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GRAMMAR OF THE PRONOUNS IN SISWATI

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GRAMMAR OF THE PRONOUNS IN SISWATI

BY

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother, **Queen**, who showed me the value of the written word and who sacrificed much to give her children a secure and happy childhood.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation, for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of Pretoria hereby submitted has not been previously submitted by me for a degree in this or any other university, that it is my own work in design and execution and that all material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

N B ZWANE

Signed

Date

SUMMARY

The main aim of this investigation is to give a detailed description of the morphology, the syntax and finally the semantic function of the different pronouns found in siSwati. Before this is done (in Chapters 2 - 4) the modern and traditional views regarding pronominalisation in the Bantu languages are analyzed and evaluated (in Chapter 1). It is concluded that the traditional view which regards the so-called pronouns in the Bantu languages and in siSwati in particular as words that replace nouns in sentences is unfounded and that the basic function of these words is, in fact, that of nominal determiners and that they become pronouns only when the nouns have been omitted in discourse.

In chapters 2 - 4 the morphological structure of the different kinds of pronouns in siSwati is analyzed. In the case of the demonstratives the conflicting views concerning the assumed structure of these pronouns are examined and evaluated. It is concluded that the assumption that these words are formed by means of noun class prefixes is unjustified and that they, in fact, are formed by means of agreement morphemes.

An analysis of the semantic features of the pronouns has *inter alia* revealed that the so-called absolute pronouns have a dual semantic function depending on whether they

precede or follow their coreferent noun. When they appear in post-nominal position they serve to contrast their coreferent noun whilst they emphasize their coreferent noun when they appear in pre-nominal position.

In addition to the morphological and semantic description of the different kinds of pronouns a detailed description of their syntactic features is also given.

In the final Chapter the focus falls on the concordial system in the Bantu languages. The chapter ends with a brief outline of certain prominent views concerning the possible historical development of agreement in the case of subjects, objects and adjectives in the Bantu languages.

SAMEVATTING

Die vernaamste doel van hierdie ondersoek is om 'n gedetailleerde beskrywing van die morfologie, die sintaksis en laastens die semantiese funksie van die verskillende soorte voornaamwoorde in siSwati te gee. Alvorens dit gedoen word (in hoofstukke 2 - 4), word die tradisionele en moderne beskouings omtrent pronominalisasie in die Bantoetale eers in oënskou geneem en ook geëvalueer (hoofstuk 1). Dit word gekonkludeer dat die tradisionele beskouing ingevolge waarvan die sogenaamde voornaamwoorde beskou word as woorde wat naamwoorde in sinne verplaas ongegrond is en dat die basiese funksie van hierdie woorde in feite naamwoordelike bepalers is en dat hulle slegs voornaamwoordelik raak wanneer die naamvoord waarmee hulle korefereer uit die diskoers weggelaat word.

In hoofstukke 2 - 4 word die morfologiese struktuur van die verskillende soorte voornaamwoorde in siSwati geanaliseer. In die geval van die demonstratiewe word teenstrydige standpunte omtrent die veronderstelde morfologiese samestelling van hierdie voornaamwoorde ondersoek en geëvalueer. Die gevolgtrekking word gemaak dat hierdie woorde nie met behulp van klasprefikse gevorm word soos wat sommige grammatici te kenne gee nie maar met behulp van kongruensie morfeme.

VII

Die ontleding van die semantiese kenmerke van die voornaamwoorde het onder meer aan die lig gebring dat die sogenaamde absolute voornaamwoorde 'n dubbele semantiese funksie het afhange van of hulle die naamwoord waarmee hulle koreferer volg of dit voorafgaan. Wanneer hierdie voornaamwoorde postnominaal optree kontrasteer hulle die betrokke koreferente naamwoord en wanneer hulle prenominaal optree emfatiseer hulle hierdie naamwoord.

Bo en behalwe die morfologiese en semantiese beskrywing van die verskillende soorte voornaamwoorde word ook 'n gedetailleerde beskrywing van hulle sintaktiese kenmerke gegee.

In die laaste hoofstuk val die soeklig op die konkordiale sisteem in die Bantoetale en die rol wat dit in die pronominalisasieproses in hierdie tale speel. Daar word gekonkludeer dat die werklike voornaamwoorde in die Bantoetale die kongruensie of sogenaamde konkordiale morfeme is. Die hoofstuk word afgeëindig met 'n bondige uiteensetting van enkele prominente beskouings oor die moontlike historiese ontwikkeling van kongruensie in die Bantoetale met besonder verwysing na die ontwikkeling van onderwerp- en voorwerpkongruensie asook kongruensie in die geval van adjektiewe.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

Whilst most scholars of African linguistics in the RSA recognize the word class 'Pronoun' in Bantu, many of them do not view the grammatical features belonging to this class in a similar fashion.

The main objective of this dissertation is to examine, evaluate and where possible also expand on the views of scholars concerning the form, function and syntax of the different kinds of pronouns distinguished in the Bantu languages and in siSwati in particular. However, before this is done consideration must first be given to a very controversial point in African linguistics regarding pronouns, namely that of pronominalisation.

2. Presentation of material

In chapter 1 the traditional view concerning the function of the so-called pronouns in the Bantu languages and in siSwati in particular is examined and evaluated. This is followed by a comparison of the pronominalisation strategy found in languages such as English and Afrikaans. Finally the true function of the traditionally recognized pronouns in siSwati is highlighted and illustrated by means of appropriate

examples.

In Chapter 2 the morphological structure, function and syntax of the absolute pronouns are discussed. Attention is also given to the function of the abbreviated version of the so-called absolute pronouns. Both the modern and traditional view in this regard are explored and evaluated.

Chapter 3 focuses on the morphology, function and syntax of the demonstrative pronouns. Attention is also given to the different conflicting views regarding the morphological structure of these words. Each view is examined and evaluated in terms of its linguistic merits. Finally attention is given to the morphology and function of the so-called demonstrative copulative pronouns.

In chapter 4 the morphology, meaning and syntax of the quantitative pronouns is discussed. This includes the so-called exclusive, inclusive and enumerative quantitative pronouns. With regard to the enumerative quantitative pronouns, the different views pertaining to their formation are examined and evaluated.

In chapter 5, the final chapter, the focus is placed on the concordial system of the Bantu languages . The chapter ends with a discussion of certain

prominent views concerning the development of the subject, object and adjectival agreement systems in the Bantu languages.

3. Pronouns in the Bantu languages and in siSwati in particular.

Traditional grammarians like Doke (1963:88) and Ziervogel (1952) distinguish between four kinds of pronouns in Siswati and isiZulu, viz the so-called absolute pronoun, the demonstrative pronoun, the quantitative pronoun and the qualificative pronoun. The following are examples of the use of the different kinds of pronouns traditionally recognized in siSwati.

