same the morphology remains the same for both classes. Since the features [+Bantu] and [+Foreign] are unmarked then they are redundant, and need not be specified. Hence,

(33) b)	i) class 1a)	([+human] <u>u-</u> class)
	<u>u</u> dokotela	(doctor)
	<u>u</u> malume	(uncle)
	<u>u</u> sibali	(swaer: Afr.)
	ii) class 3a)	([-human] <u>u-</u> class)
	<u>u</u> thekwane	(scorpus umbretta)
	<u>u</u> thayela	(corrugated iron cf. tile)
	<u>u</u> shukela	(sugar)

3.2 Composite noun prefixes

The composite noun prefixes are mainly of two types viz. compound and complex. These noun prefixes reveal more than one prefixal formative before the noun stem.

3.2.1 Compound noun prefixes

Compound noun prefixes are noun prefixes that are constituted of more than one simple noun prefix. There is a sequence of simple noun prefixes that is found before noun stems. The structure of the compound noun prefix in Zulu is generally a Simple-Simple noun prefix sequence. The sequence is formed by a noun prefix that is pre-posed before the already existing noun. This means that there will be a noun prefix before the already existing noun prefix in the already formed noun. This may be exemplified in:

(34) ama-+intombazane > ama(i)ntombazane > amantombazane,

hence aman- is now a compound noun prefix. This generally exhibits the VCV-+VCV- form. This structure may be varied. The variation being caused by the fact that the simple structure per se is varied. It has been found that there are only two variations of compound noun prefix, that is the normal-shortened and the shortened-shortened compound prefixes.

3.2.1.1 Normal-shortened compound noun prefix

In this type of a compound we have the fully fledged noun prefix followed by the shortened noun prefix. The structure for normal-shortened compound is generally VCV-+(V)CV-. The deletion of the initial vowel of the “second noun prefix” does not follow the general rule of morphological elision where the first vowel between the two juxtaposed vowels is elided. This follows the rule as found within the syntactic constraints, where there is a deletion of the initial vowel when certain words succeed a noun. For example; angiboni umuntu vs angiboni muntu. In this type of noun prefix it is actually the morphological constraints that coerce the deletion of the initial vowel of the “second noun prefix”. It is the deletion of the initial vowel of the “second noun prefix” that makes it to be shortened. It has been noticed that if initial vowel deletion then syntactic shortened noun prefix. Under normal-shortened compound noun prefixes we have the overt and the covert compound prefixes.

3.2.1.1.1 Overt normal-shortened compound noun prefix

In this particular structure we have the prefixes in sequence that may easily be recognized morphologically. One may actually pin point these “two prefixes”. The structure of overt normal-shortened is VCV-+CV-. If this structure changes it will only be through deletion of V2 of the “second noun prefix”, by evolution or by morphological adaptation. Then the structure would be VCV-+C-, which is usually the case in Zulu. These may be found in:

- (35)
- | | | | |
|--------------|------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| <u>ama-</u> | e.g. | <u>amantombazane</u> | (girls) |
| | cf. | <u>intombazane</u> | (girl) |
| <u>ubun-</u> | e.g. | <u>ubunjja</u> | (dog-like behaviour) |
| | cf. | <u>inja</u> | (dog) |
| | | <u>ubunyoningco</u> | (skill) |
| | cf. | <u>inyoni</u> | (bird) |
| <u>isin-</u> | e.g. | <u>isinkohlowane</u> | (act of self-indulgence) |
| | cf. | <u>inkohlowane</u> | (old useless person) |
| <u>izin-</u> | e.g. | <u>izinkomo</u> | (cattle) |
| | cf. | <u>inkomo</u> | (cattle [pl]) |
| | e.g. | <u>izingane</u> | (children) |
| | cf. | <u>ingane</u> | (child) |

These have been formed as follows:

(36)	<u>Normal</u>		<u>Shortened</u>		<u>Compound</u>	<u>Example</u>
	ama-	+	-n-		aman-	<u>amantombazane</u>
	ubu-	+	-n-		ubun-	<u>ubunjja</u>
	isi-	+	-n-		isin-	<u>isinkohlowane</u>
	izi-	+	-n-		izin-	<u>izinto</u>

3.2.1.1.2 Covert normal-shortened compound noun prefix

The covert compound noun prefix does not immediately show that the noun prefix is compound. At a glance it shows that the noun prefix is a normal one. The only time that one realises that it is not normal is the time one considers the phonetic structure. This has the phonological structure VCV-. This seems normal but one would realise that the initial vowel is not the same as the second vowel. The structure of the covert compound noun prefix is VCV- + VCV-. This structure is greatly changed by the fact that the “second prefix” has evolved to a V-, and the “first prefix” is found to be having an /a/ vowel. It is this /a/ vowel that prompts the fusion of vowels, as the “second prefix” is a V-. This V- happens to be a [+high] vowel /i/ or /u/. The covert compound noun prefix only takes place in two instances, viz. ame- and *abo-. The prefix ama- is preposed to prefix ili-, and aba- to umu-. The same rule applies that the complete noun is preposed by a prefix. For example; the noun i(li)hlo may be preposed by ama- thus having ama-ihlo where the vowels a- and i- fuse together to give rise to vowel e-, hence amehlo. The same applies for *abo- where aba- is preposed to u(mu)gogo to having aba-ugogo and the vowels a- and u- give rise to o-, hence *abogogo. The formation of these noun prefixes are as follows:

(37)	<u>Normal</u>		<u>Shortened</u>	<u>Compound</u>	<u>Example</u>
	<u>ama-</u>	+	<u>i(li)-</u>	<u>ame-</u>	<u>ameva</u>
					<u>amehlo</u>
	<u>aba-</u>	+	<u>u(mu)-</u>	<u>*abo-</u>	<u>abokhokho</u>
					<u>abothayela</u>

The covertness in these two noun prefixes is brought about by the fusion of vowels. The noun prefix ame- remains as is, on the other hand the noun prefix *abo- is starred. It is starred because in the language it is rarely used and also not used in noun classification but o-. This implies that the covert compound noun prefix is VCV- for ame- and V- for o-. For *abo- to become o- is through the evolution process that has caused ab- of abo- to dissipate. In the evolution of *abo- to o- we get that the -b- evolved to -w- and we have

*awo-, after which the aw- of awo- dissipated. (See also Chapter 2). This is formalised as:

aba- + umu- > aba- + u(mu) - > aba- + u-

> abo- > awo- > (aw) o- > o-

Therefore the noun prefix o- is a compound. This shows that it is not only the phonological make-up that reveals the compound prefix but also the diachronic structure, as the case with o-, in particular, and ame-. It is of interest that the noun prefix o- is used in classification of noun prefixes. The reason behind its usage in noun classification is mainly based on the evolution that has taken place for it (o-) to exist.

3.2.1.2 Shortened-shortened compound noun prefix

The structure of this prefix is plagued with reduction in “both” noun prefixes. The form of this prefix is generally found with u- of class 1a), followed by the CV- or C- of a different class. Since u- of class 1a) has evolved from the “second noun prefix” has also evolved from a fully fledged noun prefix VCV-, then the structure of this prefix emanates from VCV-+VCV- noun prefix form. The shortened-shortened compound prefix has the form V(CV) -+ (V) CV-. This form is said to be an overt form because elements of “both” prefixes may be recognised. At times the “second noun prefix” is not used, whereas in deep structure it is there, and compound noun prefix is said to be covert.

3.2.1.2.1 Overt shortened-shortened compounds

The rule of preposing the noun prefix onto the already existing noun is also applicable in this noun prefix. The shortened u- noun prefix which evolved from umu- is preposed to a noun. This causes the initial vowel of the noun prefix of the noun to be deleted. For example; in the word usihlalo the noun prefix u- is preposed to the word isihlalo, where u- is used for umu- in umu-+isihlalo. This may be formalised as:

(38)	<u>Shortened</u>		<u>Shortened</u>		<u>Compound</u>	<u>Example</u>
	u-	+	-si-		usi-	<u>usihlalo</u>
	u-	+	-li-		uli-	<u>ulifa</u>
	u-	+	-n-		un-	<u>unkonzo</u>
	u-	+	-ma-		uma-	<u>umaqhawe</u> etc.

For the above examples we may always look at their normal forms before there was preposition of u-, as;

(39)	AFTER u- Pre-posing		BEFORE u- Pre-posing
	<u>usihlalo</u> (chairman)	<	<u>isihlalo</u> (chair)
	<u>ulifa</u> (heir)	<	<u>ilifa</u> (inheritence)
	<u>unkonzo</u> (beleiver)	<	<u>inkonzo</u> (sermon)
	<u>umaqhawe</u> (conquerer)	<	<u>amaqhawe</u> (heroes)

There is an interesting noun prefix in Zulu where it becomes almost unnoticeable that we have an overt shortened-shortened compound noun prefix in the word inkonyane. Here there are two deficient noun prefixes i- from ili- and -n- from *ini-. This is realised when the noun is pluralised to amankonyane, where ili- is naturally corresponding to ama- noun prefix. It must be clear that this noun prefix ama- is not the same as that of amantombazane. The shortened-shortened noun prefix in- has come about by preposing ili- to inkomo [+dim.]. There was a deletion of i (li-) and that of (i) n- to attain in-. This may best be supported by the agreement of the word inkonyane. There is an alliterative li which shows that there is ili- noun prefix, as in:

- (40) inkonyane elidala lincela liguqile.
(old calf suckles whilst kneeling.)