Absolute pronoun: 1. (a) Yena uyahamba.
 'He in particular is going'
 (b) Tona tiyakhala.
 'They in particular are
 crying'

Demonstrative pronoun: 2. (a) Lo ngumzala wami.
 'This one is my cousin.'
 (b) Leto ngiyatifuna
 'those I want them'

Quantitative pronoun: 3. (a) Babe uhamba yedvwa.
 'Father is going alone'

(b) Tonkhe tinkhukhu tifile .
'All the chickens have
died'

Qualificative pronoun: 4. (a) Lomkhulu umfana
uhambile.
'The big boy has gone.'

(b) Lamancane emasaka
ayavuta.
'The small sacks are
licking'

It should be noted that the qualificative pronoun is recognized only in siSwati and isiZulu but not in the other Bantu languages. Ziervogel (1959) for instance only distinguishes the first three types of pronouns in Northern Ndebele. So does Louwrens (1991) in Northern Sotho, Doke and Mofokeng (1957) in Southern Sotho and Louw (1963) in Xhosa.

4. Pronominalisation in the Bantu languages.

There are two conflicting views regarding pronominalisation in the Bantu languages, namely the traditional view and the modern view. Traditional grammarians regard pronominalisation as a substitution process according to which pronouns replace nouns in sentences. On the other hand modern grammarians regard pronominalisation as a deletion process according to

which a noun is deleted and its concordial agreement morpheme acts as its pronoun.

4.1 Traditional approach

As it has already been mentioned above, traditional grammarians consider pronouns to be words that replace nouns in sentences. This is evident in the definitions of the pronoun they give.

Doke (1963:81) defines the pronoun as " ... a word which signifies anything concrete or abstract without being its name."

Nyembezi (1956:83) states the following about pronouns:

"... sisebenzisa amanye amagama esikhundleni samabizo. Lamagama sithi yizabizwana. Ama endaweni yebizo enze umsebenzi walo".

"... We use other words instead of nouns. We call these words pronouns. They stand in the place of the noun and perform its function."

Ziervogel (1959:67) states that " The pronoun has a semantic function which is that of referring to something concrete or abstract without being its name."

From the above quotations one gathers that the pronouns are viewed as words that exist in coreferential relation to nouns and that they can stand in the place of nouns in sentences.

Compare the following examples in this regard:

5. (a) Bantswana balambile.

'The children are hungry'.

(b) Bona balambile.

'They in particular are hungry'

6. (a) Tinkhomo tihlatjiwe.

'Cattle have been slaughtered'.

(b) Tonkhe tihlatjiwe.

'all have been slaughtered'.

7. (a) Ngifuna lihhashi.

'I want a horse'.

(b) Ngifuna leli.

'I want this one'.

According to the traditional approach the pronouns in sentences 5(b), 6(b) and 7(b) have replaced their coreferent nouns in 5(a), 6(a) and 7(a) respectively.

In European languages such as English and Afrikaans pronouns function as words which can replace nouns. This

can be seen in the following sentences:

8. (a) The boy is running.

(b) He (the boy) is running.

What can be noted in examples such as the one given in (8) is that sentences with pronouns (such as 8(b)) mean exactly the same thing as their counterparts containing the pronominalised nouns (such as 8(a)). In other words sentences 8(a) and 8(b) mean exactly the same thing. The only difference between them is that the NP 'the boy' in 8(a) is replaced by its coreferent pronoun 'he' in 8(b).

Pronominalisation in the European languages has influenced the traditional grammarians in their discussion of this phenomenon in African languages. The different kinds of pronouns mentioned above were obviously called pronouns by traditional grammarians because of their assumption that these words replace nouns in sentences just as their counterparts in English and Afrikaans do.

4.2 Modern approach

Modern grammarians dispute the traditional approach to

the process of pronominalisation in the Bantu languages. Wilkes (1976:60) was the first scholar in African linguistics who queried the validity of this approach when he investigated the function of the so-called pronouns in isiZulu.

He argues that the traditionally recognized pronouns in the Bantu languages are not pronouns in the same way as the pronouns in languages such as English and Afrikaans are since they do not have the ability to replace nouns in sentences as the pronouns in English and Afrikaans can. He consequently does not regard sentences 5(a), 6(a) and 7(a) as the underlying structures of sentences 5(b), 6(b) and 7(b) respectively. In other words sentences 5(b), 6(b) and 6(b) are not regarded by him as being derived from 5(a), 6(a) and 7(a). He bases his argument on the fact that there are semantic differences between the pairs of sentences. Sentence 5(a) makes a general claim that children have gone whereas 5(b) emphasizes the fact that it is the children and not somebody else who have gone. Sentence 6(a) states that cattle have been slaughtered without specifying how many whilst 6(b) claims that all cattle have been slaughtered. Sentence 7(a) makes a general claim that a horse is wanted without specifying which one whereas 7(b) restricts the claim to only a particular horse.

The semantic differences give a clear explanation of why

the pronouns can not be regarded as replacements of their coreferent nouns. A universal feature of pronominalisation is that pronouns do not alter the meaning of sentences in any way. Therefore if the pronouns in 5(b), 6(b) and 7(b) were indeed replacements of their coreferent nouns they would not have altered the meaning of the sentences in 5(a), 6(a), and 7(a).

Wilkes (op.cit:60) claims that pronominalisation in the Bantu languages is not a substitution process but a deletion process. This according to him means that nouns in these languages are pronominalised by simply omitting them in discourse in which case their respective agreement morphemes act as their coreferent pronouns. He cites the following examples to support his claim.

9. (a) UJosefa uyagula mamhlanje?
'Joseph is sick today'?'
(b) Yebo (_____) uyagula.
'Yes (_____) he is sick'.
(c) Umfana ugawula isihlahla.
'The boy is chopping the tree'.
(d) Umfana uyasigawula(_____).
'The boy is chopping it (_____)'.

In the above examples the subject noun 'UJosefa' in 9(a) has been omitted in 9(b) and its subjectival concord consequently acts as its coreferent pronoun. In 9(d) the

object noun 'isihlahla' has been deleted and its object concord consequently functions as its coreferent pronoun. Pronominalisation is one of the major functions of the agreement system in the Bantu languages.

Wilkes' view on the pronominal function of the subject and object agreement morphemes is also shared by Kunene (1975:172) where she says that when the subject of the sentence has been introduced in the previous discourse, on the second occurrence it may be deleted and the subject-verb-agreement (SVA) will function as an anaphoric pronoun.

Wilkes also claims that the traditionally recognized pronouns in the Bantu languages are not really pronouns. They are basically determiners of nouns. They can therefore be referred to as the demonstrative determiner, the quantitative determiner and the qualificative determiner. The only exception is the so-called absolute pronoun which is not called an absolute determiner but an emphatic/contrastive determiner.

Kunene (op cit:172) refers to these words as unbound pronouns in order to distinguish them from their bounded concordial counterparts.

In terms of Wilkes' theory the so-called pronouns co-occur with their coreferent nouns in deep structure which

means that the underlying structure of sentences such as in 5(b), 6(b) and 7(b) is as follows:

10. (a) Bona balambile < Bona bantfwana
 balambile.
 `They(i.e. the < `The children in
 children) are hungry particular are
 hungry`.
- (b) Tonkhe tihlatjiwe < Tinkhomo tonkhe
 tihlatjiwe
 `All(i.e. the cattle) < `All the cattle
 have been slaughtered` have been
 slaughtered`
- (c) Ngifuna leli < Ngifuna leli
ihhashi.
 `I want this one `I want this horse`
 (i.e. the horse)`.

Louwrens (1991:92) echoes Wilkes' views with regard to pronominalisation in his discussion of Sotho pronouns. He too states that in the Bantu languages pronominalisation is not a substitution process but a deletion process. He refutes the claim that the so called pronouns replace nouns on the grounds of the clear semantic changes that occur when these words are used.

He further argues that if the so called pronouns are regarded as words which replace nouns no plausible

explanation can be given for these words when they are used in apposition to nouns as for instance happens in the following Northern Sotho examples given by Louwrens (1991:92,93):

11. (a) Banna bona ba boile.

'The men (in contrast to somebody else) have returned'.

(b) Bona banna ba boile.

'The men (in particular) have returned'.

After the deletion of its coreferent noun, the pronoun according to Louwrens (op.cit.:95) acquires a secondary function which is pronominal. This he claims is because its concordial agreement with the noun enables it to refer to the same referent as the deleted noun. This is evident in the following example again taken from Louwrens (op.cit.:95):

12. (a) Mootledi yena ga se a gobala

'The driver on the (contrary) did not get hurt.

(b) (...) Yena ga se a gobala

'He(i.e,the driver) did not get hurt'.

Another shortcoming in the traditional approach to pronominalisation according to linguists such as Wilkes is the fact that it does not apply to the so-called exclusive quantitative pronouns in siSwati. The exclusive quantitative pronoun can never replace a noun in a sentence as the traditional view assumes. This is clearly seen in the ungrammatical sentences such as 13(b) and 14(b) that would result if the exclusive quantitative pronouns in siSwati had indeed been able to replace their coreferent nouns as the traditional approach assumes.

13. (a) Josefa udlile.

'Joseph has eaten'.

(b) *Yedvwa udlile.

'alone has eaten'.

14. (a) Ngiyohlaba tinkhomo.

'I will slaughter cattle'.

(b) *Ngiyohlaba todvwa.

'I will slaughter only'.

Examples such as 13(b) and 14(b) clearly show that the exclusive quantitative pronoun cannot replace a noun since if it had done so ungrammatical sentences would have resulted. The fact that sentences such as 13(b) and 14(b) are ungrammatical clearly proves that the so called exclusive quantitative pronoun cannot replace nouns in sentences as Doke and other traditional grammarians had

assumed. The classification of the exclusive quantitative pronoun as pronoun by traditional grammarians is therefore unfounded as it does not fulfill the essential characteristics of pronouns.

Like in the case of the other pronouns the traditional grammarians' classification of the qualificative as pronouns is also unfounded. Doke (1963:97) for instance argues that when the qualificative is placed before the substantive it ceases to be a qualificative and becomes a qualificative pronoun. Compare the following isiZulu examples from Doke (op.cit.:99)

15. (a) Umuntu omkhulu ufikile
`the big person has arrived`.

(b) Omkhulu umuntu ufikile.
`The big one, the person, has arrived`

16. (a) Umuntu obomvu
`A red person`.

(b) Obomv' umuntu
`A red one a person`

It should be noted that in the above examples the qualificatives have been wrongly translated when they appear before nouns in 15(b) and 16(b). Instead of translating `omkhulu umuntu` in 14(b) as `a big person`

with emphasis on 'big' Doke has wrongly translated it as 'the big one, the person'. The same applies to 'Obomv' umuntu' which has been wrongly translated as 'the red one, a person' instead of 'a red person with emphasis on 'red'.

It is probably due to this wrong translation that traditional grammarians like Doke regard these words as pronouns when they occur before nouns. They translate pre-nominal qualificatives by means of pronouns. This is wrong since the pronominal movement of the qualificatives in examples such as 15 and 16 is not for any pronominal purpose but solely to attain emphasis as it has already been shown. Pronominalisation would have taken place if the noun 'umuntu' had been deleted in 15(b) and 16(b).

CHAPTER TWO

1. Introduction

In this chapter the morphological structure and syntax of the absolute pronouns are going to be discussed. The function of abbreviated pronouns will also be attended to.

2. THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUNS

2.1. The morphological structure of the absolute pronouns

2.1.1. Different views on the formation of the absolute pronouns

Most scholars agree that the absolute pronouns are formed by means of a concordial morpheme, that is, an agreement morpheme, followed by a pronominal 'o' and an ending -na. Compare the following examples:

1. class 2: ba-+ o + -na > bona
- 3: u- + o + -na > wona
- 5: li-+ o + -na > lona

Scholars are, however, less unanimous as to what they regard as the function of the formative ending -na. Ziervogel (1955:110) and Van Eeden (1956:122) for

instance regard this suffix as a stabilizing suffix. Cole (1979:128) also subscribes to this view. He states that the function of this stabilizer is to provide a second syllable and thereby avoid the monosyllabic words that would otherwise result. He also states that this -na is not an intrinsic part of the pronoun since it falls away in certain cases when the pronoun is inflected by the addition of prefixal elements. Doke (1963:91) on the other hand refers to it as the "ultimate -na" without defining what exactly he means by this. Wilkes (Honours lectures) is of the opinion that this -na is a pronominal suffix with a definite semantic function which will be explained further below.

Below is a table of the absolute pronouns of the various noun classes in SiSwati:

2. 1st.p.s.	mine	
1st.p.p.	tsine	
2nd.p.s.	wena	
2nd.p.p.	nine	
3rd.p. cl. 1/2	yena	bona
3/4	wona	yona
5/6	lona	wona
7/8	sona	tona
9/10	yona	tona
11/10	lona	tona
14	bona	

Absolute pronouns of the first and second person singular as well as that of class 1 have a different structure. It is still uncertain exactly how these pronouns are structured.

2.2. Function of absolute pronouns

According to scholars such as Doke (1963:89), Wilkes (1988: 245) and Taljaard et.al.(1991:75) absolute pronouns have two salient semantic features, namely to emphasize and to contrast.

(a) Contrast:

According to Taljaard (op.cit.:76) the absolute pronoun may be used for purposes of contrast in which case it usually appears in a post nominal position. In such cases the pronoun has a pragmatic function of contrasting the discourse referent referred to by its antecedent with one or more other referents within the same context of discourse. Contrast is often indicated in English by expressions such as "on the other hand" and "on the contrary" as for instance in the following example.