Therefore the in- of inkonyane is a compound derived from:

(41)	<u>Shortened</u>		<u>Shortened</u>		<u>Compound</u>
	i- (>ili-)	+	-n- (>ini-)		in-

The [+diminutive] diacritic has led to the pre-posing of ili-, to ini- as follows:

(41) a)	in- khomo [+dim.]	
>	ili- (i) n-khomo -ane :	ili- preposing
>	i (li-) -n-khomo -ane :	li -deletion
>	in- khonyane :	prefix compounding
	inkonyane (calf)	

The noun prefix in- in inkonyane is compound.

There is another interesting compound prefixes of this nature which is found existing with izin-. When the u- noun prefix is affixed prior to the noun with izin- prefix, the izi- of izin- is deleted. This makes the only overt elements to be u- and -n- forming a compound noun prefix un-. This is formed as follows:

(42)	<u>u</u> (mu-) + (izi) n-
	as in:

(43)	<u>unyembezizevovo</u>	vs	<u>uzinyembezizevovo</u>
	<u>unganeziyamfisa</u>	vs	<u>uzinganeziyamfisa</u>
	<u>unhlamvuziyashisa</u>	vs	<u>uzinhlamvuziyashisa</u>
	<u>ungobhezamehlo</u>	vs	<u>uzingobhezamehlo</u>

The shortened noun prefix -n- in -un- as evolved from izin- is traceable from the agreement yielded by izin-. The noun prefix izin- has yielded to agreement before u- is preposed, as in:

- (44) *izinyembezizevovo (cf. izinyembezi + za- ivovo)
 *izinganeziyamfisa (cf. izingane + ziyamfisa)

In (44) the starred forms are not nouns in Zulu, but phrase constituents already combined in noun formation process (compound noun formation). The process only completes after u- preposing as in:

- (45) u + izingane + ziyamfisa
 uizingane + ziyamfisa :Re-syllabification
 izingane + ziyamfisa :i - Deletion
uzinganeziyamfisa

and then

- (46) uzinganeziyamfisa > unganeziyamfisa

This shows that un- is a variant of an already shortened-shortened compound noun prefix uzin-.

3.2.1.2.2 Covert shortened-shortened compounds

The “second noun prefix” does not surface or alternatively surfaces as a zero morpheme. In deep structure there is the “second noun prefix”. How does one arrive at the conclusion that the noun prefix is a compound if there is no “second noun prefix”? There are mainly two ways in which one could detect the “existence” of the “second noun prefix”. This case is common with the compound nouns. One of the ways is to check the alliterative element/s that emanate/s from the “second noun prefix” within the noun compound. For example in ukhalalembube (lit. lions nose) there is le- which shows that it is generated by ili-, hence -li- is deleted from u (li) khalalembube. The other method is that of isolating the “first” noun of the compound noun, and by so doing we get the prefix to which the preposed prefix is affixed. For example in inselwamakhosi (wild calabash) we may isolate

For example:

- (49) ukhalalembube or ulikhalembube
 ulangalibalele or ulilangalibalele
 uzwelakhe or ulizwelakhe. etc.

This shows that the compound noun prefix is greatly varied. What is important here is that the phonological structure may be much misleading. Some of the compound noun prefixes may reveal the structure that is much like that of the simple noun prefix. These structures easily mislead one to categorise them as simple structures whereas they are not.

3.2.2 **Complex noun prefix**

The complex noun prefix has the simple noun prefix and an “extra” morpheme, or the compound noun prefix and the extra morpheme. The only difference is that the extra morpheme is imposed in between the already existing compound noun prefix. The extra morpheme bears a particular meaning. This meaning is imposed onto the rest of the noun. These extra morphemes are at times herein referred to as “semantic feature morphemes”. These extra morphemes happen to be embedded into the noun prefixes, which is the reason why they are treated as part prefixes.

3.2.2.1 Extra morphemes with simple noun prefix

There are two extra morphemes that occur with simple noun prefixes. These morphemes are /e/ and /ma/. Both these morphemes are inserted between the simple noun prefix and the noun stem. Since they are found prior to the noun stem then they are prefixal. They are then forced to operate with the simple noun prefix thus forming the complex noun prefix.

3.2.2.1.1 /e/ extra morpheme

This morpheme has been observed that it bears the semantic content [+nation]. This morpheme is only used with the nouns that pertains to various racial groups. It is only found in the context of aba- simple noun prefix. The complex structure is brought about by the combination of the simple noun prefix aba- and the extra morpheme -e-. When aba- precedes -e- the -a- (V) of aba- is deleted, and substituted by the extra morpheme -e-. This forms a new prefix abe-, which is now complex. We can have the following examples:

- (50) abelungu cf. umlungu (white man)
 abeSuthu cf. umSuthu (Sotho person)
 abeTswana cf. umTswana (Tswana person) etc.

There is a word in Zulu that employs abe- but does not readily denotes nation, though nation is implied. The word abefundisi (ministers of religion) does not directly show a nation. Among the Zulu people there were no ministers of religion. The ministry was introduced by white missionaries in the 17th century, and were the first ministers of religion. The word abefundisi contains the extra morpheme -e- which denotes the white men who were the only ministers of religion then. This complex noun prefix is structured as:

- (51) Simple Extra Complex
 ab(a)- + -e- abe- abeNguni

This must never be confused with the instances of nouns whose noun stems are initiated by e-, as in:

- (52) abelusi (herd men) (cf. elusa (herd))
 abengameli (presidents) (cf. engamela (preside)) etc

3.2.2.1.2 /ma/ extra morpheme

This extra morpheme is used with the simple prefix u- of class 1a) and o- of class 2a). It bears the feature [+predicate] which is further specified as [-perfective]. This causes the noun stem selection as non-perfective deverbative. The shift of category [+verb] to category [+noun] introduces this -ma- to denote [-perfective] which was found in the verb per se. The non-perfective verb loses the status of the verb to that of a noun, retaining the [-perfective] feature. The sequence of simple noun prefix u- and the extra morpheme -ma- forms a complex noun prefix uma-, as in:

- (53) umabhalane (clerk) cf. -bhala (write)
 umadlala (playful person) cf. -dlala (play)
 umalinga (tempter) cf. -linga (tempt)
 umahlaba (spiteful person) cf. -hlaba (stab)
 umalandela (follower) cf. -landela (follow) etc.

If deverbatives were [+perfective] then extra morpheme -ma- would not have applied, as in:

- (54) [-Perfective] [+Perfective]
 uManqoba uNqobile cf. -nqoba (succeed)
 uMafika uFikile cf. -fika (arrive)
 uMakhanya uKhanyile cf. -khanya (shine)
 umancamisa uNcamisile cf. -ncamisa (satisfy)
 umashudula uShudulile cf. -shudula (be stout)
 umashonisa uShonisile cf. -shonisa (debit)

It may also be noted that though (54) is generally true, but /-ma-/ morpheme may apply in a special way. If the noun stem is deverbativized but is characterised by [+reflexive] -zi- then it may be [+perfective], and still occur with /-ma-/ extra morpheme, as in (55). Nouns in (55) are used idiomatically.

For example:

- (55) Indoda umazibonele. cf. bona (see)
 (A man looks after himself.)
 Umuntu umazikhulumele. cf. khuluma (speak)
 (Each person will conduct his self-defence.) etc.

3.2.2.2 Extra morpheme with compound noun prefix

The three morphemes that are used with compound noun prefixes are -so-, -no-, and -ma-/-ka-. These extra morphemes are inserted in between the “prefixes” of the compound noun prefixes. Each bears a particular meaning. The introduction of any of these extra morphemes within the compound noun prefix makes the prefix to be complex. These extra morphemes pose no problem as to where to categorise them because they are within the already existing noun prefixes. Therefore they can always fall under the prefixes, of course noun prefixes. At times it does not become obvious that the extra morpheme is inserted in between the compound noun prefix. The reason being that the compound prefix may at times be covert. For example it does not readily becomes obvious that in the word usokhaya, the -so- is inserted in between two “prefixes”. It must be remembered that the compound noun prefix may be covert. The word should in fact read as; usolikhaya where -so- is inserted in between u- and (i)li of ilikhaya. These three extra morphemes have been given attention in the Zulu literature. For example, Nyembezi C.L.S. (1956:61) has looked at these extra morphemes as forming compound nouns rather than composite prefixes. Nyembezi (ibid) says:

Kukhona amabizombaxa akhiwa ngokusebenzisa u (i) so-
 (ii) no- (iii) ma-.