3.(a) Zodwa uhlala ahlantekile kutsi

Mandla yena ahlale angcolile.

'Zodwa is always clean while Mandla

on the contrary is always dirty'.

(b) Emakhehla atsandza inyama kantsi

talukati tona titsandza emasi.
'old men like meat while old
women on the other hand like
sour milk.

In the above sentences the contrast between the two characters 'Zodwa' and 'Mandla' in 3(a) and 'emakhehla' and 'talukati' in 3(b) is highlighted by the post nominal use of the absolute pronouns 'yena' and 'tona' respectively.

(b) Emphasis:

Louwrens (1985:59) defines emphasis as the special prominence with which a particular referent is presented at a given point in discourse. The referent of the antecedent which is emphasized is not opposed to any other referent in the context as it is the case with contrast. Emphasis is often indicated in English by expressions such as "in particular" and "the very...". When used for emphasis the absolute pronoun usually appears pre-nominally as in the following examples:

4. (a) Ngifuna yena umfana

'I want the very boy'.

(b) Babe ubita yena Siph.

'father is calling Siph in particular'.

Word order of absolute pronouns in respect of the coreferent noun.

A difference is observed in the word order of absolute pronouns when they co-occur with their coreferent nouns. While absolute pronouns may either precede or follow the subject noun they may only precede the object noun. This seemingly implies that subject nouns may either be contrasted or emphasized whereas object nouns may only be emphasized and never contrasted. This can be seen in the ungrammatical sentences such as 5(b) and 6(b) that would result if the absolute pronoun had been able to follow object nouns.

5.(a) Malume wati sona siSwati.

'Uncle knows Siswati in particular'.

(b) *Malume uyasati siSwati sona.

'Uncle knows siSwati on the contrary'

6.(a) Inja idla lona ligundvwane.

'The dog is eating the very rat'.

(b) *Inja iyalidla igundvwane lona.

'The dog is eating the rat on the contrary'.

From examples such as 5(b) and 6(b) it would seem that absolute pronouns may not contrast object nouns.

Louwrens (op.cit.:60) states that in order to contrast the object nouns, these nouns have to be moved to the left of the verb in which case they may be followed by their absolute pronouns as in 6(b) in the following examples.

7. (a) Inja idla lona ligundvwane.

'The dog is eating the rat in particular'.

(b) Ligundvwane lona inja iyalidla.

'The rat on the contrary the dog is eating'.

Louwrens gives no indication what the possible reason for the above contrast of the absolute pronoun is.

2.3. Syntax of the absolute pronouns

The syntax of the absolute pronouns has largely been neglected in most of the authoritative grammars in the Nguni languages. According to Nyembezi (1956:84) and Nkabinde (1986:155) absolute pronouns may either precede or follow nouns in sentences. They also state that absolute pronouns may occupy the positions of either the

subject or object in a sentence. Lastly they state that absolute pronouns may stand in apposition to other types of pronouns. Although these views concern the absolute pronoun in isiZulu they equally apply to siSwati as well. Nyembezi (op. cit.:84) gives the following examples on the syntax of the absolute pronouns.

8. Preceding the noun: (a) Yena umfana uyathanda
ukuhamba.
'Particularly the boy likes
to go'.

Following the noun: (b) Ulanga yena uhambe izolo.
'Langa on the contrary left
yesterday'.

As subject: (c) Yena uyahamba kusasa.
'He is going tomorrow'.

As object: (d) Ubaba ufuna yena (umfana).
'Father wants him (the boy)'.

With other pronouns: (e) Abafana bagawule wona lo.
'The boys chopped this one'.

Nkabinde (op.cit.:155) also states that the use of the absolute pronoun is subject to the following constraints:

- (a) It does not occupy the place of a direct object that belongs to the same noun class as the subject of the sentence. Compare the following examples:

9. (a) Tigebengu tijikijela timoto.
'the bandits are stoning cars.'
but not
(b) *Tigebengu tijikijela tona.
'the bandits are stoning them.'

- (b) It does not occupy the place of an object noun that occurs after an ideophone which is not preceded by an introductory predicate. Compare the following examples:

10. (a) Tiguge vitsi ticatfulo ngematje.
'The shoes are worn completely
because of stones.'
but not
(b) *Tiguge vitsi tona ngematje.

- (c) It does not occupy the place of a noun whose pre-prefix has been elided due to grammatical elision. Consider the following example:

11. (a) Angifuni muntfu lapha.
'I do not want any person here.'

but not

(b) *Angifuni yena lapha.

(d) It never follows another absolute pronoun. Compare the following examples:

12. (a) wena mfana. 'you boy.'

but not

wena wena

13. (a) *Bona bantfu.

'As for the people.'

But not

(b) *Bona bona

More modern scholars like Du Plessis (1985) and Louwrens (1985 and 1991) give a more detailed analysis of the syntax of the absolute pronouns in Xhosa and Northern Sotho respectively.

Louwrens (1985:60) states that absolute pronouns may occur with nouns that function as the subject or object of a sentence. In sentences with S.V.O. word order they may either precede or follow the subject noun while they may only precede the object noun. He gives the following examples which include one illustrating that the absolute pronoun yields ungrammatical sentences when following object nouns.

14. (a) Yena malome o tseba seSotho.
`Particularly uncle knows Sotho`.
- (b) Malome yena o tseba SeSotho.
`Uncle on the contrary knows
Sotho`.
15. (a) Malome o tseba sona seSotho.
`Uncle knows particularly Sotho`.
- (b) *Malome o tseba seSotho sona.
`Uncle knows Sotho on the
contrary`.

The same is true of absolute pronouns in siSwati. According to Taljaard et.al.(op.cit.:17)^{7b} when the absolute pronoun is used with an object noun it usually precedes such a noun. Compare for instance the following examples:

16. (a) Indvodza ifuna yena umntfwana
`the man wants the child in
particular`.
- (b) *Indvodza ifuna umntfwana yena.
`The man wants the child on the
contrary`.

Louwrens (1991:98) also states that, in case the of double transitive verbs, if the situation demands the simultaneous pronominalisation of both objects one can be pronominalised by means of the object concord and the

other by means of the absolute pronoun. This means that the direct object can be pronominalised by means of its object concord and the indirect object by means of the absolute pronoun or vice versa. Compare the following examples:

17. (a) Mokgekolo o apeela bana dijo.

'the old woman is cooking for
the children food'.

(b) Mokgekolo o ba apeela tsona.

'the old woman cooks it for
them'.

(c) Mokgekolo o di apeela bona.

'the old woman cooks it for
them'.

In the above examples in 16(b) the absolute pronoun 'tsona' has been used to pronominalise the indirect object 'bana' while in 17(c) 'bona' has been used to pronominalise the direct object 'dijo'.

The same is also true of absolute pronouns in siSwati. Compare for instance the following examples:

18.(a) Make utsengela Siphō ticatfulo.

'Mother is buying shoes for Siphō '

(b) Make umtsengela tona.

'Mother is buying them for him'.

(c) Make utitsengela yena.

`Mother is buying them for him`.

Louwrens (op. cit:95) also states that absolute pronouns may act as (emphatic/contrastive) pronouns when their antecedent nouns have been omitted in discourse as in the following example where (...) represents the position previously occupied by the deleted noun.

19. (a) Mootledi yena ga se a gobala.

`The driver (on the contrary) did not get hurt.

(b) (...) yena ga se a gobala

`he did not get hurt`.

The same is also true of absolute pronouns in siSwati.

Compare for instance the following examples:

20. (a) Emanti wona mancane

`Water on the contrary is not enough`.

(b) (...) wona mancane.

`it is not enough`

Du Plessis (op.cit:107,108) states that absolute pronouns may float from the subject noun to the sentence's final position. Consider the following examples.

21.(a) Abantwana bona baza kukhe
bashiyeke.

'The children as for them
they will be left behind
this time'.

(b) Abantwana baza kukhe
bashiyeke bona.

Du Plessis (op.cit.:108) also states that the float of the absolute pronoun away from its coreferent object noun to sentence final position is problematic as illustrated by the following examples:

22.(a) Umalusi ufuna iinkomo zona
phaya edlelweni.

'the herdboys are looking for the
cattle, as for them there at
the pasture'.

(b) *Umalusi ufuna iinkomo phaya
edlelweni zona.

It is important to note that examples such as 19 (a) where the absolute pronoun follows its coreferent object noun in post verbal position are ungrammatical in siSwati as have been pointed out earlier on.

Du Plessis (op. cit.:108) states that absolute pronouns of the first and second person may regularly appear in

the position of subject in surface structure without any head. The absolute pronouns do not function as pronouns in this position but retain their basic meaning of emphasis. Compare the following examples.

23. (a) Thina asigezi ngemfundo

singafundanga nje.

'We as for us, we do not play the fool with education without us being educated'.

(b) Yiphose nje wena le mpahla.

'Throw them down then you these clothes'.

The same is also true of the absolute pronouns in siSwati. Compare for instance the following examples:

24. (a) Mine angiyitsandzi inyama.

'I do not like meat.'

(b) Hamba kakhulu wena.

'walk fast you'

Du Plessis (op.cit.:109) also states that absolute pronouns may co-occur with their corresponding objectival concords . Compare the following examples:

25. (a) Ndiza kubabiza bona, andizi

kunibiza nina.

'I will call them, as for them I will not call you as for you'.

(b) Aba bantu ubalungisela ntoni bona?

'These people you are preparing for them what, as for them'?

The same is also true of the absolute pronoun in siSwati. Compare the following examples:

26.(a) Ubobashaya bona uma baganga.

'You must beat them if they are naughty'.

(b) Utasishiya tsine make.

'She will leave us mum'.

The absolute pronouns of the first and second person may, according to Du Plessis (op.cit.:116), combine with any noun to form the subject of the sentence as in the following examples:

27. (a) Mna titshala andenzi nto.

'I the teacher I am not doing anything'.

(b) Wena mfana akuhambi.

'You the young man you are not going'.

The same is also true of absolute pronouns in siSwati.
Compare the following examples for instance:

28.(a) Tsine bantfu labasha
siyasebenta.

'We young people are working'.

(b) Nine bantfwana niyavilapha.

'You children are lazy'.

Du Plessis (op.cit.:116) furthermore states that second person absolute pronouns with nouns may appear as vocatives. This can be seen in the following examples:

29. (a) Wena mfana, yiz' apha!

'You young man, come here!

(b) Nina bantu, ndincedeni!

'You people, help me!

The same is also true of absolute pronouns in siSwati as in the following examples:

30. (a) Wena ntfombatana sukuma!

'You girl stand up'!

(b) Nine bantfwana buyani lapha!

'You children come hear!

2.4. THE ABBREVIATED ABSOLUTE PRONOUNS IN ISIZULU

2.4.1. Function of the abbreviated absolute pronouns

2.4.2. Traditional view

The so-called abbreviated absolute pronouns are, in form, identical to the absolute pronouns minus their so-called stabilizing *-na*. Doke (1963:90) refers to them as the contracted form of the absolute pronoun. These formatives are used in the formation of copulatives and adverbs. In the formation of copulatives they are used in combination with the copulative prefixes *ngi-* and *ngu-* in siSwati and *yi-* and *ngu-* in isiZulu. In the formation of adverbs, prepositions such as the instrumental *nga-*, the associative *na-*, the locative *ku-* or the comparative *nganga-* are preplaced to the abbreviated absolute pronoun as in the following examples:

Copulatives: 31. (a) Kudla kudliwe *ngimi*.

'the food has been eaten by them'.

(b) Imali intjontjwe *nguye*.

'The money has been stolen by
him'.

- Adverbs: 32.(a) Thoko bamshaye ngayo lendvuku.
 'Thoko they beat her with this
 stick'.
 (b) Babe uhamba nami kusasa.
 'Father he is going with me
 tomorrow'.

Traditional grammarians have largely ignored the functions of these forms possibly because they consider them to have the same function as their unabbreviated counterparts, the absolute pronouns, i.e. to contrast and to emphasize. Compare the following examples from Wilkes (1987:137) in this regard.

- 33.(a) Le mbazo angizange ngigawule ngayo.
 'This axe I have never chopped
 with (it)'.
 (b) UMaDlamini asizwani naye.
 'MaDlamini we do not get along very
 well (with her).'

The prepositional objects in these sentences, that is, 'lembazo' in 33(a) and 'UMaDlamini' in 33(b), have all been moved from their post-verbal position while their so called abbreviated absolute pronouns -yo and -ye appear as complements of the prepositions nga- and na-. The use

of the so called abbreviated absolute pronoun is obligatory in all sentences such as those in 33 above. This has led the traditional grammarians to believe that the abbreviated forms have taken the place of the moved NPs just as their unabridged counterparts are believed to have taken the place of their coreferent pronominalised nouns. They assume that sentences such as those in 33 above have been derived from the following ones in which the fronted NP directly follows the preposition involved.

34. (a) Angizange ngigawule ngale mbazo.

'I have never chopped with this
axe'.

(b) Asizwani kahle noMaDlamini.

'We do not get along very well
with MaDlamini'.