There are those compound nouns which are formed by using
 (i) so- (ii) no- (iii) ma-.

What might have led Nyembezi to look at the nouns employing these extra morphemes as

compound nouns is the meaning they bear. According to the meaning they bear they are equivalent to fully fledged phrases. That is, he considers that they represent such phrases as they are used within the nouns. This is definitely granted, but morphologically those phrases have been reduced to specific morphemes which fulfil morphological processes.

3.2.2.2.1 /so/ extra morpheme

This extra morpheme is epenthesized in between the u- or o- classes 1a) and 2a) respectively, and the other prefix of any other class. This extra morpheme -so- bears the meaning "father of". Nyembezi (1956:61) says:

U So- sengathi kufinyezwa igama elithi uyise.....
It would appear that So- is a contracted form of father
of.....

The structure of the complex prefix is formalised as:

[prefix] [extra morpheme] [prefix].

as in usomaqhinga where we have prefix u- followed by extra morpheme -so- then by prefix (a)ma- whereafter a noun stem -qhinga appears. There are various instances where we may have the -so- extra morpheme epenthesized within the compound noun prefix in :

(56)	usomufana	(big boy)	cf. cl.1 umufana (boy)
	usobangani	(lover male)	cf. cl.2 abangani (friends)
	usomthunzi	(dark person)	cf. cl.3 umthunzi (shade)
	usomilingo	(magician)	cf. cl.4 imilingo (magic pl.)
	usolifa	(bread winner)	cf. cl.5 ilifa (inheritance)
	usomaqhinga	(diplomat)	cf. cl.6 amaqhinga (wit (pl.))
	usositswebhu	(the whip)	cf. cl. 7 isitswebhu (whip)
	usozimali	(affluent person)	cf. cl.8 izimali (money (pl.))

usonkani	(stiff head)	cf.cl. 9 inkani (arrogance)
usozingane	(many-a-girl lover)	cf.cl. 10 izingane (ctx. girls)
usoluthuthu	(grey beast)	cf.cl. 11 uluthuthu (grey (col.))
usobuthongo	(sluggish person)	cf.cl. 14 ubuthongo (drowsiness)
usokufa	(bad omen)	cf.cl. 15 ukufa (death)

3.2.2.2.2 /no/ extra morpheme

The extra morpheme -no- is also epenthesized between the noun prefixes of the compound noun. The introduction of -no- gives a [-male] semantic content to the rest of the noun. It indicates “mother of”. Nyembezi (1956:61) goes on to say:

U No- sengathi umele igama elithi unina.

No- seems to be used for the word “mother of”

It may be found with various noun classes, as in:

(57)	unobantu	(socialite)	cf.cl. 2 abantu (people)
	unomuthandazo	(religious fanatic)	cf.cl. 3 umuthandazo (prayer)
	unomikhuba	(customary person)	cf.cl. 4 imikhuba (customs)
	unolizwe	(land lover)	cf.cl. 5 ilizwe (land)
	unomagugu	(esteemed person)	cf.cl. 6 amagugu (precious things)
	unosimilo	(well-behaved)	cf.cl. 7 isimilo (good behaviour)
	unozizwe	(queen)	cf.cl. 8 izizwe (nations)
	unonkezo	(drunkard)	cf.cl. 9 inkezo (beer ladle)
	unozimbambo	(extra thin person)	cf.cl. 10 izimbambo (ribs)
	unoluvadlwana	(coward)	cf.cl. 11 uluvadlwana (fear (dim))
	unobulawu	(lovable person)	cf.cl. 14 ubulawu (charm medicine)
	unokuthula	(peaceful person)	cf.cl. 15 ukuthula (peace)

3.2.2.2.3 /ma/ extra morpheme

The -ma- extra morpheme is mainly used for married females denoting her previous surname. It may be equated to nee, as:

- (58) uMaMkhize Xala mrs Xala (nee Mkhize)
 uMaMdunge Xala mrs Xala (nee Mdunge).

Nyembezi (ibid) has this to say; about -ma-.

U Ma- usetshenziswa kubantu besifazane abendile.
 Sengathi usho ukuthi umntaka-.

Ma- is used for married women. It appears as if it means
 “child to”.

This morpheme actually means “born of”, and it may be used alternatively with the morpheme -ka- especially if the surname commences with Ma-, e.g.

- (59) uKaMalinga mrs `So-and-So' nee Malinga
 uKaMathonsi mrs `So-and-So' nee Mathonsi
 uKaMazibuko mrs `So-and-So' nee Mazibuko

The extra morpheme -ma-/-ka- is always used in between the noun prefix u- and any other noun prefix. The -ma- extra morpheme is generally used with the noun stems that are already [+human] and indicate the surname. These noun stems are further personalised by prefixing u- prefix of class 1a). For instance Dlamini is a surname noun stem as against the noun which is personalised uDlamini. It is from these personalised nouns that the extra morpheme -ma- is epenthesized in between the two noun prefixes. The extra morpheme -ma- is inserted in between two noun prefixes of class 1a). This is the case because most of the surnames themselves are already derived through the compounding of the noun prefixes. The following surname example will indicate noun prefix compounding.

uSibaya > isibaya (kraal) where class 1a) u- has been preposed before isi- of isibaya. The u- of class 1a) then replaces i- of isi- which is deleted to form the compound prefix usi-. Whether the noun prefix of the surname is compounded or not, the important thing is that the extra morpheme -ma- is inserted between the both u-'s of class 1a); as in:

(60)	A	B
	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Luthuli	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Dlamini
	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Mudunge	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Khumalo
	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Sikhotha	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Hlubi
	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Nkomo	<u>u-ma-(u)</u> Xulu etc.

From (60) A it becomes clear that the extra prefix -ma- is inserted in between u- and u- of the compound prefix which formed the surname. In both columns the extra morpheme is found between the u-'s. In (60) B the -ma- seem not inserted between the noun prefixes as a result of the deletion of the second u- prefix in the surface structure. The -ma- extra morpheme will only alternate with -ka- in cases of column A only if the surname has already have the noun prefix (a)ma- or alternatively the -ma- of the [-perfective]. These may be found in:

(61)	<u>[-perfective] -ma-</u>	<u>(a)ma-</u> noun prefix
	<u>u-ka-(u)</u> Malinga	<u>u-ka-(u)</u> Mathonsi
	cf linga (tempt)	<u>ama</u> thonsi (drops)
	<u>u-ka-(u)</u> Makhanya	<u>u-ka-(u)</u> Mazinyo
	cf khanya (Get lit)	<u>ama</u> zinyo (teeth)
	<u>u-ka-(u)</u> Madlala	<u>u-ka-(u)</u> Mazibuko
	cf dlala (play)	<u>ama</u> zibuko (fords) etc.

3.2.2.3 Extra morpheme with either simple or compound noun prefix

There are two "extra" morphemes that are found to be co-occurring with simple or

isi -a- luka > isaluka (old woman)
cf -luka (weave)

(63) b) izi-+-a- > iza-
izi -a- gila > izagila (knobkerries)
izi -a- luka > izaluka (old women)

It is now clear that /a/ extra morpheme either forms the complex morpheme isan-, izan-, isa- or iza-. This complex morpheme operates only with either deverbative or deideophonic noun stems.

3.2.2.3.1.1 With deverbatives

The -a- extra morpheme with deverbatives may use all four (4) forms of complex noun prefixes, in (62) and (63). This implies that it may co-occur with either the simple or the compound noun prefixes. The nouns derived by extra morpheme /a/ from verbs either become agentive or instrumentive. The nouns that are [+animate] are agentive and those that are [-animate] are instrumentive. The agentive and instrumentive characteristics subsume [human] feature, as in:

(64) a)	<u>Agentives</u>
Verb	Agent
goma (heal)	<u>isangoma</u> (one who heals) (healer)
luka (weave)	<u>isalukazi</u> (one who weaves) (old woman)
nuka (smell)	<u>isanusi</u> (one who foretells) (foreteller)
(i)mba (dig)	<u>isambane</u> (one that digs) (ant eater)

(64) b)

Instrumentives

Verb	Instrument
-gila (molest)	<u>is</u> gila (with which one molests) (knobkerrie)
-dla (eat)	<u>is</u> andla (with which one eats) (hand)
-vika (duck, shield)	<u>is</u> amvika (with which one protects himself) (shin protector)

In (64) a) nouns are [+animate] and in (64) b) they are [-animate]. All may be pluralised to use either izan- or iza-.

3.2.2.3.1.2 With Deideophones

Nouns employing /a/ extra morpheme in their prefixes generally use complex noun prefix isan-. The isa- noun prefix (complex) is only used when the deideophonic noun stem is nasal initiated, as in isamuku which is derived from the ideophone muku. The nouns employing this extra morpheme -a- and have deideophonic noun stems denote the end product of an 'action' depicted by an ideophone, as in :

1) Note that the noun isaluka is generally feminized to isalukazi (isaluk(a)-azi); at times when isaluka is not feminized it is referred to as isiluka.