2.4.4. Modern view

Wilkes (op.cit.:138) views the so called abbreviated pronouns as definite markers of oblique objects, that is, object nouns inflected by means of particles. He is the only scholar who holds this view as far as the function of these forms is concerned. He states that oblique objects can be made equivocally definite through the so-called abbreviated absolute pronoun. To illustrate the definite character of the abbreviated absolute pronouns

in isiZulu he has taken the following excerpts from an isiZulu translation of a wild life story originally written in English:

TEXT 1

35. UFreddie wayesehule umthetho obaluleke kakhulu empilweni yebhubesi. Amabhubesi amancane akufanele angene izindaba zamabhubesi amadala. Akusakhulunywa ke ngokuwahlasela. Ukwephula lomthetho kwakusho ukufa okusheshayo ebhubesini elincane (a). UFreddie wayezimisele ukwephula lomthetho ukuze avikele uTony.

UFreddie watheleka kulo ibhubesi (b) elidala, ebhodla eveza amazinyo akhe ngesibindi.

'Freddie had broken an important rule of lion life. Young lions are not supposed to poke their noises into the business of older lions. They are certainly not supposed to attack them. To break that rule usually meant death for a young lion (a). Freddie was willing to break this rule to save Tony'.

'Freddie charged at the bigger lion (b).
the cub growled bravely showing his
teeth".

TEXT 2

"UTony uzodinga usizo ukubahlukanisa" esho
egijima eya esangweni lenkambu.(c)
...(UGeorge) akacabanganga ukuthi
uzodinga isibhamu. Wagijima waqonda kulo
isango(d) ephethe induku yakhe
yokudondolozela.

'"Tony might need help separating them".
Erigumsa rushed toward the camp gate.(c)
...(George) did not think he would need a
gun. He raced for the gate (d) carrying
only his walking stick'.

TEXT 3.

UGeorge akalindanga ukuzitholela
leloqiniso. Watheleka kuso isilwane (e)
ememeza.

'George did not wait to find out.
Shouting he charged at the animal (e)'.
'

TEXT 4

Wehla ebhanoyini (f) wagijima waya
kuTony. Amadoda lawa ambeka
ngokucophelela uTony embhedeni wabagulayo
(g). Bamkhweza ebhanoyini (h).

'She jumped from the plane(f) and ran to Tony. Gently the men placed Tony on a stretcher(g). They loaded him into the plane'.(h)

In the above examples the abbreviated absolute pronouns are confined to instances where the English Text makes use of the definite article as in (b), (d) and (e) whilst in cases where the isiZulu text makes use of oblique objects without any pronoun accompanying them the English equivalents are either definite as in (c), (f) and (h) or indefinite as in (a) and (g).

In order to put Wilkes' view into perspective it is necessary that something be said first about the concepts definiteness and indefiniteness and also about the various strategies whereby nouns are definitized and indefinitized in siSwati grammar. This will be done in the following paragraphs.

3. The concept definiteness and indefiniteness.

Louwrens (1983:23) in his attempt to define the terms definiteness and indefiniteness states that no simple and straightforward answer can be presented as to what is meant by these terms in linguistics. This, he states, is because the basis on which a distinction between these

terms should be drawn is an ongoing debate among linguists. He has however given his definition of these terms. He (op.cit.:24-25) states that:

'The concepts "definiteness" and indefiniteness are defined to a large extent in terms of "referentiality" with regard to noun phrases. ...a definite noun phrase is a noun phrase which referent is presupposed by the speaker to be uniquely identifiable by the addressee within a particular context. A speaker uses a definite description to refer to a thing which can be uniquely identified by the audience within the universe of discourse'.

To illustrate this he has cited the following example:

36. I want to catch the fish.

The noun phrase, the fish, in the above example is definite since it refers to a specific fish which is supposed to be known by the addressee.

He defines indefinite noun phrases as the direct opposites of their definite counterparts. They refer to things that are not uniquely identifiable such as the noun phrase in the following example:

37. I want to marry a doctor.

The noun phrase, a doctor, in the above example is indefinite as it is not presupposed to be known by the addressee.

In European languages such as English and Afrikaans for instance the distinction between definite and indefinite nouns is marked by means of articles. Indefinite nouns are marked by means of the indefinite article "a" while definite nouns are marked by the definite article "the" as in the following examples.

38. Indefinite: (a) A policeman was
shot.

Definite: (b) The old man is sick.

Such a strategy whereby the concepts definiteness and indefiniteness are overtly marked by means of articles does not exist in the Bantu languages. These languages employ other mechanism for this purpose. Louwrens (1981:83), in his investigation of interrogative structures, has identified three different strategies in Northern Sotho whereby definite noun phrases are definitized, that is, by means of (a) syntactic position, (b) verbal agreement and (c) demonstratives.

(a) Syntactic positions.

With regard to syntactic positions he states that indefinite noun phrases are restricted to particular syntactic positions in Northern Sotho. Two of these positions he has identified in Northern Sotho in this regard are the ones in which no agreement between the noun and the verb may occur. They are:

(a) the so-called postponed subject position, that is, the position following verbs which begin on the indefinite subject concord "go" as in the following Northern Sotho example given by Louwrens:

39. Go fihlile moeng.

'there arrived a visitor'.

The second position is:

(b) After passive verbs as complement of the copulative formative "ke", as in the following example also given by Louwrens:

40. Matome o hlasetswe ke tau.

'Matome was attacked by a lion'.

In these examples both the noun phrases moeng 'visitor' and 'tau' have a indefinite reading.

(b) Verbal agreement.

Louwrens (op.cit.:39) also regards verbal agreement as another criterion according to which the definiteness and indefiniteness of noun phrases can be determined. He says that indefinite noun phrases may never agree with verbs while those which do agree with verbs must be assigned a definite reading. He cites the following examples in which he has assigned a definite reading to the agreeing noun phrases moeng 'visitor' and tau 'lion'

41.(a) Moeng o fihlile

'the visitor arrived'

(b) Tau e hlasetse Matome.

'The lion has attacked Matome'.

Demonstratives.

Concerning demonstratives Louwrens (op.cit.:33) states that noun phrases containing demonstratives can only be taken to refer to uniquely identifiable referents. This therefore means that noun phrases containing a demonstrative should be regarded as definite. He gives the following examples:

42. (a) Bana ba a mo tshaba mokgalabaje
yo.

'Children fear this old man.

(b) Moruti o ba thusutse bakgeloko ba.

'The preacher helped these old women'.

In the above examples the noun phrases , mokgalabaje yo 'this old man' and bakgeloko ba 'these old women', which contain demonstratives have all been assigned a definite reading.

Wilkes (1987:138) is of the opinion that grammatical agreement is the foremost strategy whereby noun phrases may be definitized in the Bantu languages. Wilkes' theory is elucidated in the following paragraphs.

3.1 Wilkes' theory on the definitization of noun phrases.

Wilkes' theory on definitization concerns the definitization of subject, object and oblique object nouns. Although he based his theory on isiZulu it would seem to apply to siSwati as well.

3.1.1 Definitizing subject nouns.

Wilkes (op.cit.:138) distinguishes two types of subject nouns as far as their definitizing is concerned, namely agreeing subject nouns and non-agreeing subject nouns.

Agreeing subject nouns agree with the predicate by means of the so-called subject concord whereas non agreeing subject nouns do not agree with the predicate, as for instance happens when the verb takes the so called indefinite concord ku- as in:

43. Kufike inyanga izolo.

`A witchdoctor arrived yesterday.'

Agreeing subjects are exclusively definite whilst non-agreeing subject nouns may be either definite or indefinite as can be seen in the following examples from Wilkes (op.cit.:138)

44.(a) Izingane ziyakhala.

`The children are crying'.

(b) Abafana bakhuthele kakhulu.

`The boys are very diligent'.

45.(a) Kuzokhiya umlungu hhayi mina.

`the white person will lock not me'.

(b) Kufike iphoyisa lapha ekuseni.

`A policeman arrived here this morning'.

In the above examples in 44 the subjects, which agree with the verbs , have a definite reading whilst in 45 the

subjects, which do not agree with their objects, have either a definite or an indefinite reading in depending on the context.

It is important at this point to pay attention to the conditions for the use of postponed subjects in isiZulu. Wilkes (1988:244) has stipulated two conditions in this regard. The first one is the introduction into discourse of new information nouns, which are constrained from functioning as grammatical subjects. He states that the postponed subject has created the necessary means whereby such noun phrases could be represented as subjects without violating the constraint which prevents them from agreeing with the verb. Compare the following examples:

46. (a) Kwafa bantfu labanyenti engotini
yemoto.

'Many people died in a car
accident'

(b) Kubanjwe lisela linye kuphela.

'Only one thief has been caught'.

The second condition pertains to contrast and possibly also to emphasis. He cites the following examples in this regard:

47. (a) Uma kungasuki yena kuzosuka wena.

'If he does not go you will go (with emphasis on 'he' and 'you').

(b) Ngisindile kodwa sekugula uKhumalo.

'I have recovered but Khumalo is sick now (with emphasis on 'Khumalo').

3.1.2 Definitizing object nouns.

Like subject nouns, object nouns too are divided into two types as far as definitizing is concerned, namely, agreeing object nouns and non-agreeing object nouns. Agreeing object nouns agree with the verb by means of the object concord while non-agreeing object nouns do not co-occur with their object concords. Grammarians do not agree as far as definiteness of object nouns is concerned. Traditional grammarians such as Doke (1963:299) and Van Eeden (1956:67) believe that object nouns are made equivocally definite when they co-occur with their object concords. Consider the following example in this regard.

48. Ngiyambona umfana.

'I see the boy'.

This implies that the object concord acts as a definitizer of object nouns.

On the other hand younger grammarians such as Louwrens (1983:28) and Bosch (1981:76) do not regard the object concord as a definitizer. They regard it as an object marker devoid of any semantic content. Bosch bases her finding on the fact that objects may be definite even though they are not accompanied by their respective object concords as in the following example.

49. Ngibonà isitolo.

'I see a/the store'.

Wilkes' view clashes with that of Bosch in this matter and is more in accordance with the traditional view. He states that there is an overlap between agreeing and non-agreeing object nouns as far as definiteness is concerned. While non-agreeing object nouns may either be definite or indefinite such as the one given in 43 above, agreeing object nouns may only have a definite reading as in 42 above. He too regards object concords as definitizers.

3.1.3 Definitizing oblique objects.

By oblique object nouns is referred to object nouns inflected by means of particles such as ku-, nga-, na- e...ini etc. Wilkes states that these noun phrases can be definitized by means of the so-called abbreviated

absolute pronouns. According to his theory oblique objects can be made equivocally definite through the so-called abbreviated absolute pronouns. This has already been illustrated in 35 above where abbreviated pronouns are confined to instances where the English text makes use of the definite article whilst in cases where the isiZulu text makes use of oblique object without any pronouns accompanying them the English equivalents are either definite or indefinite.

This view of the function of abbreviated absolute pronouns differs from the traditional one as represented by Doke's (1955) view. Doke regards them as emphasizees of their antecedent nouns as their unabridged counterparts do. This can be seen in the following translation Doke (op.cit.:10) gives of the following sentence in which the absolute pronoun stem so occurs.

50. Ngiya kuso isihlahla

- 'I am going to the very tree'.

To summarize Wilkes' theory it can be concluded that abbreviated absolute pronouns are definitizers and not emphasizees as Doke and other grammarians consider them to be.

This theory has also highlighted the unique relationship that exists between subject, object and oblique object

nouns in that they are all definitized in the same way, that is, by means of definitizing morphemes. Subjects are definitized by means of subject concords, objects by means of object concords while oblique objects are definitized by means of abbreviated absolute pronouns.

3.1.4 Evaluation of Wilkes' theory on the definitizing of noun phrases.

Although Wilkes' theory concerning the function of the abbreviated absolute pronouns as definitizers and not as pronouns seems to be convincing, it is not without its shortcomings. For instance, it is still unclear why as definitizers the abbreviated absolute pronouns may appear with other forms which also tend to definitize nouns in some way or other as for instance demonstratives and inclusive quantitative pronouns as in the following example:

51. Siyokhuluma nabo bonkhe labo bantfu
labakhe lapho.

'We are going to talk to all those
people who live there'.

or with emphatic absolute pronouns as for instance in

52. Ngitse kuye yena Sipho

'I said to the very Sipho himself'.

Such uncertainties suggest that there is still more to be said about the function of the so-called abbreviated absolute pronouns. Very little research has hitherto been undertaken as to the role of these forms in Bantu grammar, most probably because grammarians tend to regard them as abbreviated pronouns with more or less the same function as their unabbreviated counterparts.

CHAPTER 3

1. Demonstrative pronouns.

1.1 Formation of demonstrative pronouns.

1.1.1 Conflicting views on the formation of demonstrative pronouns

Investigation has shown that there are no less than three different views prevailing among isiZulu grammarians concerning the construction of demonstratives in isiZulu. Although these views primarily concern the formation of the demonstratives of isiZulu they equally apply to siSwati demonstratives. The authors whose views are of concern here are Doke (1955), Nyembezi (1956) and Van Eeden (1956) respectively. In this chapter these views will be discussed and evaluated.