2) Note a phonological change from **k** > **s**

(65)	<u>Ideophone</u>	<u>Product</u>	<u>Action</u>
	khahlu	<u>isankahlu</u> (vehement violence)	khahlameza (violate vehemently)
	khuthu	<u>isankuthu</u> (beast's head cooked as is)	khuthumeza (steam cook)
	fonyo	<u>isamfonyo</u> (plumpy shield on beast's mouth)	fonyoza (plump squeeze)

From (62) - (65) it is realised that there is an extra morpheme -a- which ultimately forms complex noun prefixes isa-, iza-, isan- and izan-. Doke (1927:51) in par. 124 says:

“.....words may be used with the prefix either isi- or isa- : ”

This is not disputed, but what concerns us here is that Doke considers isa- as the simple prefix which alternates with simple prefix isi-. What is interesting is his footnote 1) where he states :

“In all probability this is a case of elision of either the final vowel of the prefix or the initial vowel of the stem, this being -a- in each example.” (ibid)

What Doke implies in his footnote is that -a- is part of the stem - vowel initiated by a-, when he says:

“..... elision of either the final vowel of the pre fix.....” (ibid) as in:

(66) isi(i) -ankuthu > isankuthu.

and he continues saying:

“..... or the initial vowel of the stem,”

as in:

(67) isi -(a)nkuthu > isinkuthu

Doke's notion in (66) is totally refuted because he may not claim that the prefix is isa- wherein a- is part of the noun stem.

Also of importance is that Doke (1927:50-1) has the following nouns:

(68)	isandla	izandla
	isalukazi	izalukazi
	isando	izando

as having allomorphs is- and iz-, as he says in par. 123:

“The final vowel of the (noun) prefix is elided before stems commencing in a vowel.” Doke (1927:50)

The statement is not disputed but the examples he provides in (68) are refuted. In (68) we have complex noun prefixes isan- and izan- as in (64) b) and (65); and isa- and iza- as in (64) a).

The statement in his (Doke's) par. 123 may only hold true in nouns like:

(69)	<u>izenzo</u>	<u>izenzo</u>	cf. enza (dó, act)
	<u>isono</u>	<u>izono</u>	cf. ona (sin)
	<u>isazi</u>	<u>izazi</u>	cf. azi (know) etc.

where the noun stems are vowel initiated. In (68) the noun stems are not vowel initiated. Doke did not realise that -a- in (68) is part of the noun prefix which forms the complex noun prefix.

3.2.2.3.2 /no/ extra morpheme

This extra morpheme -no- co-occurs with noun prefix u- either of class 1a) or 3 a). This -no- extra morpheme is either adverbial or deverbative. If it is adverbial it will denote

wither place or instrument. Whereas, if it is deverbative it denotes professionalism.

3.2.2.3.2.1 With simple noun prefix

The -no- extra morpheme only occur with u- in the context of a deverbative noun stem to show professionalism, as in:

(70)	Verb		
	bhala (write)	<u>unobhala</u>	(secretary)
	gola (catch)	<u>unogolantethe</u>	(stork (bird))
	gwaja (duck)	<u>unogwaja</u>	(hare)
	baba (be bitter)	<u>unobaba</u>	(sullen/ wry person)

It is obvious that the complex noun prefix in (70) is uno-.

3.2.2.3.2.2 With compound noun prefix

The -no- extra morpheme may co-occur with u- simple noun prefix and other noun prefix. This implies that an already fully fledged noun we prepare uno- complex noun prefix, as in

(71)	Fully fledged noun		
	<u>izinti</u> (poles)	<u>unozinti</u>	(goalkeeper)
	<u>izitaladi</u> (street)	<u>unozitaladi</u>	(street child)
	<u>amapayipi</u> (pipes)	<u>unomapayipi</u>	(loafer)

The -no- extra morpheme with already existing prefix denotes place or instrument, as in:

(72) a)		Place Denoting	
	<u>unomapayipi</u> (loafer)	cf	<u>amapayipi</u> (pipes)
	<u>unozinti</u> (goalkeeper)	cf	<u>izinti</u> (poles)

(72) b)

Instrument Denoting

unobhayibheli	cf	ibhayibheli	(bible)
unompempe (referee)	cf	impempe	(whistle)

In (72) b) **-o-** indicates a person who uses that particular "thing" instrumentally. There is an interesting instrumentive noun formed by **-no-** where **-no-** indicates that a sound is used (instrumentive) in:

(72) c) **unoha** (baboon).

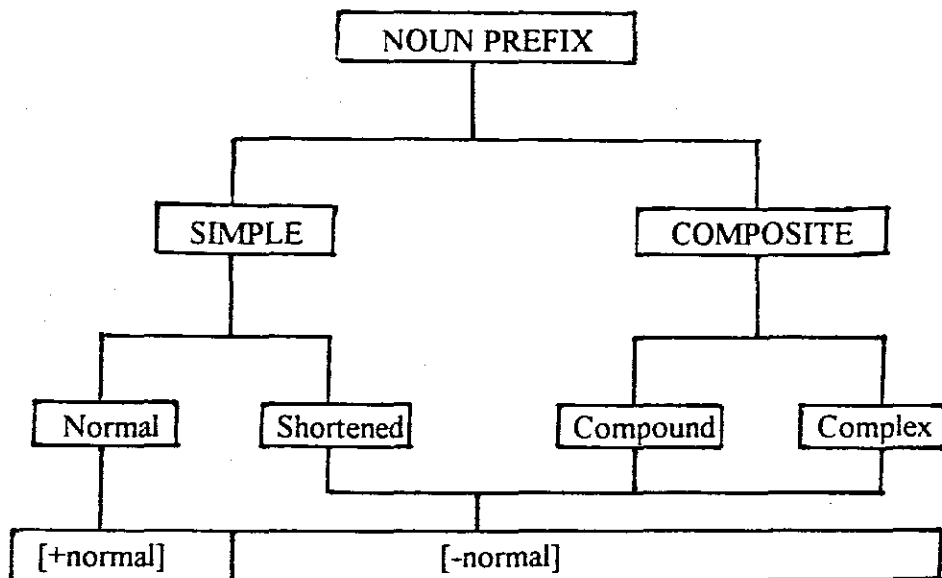
A baboon uses **ha-ha** sound now and then.

3.3 Recapitulation

It has become obvious that the noun prefix structure in Zulu is two fold, viz. the simple and composite noun prefix structures. Most, if not all, scholars have concentrated on noun class prefix rather than the noun prefix per se. They have gone to the extent that the noun class prefix is representative of the noun prefix, thus ignoring the rest of the noun structure.

The noun prefix structure in Zulu may be summarized as in (73).

(73)



CHAPTER 4

NOUN PREFIX SIGNIFICANCE

4.0 Introduction

We now have to delve into the significance of the noun prefix in Zulu. It has been realised that the noun prefix may be simple or composite. Whether the noun prefix is simple or composite, it has a role it plays. Various scholars have shown or indicated the role of the noun prefix in Zulu language. Most, or all, of them have an inclination towards agreement and/or congruency shown by the noun prefix, e.g. Doke 1927, Cope 1982, Ungerer 1983 & 1988, Taljaard and Bosch 1976, Ziervogel et al 1952. In 1973 von Staden indicated the role of the pre-prefix in Zulu. In this dissertation a different dimension is probed into as regards the role of the noun prefix in Zulu. In this chapter we look at deictic, emotive and meaning-structure significance of the noun prefix in Zulu.

4.1 Deictic Significance

Lyons (1971: 275) says:

"The notion of *deixis*..... is introduced to handle the 'orientational' features of language which are relative to the time and place of utterance."

The noun prefix in Zulu shows a 'spatial' feature. This 'spatial' feature also entails 'person' feature, borne by the noun prefix.

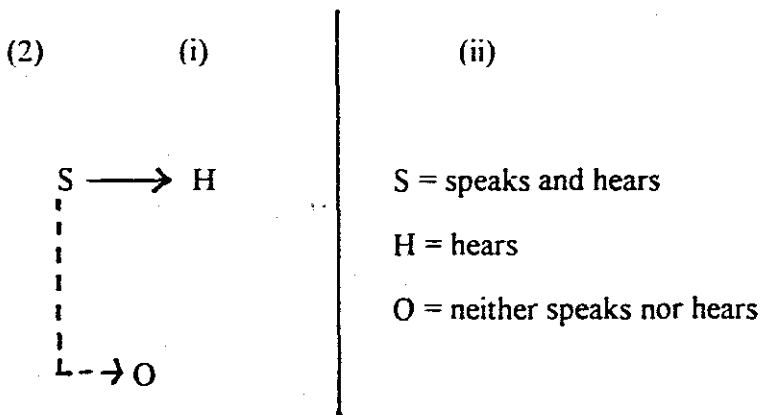
4.1.1 The noun prefix and space

4.1.1.1 With full blown noun prefix

It is the fully fledged (blown) simple noun prefix which signifies spatial relationship among the speaker, the hearer and the spoken of. Any utterance of a noun employing a full blown simple noun prefix refers to neither the speaker nor the hearer, but to person/object outside the realm of the speaker and hearer. In (1) below the speaker uses a simple noun prefix (full blown) to the hearer but without a reference to themselves.

(1) Isilwane siyaphuza. (An animal drinks).

This is an indication that the full blown simple noun prefix is outside the speaker - hearer realm. The simple noun prefix is therefore 'external' or 'externally referential'. Diagram (2) shows the significance of a full blown simple prefix.



S = speaker

H = hearer

O = spoken of

From (2) we realise that S has used isi- to refer to O. S might have used any of the full blown simple prefixes to refer to O. O therefore represents the full blown simple noun prefix repertoire. Since O will always be outside the speaker - hearer realm then it is 'far' from both S and H.

4.1.1.2 Without the initial vowel

P.S. von Staden 1973 has shown the importance of the initial vowel of the noun prefix in Zulu. His main concern is to indicate the generic significance of the noun with or without the initial vowel. Here we show the spatial deictic importance of the noun prefix if the initial vowel is not employed. The converse has been indicated in 4.1.1.1.

Once the initial vowel is deleted from a full blown simple noun prefix O in (2) is eliminated and substituted by either S or H. In (3) there is only the speaker (S) and hearer (H). An utterance by S will refer to H as in:

(3) Washo silwane sikamhlola (Sayest thou, you of the daring animal).

The utterance in (3) may be schematised as (4).

(4) S ———→ H
 ⋮
 ⋮
 ⋮
 L → H

We now realise that H substitutes O, because H has now become a point of reference.

In (5) we have a case where a speaker has a reference to himself/herself.

(5) Ngasho mina silwane sikamhlola.
 (Me, I say of the daring animal.)

The sentence (5) may be represented as in (6).

(9) Wena mfana kaZondi ngizokushaya.

or

Mfana kaZondi ngizokushaya.

(10) a) Thina zingane zikaXala siyabhala. [1st pers. pl.]
(We children of Xala are writing.)

b) Nina bafana bakaZondi ngizonishaya. [2nd pers. pl.]

or

Bafana bakaZondi ngizonishaya.

(You boys of Mr Zondi, I shall hit you).

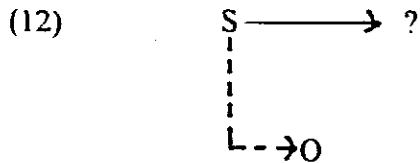
4.2 Emotive Significance

It has become evident that space and person are important and basic features of the noun prefix in Zulu. This implies that it is important to consider the noun prefix not only as a full blown simple prefix, but also a noun prefix without the initial vowel. There is a traditional belief that if the noun prefix is without an initial vowel then, automatically, it loses its status as a noun to an interjective - a vocative. This belief is not disputed. What is important is to look at why is it like that. The noun without the initial vowel only becomes a vocative if a noun in question has a 3rd person feature whilst it is without an initial vowel, as in (11)

(11) Nkosi yami! (cf inkosi yami)
(Oh my Lord!)

The utterance in (11) has a 3rd person feature but addressed as a 2nd person. In other words it would appear that the utterance in (11) is directed to the "hearer" which is not

actually listening but with a hope that the "hearer" will hear the words. This may best be schematized in (12) below.



This type of discourse has actually forced the speaker to speak 'alone' to refer to a remote person (3rd person) as if he speaks to H (here represented by ?) This in the language (Zulu) has engendered an emotive usage of the noun prefix, where initial vowel is elided. An utterance with the initial vowel is normal and without the initial vowel becomes emotive (12 above employed).

(13)

NORMAL	EMOTIVE
isidwaba sikanyoko (mother's skirt)	sidwaba sikanyoko.
izinqe zenja (dog's buttocks)	zinqe zenja.

What is important in (13) is that nouns in column EMOTIVE have been used vocatively because they refer to 3rd person. This is best exemplified when we look at nouns in (13) - EMOTIVE as substitutes of the copulatives, as in (14).

(14)

- a) Uyisidwaba sikanyoko Uyizinqe zenja

b) sidwaba sikanyoko zinqe zenja

A flow chart in (15) represent (13) and (14)

(15)

NORMAL		EMOTIVE	
O	H		O
Isidwaba	Uyisidwaba	→	sidwaba
izinqe	Uyizinqe	→	zinqe
[+IV]		[-IV]	

H = 2nd person (hearer)

O = 3rd person (spoken of)

4.3 Meaning - structure significance

From 4.1 and 4.2 we have seen the deictic and emotive significance of the simple noun prefix. What has become obvious is that the full blown simple noun prefix (with initial vowel) is the 3rd person. Also of importance is that the 1st and 2nd persons imply [-Animate] and subsequently feature [+Concrete]. This may be summed as:

(16) [1st person] → [+Human] → [+Animate] → [+Concrete]
 [2nd person]

Illustration in (16) excludes 3rd person while it is the centre of our discussion, where the noun prefix operates in its full form. The features in 3rd person include those in 1st and 2nd persons but with further specifications as in (17).

(17) [3rd person] → [±Human] → [±Animate] ↔ [±Concrete]

(Arrows in (16) and (17) may be read as 'implies').

In (17) there is a further implication that:

(17) a) [-Concrete] \longrightarrow [-Animate].

Features in (17) show how the noun prefix in Zulu may broadly classified, but (17) a) clearly shows that once we have an abstract [-Concrete] noun prefix it may never be human, implied in [-Animate]. The feature [Human] may further imply a feature [Unique]. As a result the redundancy rule will be applied wherein the feature [Unique] will be employed as this serves to differentiate some classes from others. For example class I will differ from class 1a) through feature [Unique] where class I is [- Unique] and class 1a) is [+ Unique] as in (18) below:

(18) a) I: /umu-/:

+Human
-Unique

umuntu (person)
umukhwe (father-in-law)

b) class 1a /u-/:

+ Human
+ Unique

ugogo (grandma)
uSofi (Sofia)

In (18) class I the noun prefix /umu-/ may never be [+Unique] whereas class 1a) may also be [+Unique] as in uSofi.

The features in (17) help to differentiate noun prefix classes in various ways. In Chapter 2 we realised that the noun prefixes are 'grouped' only according to their phonological structure, and syntactic importance. In this paragraph i.e. 4.3 we are also interested in semantic significance. This is mainly because helps to classify the noun prefixes according to the cognitive intuition of the language's (Zulu's) native speaker. The native speaker of the language (Zulu) uses a particular noun prefix cognitively and intuitively. For example a natural Zulu speaker will pluralise the following nouns in

(19)	umZulu	(1)	(Zulu person)
	ilitshe	(5)	(stone)
	inkosi	(9)	(king)

as:

(20)	amaZulu	(6)	(Zulu people)
	amatshe	(6)	(stones)
	amakhosi	(6)	(kings)

not as

(21)	* abaZulu	(2)
	* izinkosi	(10)

The words in (21) are possible, but they are never used by native speakers. Why? It is because cognitive intuition of the native speaker coerces him to employ a particular noun prefix at a specific situation, which, of course, is based on meaning.

4.3.1 Simple noun prefix

The simple noun prefix will be looked at as to which meaning is attached to individual simple noun prefix. Noun prefixes are regarded to share the feature [+ Concrete] otherwise [-Concrete] is given.

umu- (1)

(a)
[+ Human]

(b)
[+ Human]

- Unique

umufana (boy)**umukhwe** (father-in-law)**umuthungi** (tailor)

- Unique
+ Race

umuPedi (Pedi person)**umuZulu** (Zulu person)**umuXhosa** (Xhosa person)**aba-** (2)Same as **umu-** (1)**u-** (1 a)

(a)

+ Human
- Unique

ugogo (grandma)**udade** (sister)**Usibali** (brother/sister-in-law)

(b)

+ Human
+ Unique

uMbili (Mr Mbili)**uSibisi** (Mr Sibisi)**uDumisani** (Dumisani)**u-** (2a)Same as **u-** (1a) above and (3 a) below.**umu-** (3)

(a)

- Human
- Unique

umuthi (medicine)**umufula** (river)**umugqa** (line)

(b)

+ Human
- Unique

umufaba (unreproductive person)**umuQwalane** (Khoi-san person)**umungcwi** (appirated person)

u- (3a)

(a)
- Human
- Unique

usikilidi (cigarette)

unogwaja (hare)

uthayela (tile-corr, iron)

(b)

- Human
+ Unique

uMvoti (Mvoti River)

uBhokfeli (Bokvel)

uReksi (Rex)

imi- (4)Same as umu (3)ili- (5)

(a)
- Human
- Unique

i(li)tshe (stone)

i(li) hhashi (horse)

i(li)hembe (shirt)

(b)

- Human
- Unique
+ Liquid

i(li)consi (drop)

i(li)gazi (blood)

i(li)sobho (soup)

(c)

- Human
- Unique
(pair (body part)

i(li)dolo (knee)

i(li)hlo (eye)

i(li)qakala (ankle)

(d)

- Human
- Unique
(+ Collective)

i(li)thala (spear coll)

i(li)bonda (log coll.)

i(li)qulo (Human beings coll)

(e)

+ Human
- Unique

(f)

+ Human
- Unique
(+ Race)

i(li)vaka (coward)

i(li)qhawe (hero)

i(li)soka (lover (m))

i(li) Shangane (Shangane)

i(li)Ndebele (Ndebele)

i(li)Ngisi (English)

ama- (6)

Same as **ili-**(5) except (d) where nouns remain [-plural]. Over and above, we may have:

(g)

- Human
- Unique
- Concrete

amandla (strength)

amanga (lies)

amahlebezi (hearsay(s))

isi- (7)

(a)

- Human
- Unique

isihlahla (tree)

isifundo (lesson)

isikole (school)

(b)

- Human
- Unique
(+Language)

isiZulu (Zulu lang)

isiShangane (Shangane lang)

isiNgisi (English lang)

(c)

- Human
- Unique
(+Diminutive)

isibele (male teat)

isihlathi (cheek)

isihlama (feces' remains)

cf **ibele** (breast)

cf **umhlathi** (jaw)

cf **inhlama** (dough)

(d)

- Human
- Unique
(+ Collective)

isitha (dung coll)

isivivane (stone coll)

isithondo (fire-wood coll)

(e)

- Human
- Unique
(+ Plantation)

isigwayi (tobacco field)

isibhanana (banana plant)

isidumbe (madumbe field)

(f)

- Human
- Unique
(+ Massive)

isithabathaba (big home)

isiganga (open veld)

isihlabathi (sand)

(g)

- Human
+ Unique
(+ Disease)

isichenene (bilharzia)

isilumo (menstrual pains)

isifuba (asthma)

(h)

+ Human
- Unique

isikhulu (V.I.P.)

isibonda (councillor)

isiqumama (tycoon)

(i)

+ Human
- Unique
(+ Derogative)

isilima (fool)

isifebe (whore)

isingqekle (cripple)

izi- (8) : (10) of CanoniciSame as isi- (7) except (g). Note that (g) is the only one with feature [+Unique].in- (9)

(a)

- Human
- Unique

intaba (mountain)

(b)

+ Human
- Unique

inkosi (king)

indlu (house)

intombi (lady)

inkomo (cow)

induna (chief)

(c)

- Human
- Unique
- Concrete

inkohliso (deceit)

inhlamba (vulgar)

inkolo (belief, faith)

i- (9 a)

(a)

- Human
- Unique
(+ Foreign)

ithivi (TV set)

ifemu (firm (n.))

ifiva (fever)

izin- (10) : (10/9) of Canonici

Same as **in-** (9) above except (c), and same as **ulu-** (11) below except (b) and (c).

ulu (11)

(a)

- Human
- Unique

u(lu)khamba (calabash)

u(lu)thi (stick)

u(lu)khalo (veld)

(b)

- Human
- Unique
- Concrete

u(lu)laka (fury)

u(lu)talatiya (trouble)

(c)

- Human
+ Unique

u(lu)Khahlamba (Drakensberg mts)**u(lu)**Phongolo (Pongola River)**u(lu)**Thukela (Tugela River)

(d)

+ Human
- Unique

u(lu)dibi (healer's assist)**u(lu)**hlanya (madcap)**u(lu)**khokhovu (witch)**ubu-** (14)

(a)

[-Concrete]

ubuthongo (drowsiness)**ubulima** (foolishness)**ubuqotho** (good, firm characteristic)

(b)

- Human
- Unique

ubuthi (poison)**ubulawu** (charm medicine)**ubusenga** (beadings)

(c)

[+ Concrete]

ubude (length)**ubusika** (winter)**ubuthuntu** (bluntness)**uku-** 15

(a)

(-Concrete)
+ Verbal

ukulala (to sleep)**ukuvuna** (to reap)**ukubona** (to see)

(b)

- Human
- Unique

ukudla (food)**ukulunga** (timidity)**ukufa** (death)

(25)

Order	Major Feature(s)	Class
1st	+ Human	1 and 2
2nd	- Human, + Concrete	3 to 11
3rd	- Concrete	14 and 15

In the above table (order) there is no problem as to why classes 1 and 2 enjoy the 1st priori and classes 14 and 15 relegated to least priori. Classes 1 and 2 are more 'human' therefore nearer to 1st and 2nd persons. (Let us remember that we deal with the 3rd person). Classes 14 and 15 are easily relegated to least priori because they are far from being 'human' and are labelled as 'abstract' and 'verbal' respectively. The class 15 labelled 'verbal' is marginal between the noun and the verb, but more leaning towards the verb rather than the noun.

The question is why classes among 3 to 11 are classed as they are? Why does class 3 in the 2nd order in (25) enjoys the better of the rest in the same 2nd order? Why does class 11 quagmire at the bottom of the 2nd order? To answer these questions [+ Human] factor is investigated across the board in the 2nd order.

Classes 3 and 4 are less diversified. They have only (a) and (b) where (b) is [+ Human]. We now realise that though classes 3 and 4 are generally [-Human] but the only alternative is [+ Human]. It is this only alternative [+ Human] which sustains classes 3 and 4 to enjoy the highest status in the 2nd order.

Classes 5 to 11 are highly diversified, i.e. they do not only have [+ Human] but also various features that are different from their general forms (a).

Classes 5 and 6 are a shoulder above class 7 to 11 because their [+ Human] feature is the same as that of classes 3 and 4, but differ with only one additional feature viz. [(+ Race)].

In classes 5 and 6 we have:

(26) a) [+ Human, - Unique]

e.g. i(li)qhawe: amaqhawe (hero/es)

and

b) [+ Human, - Unique, (+ Race)]

e.g. i(li) Ngisi: amaNgisi : amaNgisi (English people)

Classes 7 and 8 are bound to be lower than 5 and 6 because in their [+ Human] feature they also incorporate the [+ Derogative]] feature, as in:

(27) [+ Human, - Unique, (+ Derogative)]

e.g. isilima: izilima (fool/s).

Class 9 has some noun prefixes enjoying a status equivalent to classes 5 and 6. These noun prefixes have their plural counterparts as that of class 6 as exemplified in (28).

(28) a) [+ Human, - Unique] (5)

e.g. i(li)qhawe (hero)

b) [+ Human, - Unique] (9)

e.g. inkosi (king)

c) [+ Human, - Unique] (6)

e.g. amaqhawe (heroes): amakhosi (kings)

The situation in (28) seem to elevate the status of class 9 to that of classes 5 and 6, but it is relegated because:

(i) [+ Human] feature is diversified;

- (ii) [- Concrete] feature, which opposes [+ Human],
is introduced in this class as in category 9 (c)

The feature [-Concrete] separates this class from classes 3 to 8 and relegated accordingly.

For example (29) reflects:

- (29) [- Human, - Unique, - Concrete]
e.g. inhlamba [vulgar]

Class 11 has [+ Human] feature, but noun in this class with [+ Human] reflect 'despicable' characters in a society, as in:

- (30) [+ Human, -Unique]
e.g. u(lu)hlanya (madman) (of class 11 (c) category above)

Over and above the 'despicable' nature of [+ Human] in this class we also have [-Concrete] feature. These make this class 11 to hit the bottom of the list in the 2nd order.

[- Concrete] feature may be seen in:

- (31) [- Human, - Unique, - Concrete]
e.g. u(lu)laka (fury)

Class 10 may be viewed as classes 9 and 11.

From class 9 [- Concrete] feature is found, which indicates that the noun prefix in Zulu has

[+ Human] : [- Concrete] feature dichotomy.

This is also self attested in 1st and 3rd orders of (25).

Generalisations in (22), (23), (24) are necessary for broader noun prefix categorisation. Further features in the 2nd order serve to understanding why we have as many noun prefix classes in this order and how do each class differ as evidenced in (26) up to (31). Additional minor features like [+ Collective] and [+ Massive] serve to illustrate the [αCount] specification that prevail in some nouns, as in:

- (32) a) [-Human, - Unique, + Collective]:
e.g. isichotho (hail storm)
- b) [- Human, - Unique, + Massive]
e.g. amathantala (massive water collection on land)

4.3.2 Composite noun prefix

The composite noun prefix may be compound or complex. Characteristic features of the simple noun prefixes are also composite in composite noun prefix, where they are compounded in the complex noun prefix. We have already realised that the complex noun prefix has an 'extra' morpheme which bears some semantic content.

4.3.2.1 Compound noun prefix

The features borne in simple noun prefixes are compounded in a series of simple noun prefixes. It is important to note that the characteristic features of simple noun prefixes remain in sequence only analytically, otherwise they are compounded. Their compounding is brought about by dominance of features over the others.

- (33) a) in - in inja (dog) is [-Human, - Unique]
 b) ubu- is [-Concrete, - Unique]

If (33) (b) is preposed to (33) a) we then attain the compound noun prefix.

- (34) ubun- as in ubunja (dog-like behaviour).

Analytically, (34) has

- (35)
- | | |
|------------|----------|
| - Concrete | - Human |
| - Unique | - Unique |
| ubu- | in- |

When the features in (35) compound, the [-Unique] is common to both ubu- and in- therefore bond easily, but [- Concrete] subsumes [- Human] then [-Concrete] will dominate [-Human]. The dominance of [- Concrete] over [-Human] makes the compound prefix to be

- (36)
- | |
|-------------|
| - Concrete |
| - Unique |
| ubu(i)n |
| ubun |

The aspect of dominance is here of great importance because if the noun prefixes compound then they prepose only noun prefixes that have the ability to dominate over the prefix to which it is preposed. The cases in (34) to (36) may never be reversed, i.e. we may not get a situation where in- is preposed to ubu-. This shows that the structure of the compound noun prefix will always be:

- (37) [+ Dominant] [-Dominant]

where [**Dominant**] is constituted of various features.

In 4.3.1 it has been noted that the major features are [+ Human] and [-Concrete]. It is these two major features that dominate over other features and ultimately influencing the structure of the compound noun prefix. The structure of compound noun prefixes are then dominated by major features which in turn are preposed to others. In 3.2.1 it was realised that all the pre-posed noun prefixes are either [+ Human] or [- Concrete]. To cite a few examples we have:

- (38) a) [+ Human] dominating
- i) u- + (i)li- : ulifa (heir)
cf ilifa (inheritance)
 - ii) u- + (i)n- : unkonzo (believer)
cf inkonzo (sermon)
 - iii) u- + (i)si- : usihlalo (chairperson)
cf isihlalo (chair)
- b) [- Concrete] dominating
- iv) ubu- + (i)n- : ubunyoningco (skill)
cf inyoni (bird)
 - v) uku- + in- : ukwindla (harvest time)
cf -dla (eat)

Data in (38) only show cases where major features dominate over 'minor' features. The effect of dominance is also found within minor features. Some minor features dominate over others. This is what has brought about class 10 (Meinhof): class 10/9 (Canonici) where izi- noun prefix dominates both in- Class 9 and ulu- class 11. When it is said that izi- also dominates class 11 it may seem absurd. This only seems absurd structurally because we have no izi(u) lu- compound noun prefix. We do not have * izilu- compound noun prefix only phonologically. If we consider the characteristic features in 4.3.1 we realise that

in- and ulu- share exactly the same features except 11 c). The nouns in in- and ulu- may all prepose izi- of course not 11 c) which may not be 'pluralized'

Semantically, the features of class 11 are subsumed to those of class 9. That is what has prompted the structure of their plural form to be izin- where in- also subsumes ulu-. What makes in- to subsume ulu- is the status it enjoys within the 2nd major category in 4.3.1. After domination of in- over ulu- we then have domination of izi over in- thus forming izin-. This explains why we have both classes 9 and 11 'pluralised' as izin- as in:

- (39) uluthi > izinti (stick/s)
 indlu > izindlu (house/s)

4.3.2.2 Complex noun prefix

Complex noun prefixes are formed the same way as the compound noun prefixes, except that over and above the dominance brought about by the preposed noun prefix there is another feature embedded.

[+ Human] feature dominates the complex noun prefix. In a case where

[+ Human] feature does not dominate the complex noun prefix is relegated to an adjacent class of [+Human]. This implies that the complex noun prefix is generally found to be in class 1a) in 1st order, otherwise the complex noun prefix shifts slightly to class 3a) - the highest in 2nd order (cf 4.3.1).

- (40) a) Unogada (watchman)
 b) unogwaja (hare)

Example (40)a) is [+ Human] then class 1a), but (40) b) is [- Human] then class 3a). In Chapter 3 par. 3.2.2 'extra' morphemes and their semantic content have been given. Here.

we only illustrate how these influence the structure of the complex noun prefix.

The semantic feature borne by extra morpheme will add that feature to the dominating preposed simple prefix. That is the reason why the extra morpheme will always be adjacent/follow the dominating prefix as in (41) below:

(41) [+ Dominating] [Extra morpheme] ([- Dominating])

Where non-dominating is not compulsory. This may exemplified in (42) from (41).

(42) a) u - No- (a)ma- : uNomathemba

u - no- (i)zin- : unozinti

u - so- (i)n- : uSompisi etc

b) u- ma- : umanqoba

u- no- : unogolantethe etc.

A special attention needs to be drawn where isi-/izi- is dominating. The principle of dominance remains the same as in (41). The isi-/izi- classes are the ones that are miscellaneous. In respect of [Human] they include both [+ Human] and [- Human]. This has coerced these classes to have their dominance of over others and thus enabling the extra morpheme -a- to add its semantic feature either to isi- or izi- as in:

(43) a) isi - a - in - : isangoma cf -goma (heal)

isi - a - in : isandla cf -dla (eat)

b) isi - a- : isanusi cf -nuka (sniff)

isi - a- : isagila cf -gila (molest)

(see also par. 3.2.2.3.1)

In (42) b) and (43) b) it seems there is no domination as it appear that there is no preposing of the noun prefix. There is a preposing of the noun prefix, the only thing is that preposing takes places simultaneously with the occurrence of the extra-morpheme. The extra-morpheme then passes its semantic feature to the dominating prefix.

It has become obvious that the meaning borne by prefix really depicts the structure noun prefix, be it simple or composite. Especially, the composite noun prefix has a specific sequence of prefixes depicted by meaning they generally have in their own features. Dominance of features actually dictacting which prefix has to be preposed.

The noun stem has a paradigm of the noun prefix from which it selects a noun to infer a specific meaning. For example the stem -ntu may select either umu-, aba-, isi- ulu-, ubu- depending on the meaning one has in his mind. Once a noun is formed one has an option of preposing another prefix which will dominate the already existing one.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 The noun prefix, as we have observed, is not static. It is prone and amenable to change through time. At times change may go to the extent that we get a noun prefix that subscribes to its origin. The result thereof being a sub-class noun prefix as :

- (1)
- | | | |
|---------|---|--------|
| 1. umu- | - | 1a) u- |
| 3. umu- | - | 3a) u- |
| 9. in- | - | 9a) i- |

The noun prefix is not just a part of a noun that has ability to classify and/or to give agreement to word categories with which it co- occurs but the 'whole' part of a noun found to exist before the noun stem. This may be simple or composite in form, e.g.

- (2) a)
- | | | |
|------|---|------------------|
| isi- | : | <u>isithombe</u> |
| ili- | : | <u>ilitshe</u> |
- b)
- | | | |
|-------|---|----------------|
| izin- | : | <u>izinto</u> |
| isan- | : | <u>isandla</u> |

The structure in (2) a) is simple and in (2)b) is composite. These structures are primary structures. It is only these primary structures that form a primary noun. If these primary structures are changed they give rise to secondary or even tertiary forms. Henceforth, the

noun itself becomes secondary in nature as in:

- (3)a) ngumuntu < umuntu
 yisitsha < isitsha
- b) emakhaya < amakhaya
 oThukela < uThukela

In (3) a) we now have noun predicate forms (identificative copulative) and in (3) b) noun adverb forms (locatives). In 3 we have prefixes as the 'last' preposed prefixes that are non-classifying (therefore not noun prefixes), and also not agreement marking therefore not noun prefixes.

5.1 Evolution and Adaptations

The noun prefix evolves from the 'mother' noun prefix. It takes a form to where a specific noun prefix has evolved to. The mother class has the form /VCV-/. The noun prefix may evolve temporarily or permanently to a particular noun prefix form, viz. /VC-/ or /V-/ forms. /VC-/ evolutionary forms are temporary except /in-/. All /V-/ evolutionary forms are permanent, except liquid classes.

VC - forms

- (4) a) umthwalo (load) < UMUthwalo
 istofu (stove) < ISItofu

V - forms

- b) ubaba (father) < UMUbaba
 ifemu (firm) < INIfemu

It is important to differentiate the evolutionary forms from the adaptations.

Adaptations are basically the mother noun prefixes which have been coerced to adapt to syntagmatic relations the noun prefix finds itself in. This may be internal or external, e.g.

(5)

Internal adaptations

The noun prefix adapts to the noun stem. (cf. ch.3 citations (4a i); (7);(10) and (11) and 5.1.2 below).

a)	isenzo (action)	<	ISI- enzo
	uboya (hair)	<	UBU- oya
	ukweba (thieving)	<	UKU- eba
	utshani (grass)	<	UBU- ani

External adaptations

The noun prefix adapts to other words. (cf. ch.3 citations (16) to (29) and 5.1.2 below.)

b)	silwane (you)	<	ISI- lwane
	boya (you hair)	<	UBU- oya
	mkhululi (saver)	<	UMU- khululi

5.1.1 Evolution

The evolution of the noun prefix is temporary or permanent.

5.1.1.1 Temporary evolution

The noun prefix may still be used alternatively with the 'mother' prefix, as in (4) a).

uku-osa > ukosa (to roast)
 aba - e - lungu > abelungu (white people)

Internal adaptations generally affect the second vowel of the noun prefix. This may take place through:

- i) vowel deletion : is(i) - ono > isono
- ii) glide formation : uku - eba > ukweba
- iii) vowel merging : ama - ihlo > amehlo

5.1.2.2 External adaptations

The noun prefix is adapting to other word categories outside the noun paradigm. The noun syntagmatic relations with other words may force the noun prefix to adapt accordingly. This form of adaptation affects the initial vowel of the noun prefix.

It deletes. P.M.S. von Staden refers to this noun form as generic, i.e. non-particularising form of the noun. The initial vowel may be deleted in the following sentential constraints:

- i) Verb : a negative verb constrains the noun prefix to delete its initial vowel if a noun co-occurring with it is a post-poned subject or ordinary object, e.g.

Asificanga **b**antwana endlini. cf **ab**antwana

(We did not find children in the house.)

Ababonanga **m**ehluko kule nto. cf **um**ehluko

(They did not realise any difference.)

- ii) Demonstrative: a demonstrative, whether of 1st, 2nd or 3rd position, coerces the deletion of the initial vowel when it

occurs before the noun, e.g.

Lo muntu uyisilomo. cf umuntu

(This person is popular)

Lezo zingane ziyahlonipha. cf izingane

(Those children are respectful.)

- iii) Absolute Pronoun: an absolute pronoun of the 1st and 2nd person prompts the deletion of the initial vowel when it precedes the noun.

Thina bantwana benkosi siyakhuleka. cf **abantwana**

(We of the king salute you.)

Wena sigebengu ufunani lapha? cf **isigebengu**

(You the culprit, what do you want here?)

- iv) Enumerative : an enumerative causes the noun prefix to delete its initial vowel when it is found following the noun, e.g.

Manyala mani lawa owashoyo? cf **amanyala**

(What rubbish do you say?)

Ufuna zingane ziphi? cf **izingane**

(Which children are you looking for?)

All other constraints that coerce the initial vowel to delete are based on the four (4) main constraints above, e.g.

- v) Imperative: the imperative makes the initial vowel to delete of it precedes the noun. Though this is true it is based

	i)	ii)	iii)	
(9) a)	VCV	VC	V	or
b)	VCV	CV	C	

In (9) a) the change of structure is either caused by evolution or by internal adaptation. In (9) b) it is caused external adaptation, but C may result through both evolution and external adaptation, e.g.

	i)	ii)	iii)	
	umu-	> um-	> u-	through (9) a)
	umu-	> -mu-	> -m-	through (9) b)

It must be noted that it is not a condition that the change must go through ii), e.g.

ili-	> i-	:	ilitshe	itshe	(stone)
ulu-	> u-	:	ulufa	ufa	(crack)

Simple noun prefix is used in noun classification, e.g.

umu-	(1)
umu-	(3)
ili-	(5)
ama-	(6)
uku-	(15) etc.

5.2.2 Composite noun prefix

The composite noun prefix exhibits one or more of the following characteristics:

- i) has more than one simple prefix;

e.g. **ama-** + **-in-** + **-thombazane** > **amantombazane** (girls)

ii) has one simple prefix followed by one extra morpheme;

e.g. **aba-** + **-e-** + **-lungu** > **abelungu** (whites)

iii) has more than one simple prefix and also an extra morpheme following

the preposed simple prefix;

e.g. **isi-** + **-a-** + **-in-** + **-goma** > **isangoma** (healer)

The characteristic in (i) shows compounding resulting to a compound noun prefix. The characteristics in ii) and iii) show complexity, therefore complex noun prefix.

5.2.2.1 Compound noun prefix

The compound noun prefix is (mainly) brought about by preposing the simple prefix on to the already existing noun prefix. The preposed prefix dominates the other prefix in respect of:

a) class e.g.

ama- + in- > aman-
6 9 6

e.g. amantombazane

(b) characteristic features, e.g.

u- + isi- > usi-
[+ Human] [- Human] > [+ Human]

e.g. usihlalo (chairperson)

5.2.2.2 Complex noun prefix

The introduction of the 'extra-morpheme' to co-occur with either the simple or the compound noun prefix to be complex.

We have the following 'extra-morphemes'

- a) -Ma- : [+ Human, + Feminine, + Young] e.g. uMaNdlovu
cf. indlovu (elephant)
- b) -No- : [+ Human, + Feminine, -Young] e.g. uNozizwe
cf. izizwe (nations)
- c) -So- : [+Human, - feminine, - Young] e.g. uSobantu
cf. abantu
- d) -ma- : [+ Verbal, - Perfect] e.g. umalandela
cf. landela (follow)
- e) -no- : [+ Human, + Professional] e.g. unobhala
cf. bhala (write)
[+ Human, + Derogative] e.g. unondindwa
cf. ndinda (flirt)
[-Human, +Professional] e.g. unogwaja
cf. gwaja (bit about)
- f) -e- : [+ Human, + Nation] e.g. abelungu
cf. umlungu (white pers.)
- g) -a- : [+ Human, + Agentive] e.g. isangoma
cf. goma (protect-heal)
[- Human, + completable] e.g. isamuku
cf. muku (shut)
[- Human, + Factive] e.g. isankuthu
cf. khuthu (steam cook)

[- Human, + Instrumentive] e.g. isandla

cf. dla (eat)

The 'dominating' effect of the preposed noun prefix, as in compounds, is also noted with the complex noun prefix. That dominating preposed noun prefix is tinged with the characteristic features brought in by the extra-morpheme. For example in a word like usomaqhinga (diplomat), the u- noun prefix is [+ Human] and -so- extra-morpheme is also [+ Human]. But, -so- is also [-Femine] therefore the masculine feature is inherited to u- for u- to dominate, with it, over the rest of the complex prefix usoma- in usomaqhinga.

We must also note that there is -Ka- which is used alternatively with -Ma- in a). -So- in c) may also be represented without a capital letter. If it is without the capital letter -S- it then refers to [+Human, -Young, - Feminine] but without naming e.g. usozimali (affluent person). The capital letters in a), b) and c) infer [+ Unique].

5.3 Significance

The role played of the noun prefix in Zulu is diversified. Various scholars have looked at the significance of the noun prefix mainly from semantic and syntactic points of view.

5.3.1 Initial vowel (pre-prefix)

The role by the initial vowel has been viewed by different scholars. Givon (1969) looks at its semantic significance. He gives the semantic difference of the initial vowel as that of 'referential as against non-referential interpretation of the noun.' In his view he is supported by von Staden's (1973) 'generic and non-generic' forms of the noun.

Givon's (1969) and von Staden's (1973) views are simply interpreted as:

a) the noun with the initial vowel is 'referential' (Givon) or

'non-generic' (von Staden), as in:

Ngifuna isitsha sami.

(I want my dish)

and

b) the noun without the initial vowel is 'non-referential'

(Givon) or 'generic' (von Staden), as in:

Angiboni sitsha lapha

(I don't see any dish here)

Landsberg, J.C. (1979) puts forth the syntactic importance of the initial vowel in saying that:

Die beginvokaal het geen morfologiese funksie
in die kongruensieproses nie. (ibid: 54)

In his 'kongruensieproses' he specifies 'eksplisiet kongruensie' teen implisiet kongruensie.' Landsberg's non-morphological function of the initial vowel in congruence processes lies in the fact that the initial vowel does not surface in forms of agreement.

Scholars somehow left out the deictic and emotive significance of the initial prefix which needed an appraisal.

The deictic and emotive significance is brought about by the deletion of the initial vowel.

The noun may attain the 1st and 2nd person through deletion of the initial vowel. Spatial deixis changes from 'yonder' (3rd person) to 'there' (2nd person) and 'here' (1st person),

e.g.

- (10) Woza la mfana wami!
(Come here you boy of mine.)

The speaker (here - 1st person) calls a boy from there (2nd person) to come here (1st person)

There could be no utterance as :

- (11) *Woza la umfana wami!
(Come here yonder boy mine!)

The speaker in (11) would not be heard by a boy, since the initial vowel has distanced the boy to 'yonder' position.

Without the initial vowel the noun may express emotive discourse, especially when parts of the body and frequently used items are employed. The emotive nouns become vulgarish and/or derogatory. They are more so if the noun is used with the feminine possessive, or any other [+ Human] possessive, as in:

- (12) Mhlathi wakho! cf. umhlathi (jaw)
(Jaw yours).

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Vol. 58 No. 1

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