Doke's view -

According to Doke (op.cit.:92) first position demonstratives are formed by prefixing l to the relative concord. He gives the following examples:

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|---|------|
| 1. Cl.1 | l + o | > | lo |
| 2 | l + aba | > | laba |
| 5 | l + eli | > | leli |

Nyembezi's view

According to Nyembezi (1956:86) first position demonstratives are formed by prefixing a demonstrative formative la to the noun class prefix. In the case of the so-called nasal classes the noun class prefix either discards its nasal part or, in the case of classes 4 and 6, its final syllable. Compare the following examples:

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------|--------|------|
| 2. Cl.1 | la + umu- | > lom | > lo |
| 5 | la + ili- | > leli | |
| 6 | la + ama- | > lama | |
| 11 | la + ulu- | > lolu | |

Van Eeden's view

According to Van Eeden (op.cit.:130) first position demonstratives are formed by prefixing a demonstrative formative la to an agreement morpheme which resembles the subject concord in form. Vowel coalescence between the a of la and the agreement morpheme takes place in the case of the so-called nasal classes whilst vowel assimilation between the a of la and the vowel of the agreement morpheme occurs in the case of the so-called non-nasal classes. Compare the following examples:

nasal classes: 3. Cl.1 la + u- > lo
 4 la + i- > li
 6 la + a > la

non-nasal classes: 4. Cl.2 la + ba- > laba
 5 la + li- > leli
 7 la + si- > lesi

1.1.2 Evaluation of the theories concerning the formation of demonstrative pronouns.

Of the three views discussed above concerning the formation of demonstratives in isiZulu and by implication in siSwati the one by Doke is the least recognized in schools. Doke's claim that the second element of the demonstrative is a relative concord is not supported by any scientific evidence in terms of which the presence of such a concord as part of demonstratives can be justified. The only reason why he regards this second element of demonstratives as a relative concord is not because he has succeeded in proving it to be one but simply because it looks like one. The fact that there is no evidence whatsoever that suggests the presence of a relative concord in demonstratives means that Doke's view must be rejected.

Nyembezi's view is the most favoured among mother tongue scholars as far as the formation of the demonstrative

pronouns is concerned. This is probably due to the fact that it supposedly accounts for the vowel coalescence that takes place between the formative la and the following noun class prefix. The presence of the noun class prefix ensures that the vowel of la becomes juxtaposed to the initial vowel of the class prefix making vowel coalescence mandatory according to the recognized phonological rules in isiZulu, that is, a + i = e and a + o = u. This in turn explains the change in form of the formative la to lo, le and la respectively which is found in the demonstratives of all the noun classes and which is illustrated in examples given in 3 and 4 above.

Evidence from siSwati however casts doubt on the validity of this theory. The fact that many noun classes in siSwati have no pre-prefixes makes it difficult for Nyembezi's theory to account for the vowel change that takes place in the demonstrative formative la when it combines with noun prefixes without an initial vowel as for instance in:

5. Cl.5 la + li > leli
 7 la + si > lesi
 10 la + ti > leti
 14 la + bu > lobu

The fact that the demonstrative formative la changes to le and lo respectively despite the absence of any vowel coalescence lends credibility to van Eeden's theory that these pronouns are formed by means of an agreement formative that is derived from the noun class prefix and not by means of the noun class prefix itself. Van Eeden shows something Nyembezi fails to appreciate, that is, the fact that the vowel a may also change to e and o in circumstances other than its juxtaposition to i and u. The change of the vowel of la to e and o respectively is due to its assimilation to the vowel of the agreement morpheme. From a scientific point of view Van Eeden's view on the formation of demonstratives must be evaluated as linguistically more sound than that of either Doke or Nyembezi.

Nyembezi's view is furthermore contrary to the way grammatical agreement normally manifests itself in the African languages, that is, by means of agreement morphemes and not by the repetition of the noun class prefixes.

1.1.3 Formation of demonstrative pronouns of the second and third positions

Second position demonstratives in siSwati belonging to the so-called non-nasal classes are formed by deleting

the final vowel of the first position demonstrative and substituting it with o as in the following examples:

- 6. Cl.2 laba > labo
- 7 leti > leto
- 15 loku > loko

In the case of the nasal classes second position demonstratives are formed by suffixing yo or wo to the first position demonstrative of classes 1 and 3, yo to classes 4 and 9 and wo to class 6. Compare the following examples:

- 7. Cl 1 lo + wo > lowo/loyo
- 3 lo + yo > lowo/loyo
- 6 la + wo > lawo
- 9 le + yo > leyo

Third position demonstratives belonging to the so-called nasal classes are formed by suffixing ya or wa to the first position demonstrative of classes 1 and 3, ya to classes 4 and 9 and wa to class 6. Compare the following examples:

- 8. Cl.1 lo + ya/wa > lowa/loya
- 4 le + ya > leya
- 6 la + wa > lawa
- 9 le + ya > leya

In the case of the non-nasal classes in siSwati the third position demonstratives are formed through the deletion of the final vowel of the first position demonstrative and replacing it by a with the exception of classes 11 and 15 where the final vowel is consonantalized to w. Compare the following examples:

9. Cl.5	leli > lela
7	lesi > lesa
10	leti > leta
11	lolu > lolwa
15	loku > lokwa

Ziervogel (1952:48) also gives alternative forms of the third position demonstratives which are formed from first position demonstratives by suffixing -waya in classes 1 and 3 whilst in all the other classes ya is added. Compare the following examples:

10. Cl.1	lo > lowaya
2	laba > labaya
4	le > leya
8	lesi > lesiya
9	le > leya

According to Ziervogel (op.cit.48) there is a fourth position of demonstratives which are formed by adding /(w/y)ana/ to first position demonstratives. Compare the

following examples that he gives:

11. Cl. 1 loya > loyana
 2 leti > letiyana
 11 lolu > loluyana/lolwana.
 15 loku > lokuyana/lokwana.

Table of siSwati demonstratives

12. Class	1st.pos.	2nd.pos.	3rd.pos.
1	lo	lowo/loyo	lowa/loya
2	laba	labo	laba
3	lo	lowo/loyo	lowa/loya
4	le	leyo	leya
5	leli	lelo	lela
6	lawa	lawo	lawa
7	lesi	leso	lesa
8	leti	leto	leta
9	le	leyo	leya
10	leti	leto	leta
11	lolu	lolo	lolwa
14	lobu	lobo	loba
15	loku	loko	lokwa

Note: The third position demonstratives are pronounced with a high tone and long length in the final syllable whereas in the first and second positions the tone is low and the length short in the final syllable.

1.2 Function of demonstratives

Demonstratives have a deictic significance, that is, they indicate the distance from the speaker in respect of the person or object he/she is talking about. The first position demonstrative signifies 'this'/ 'these', indicating proximity to the speaker. The second position demonstrative signifies 'that'/ 'those' indicating relative distance from the speaker. The third position demonstrative signifies 'yonder'/ 'that yonder'/ 'those yonder', indicating remote distance from the speaker and the one spoken to.

Besides being deictic, demonstratives may be used to refer back to the antecedent. When used referentially demonstratives have no deictic meaning i.e. they do not refer to any object which is physically present in the speech situation. According to Louwrens (1991:108) the referential usage of demonstratives is necessitated by the pragmatic need to refer back to a referent which has been previously mentioned in a given context of discourse. Poulos (1993:105) in his analysis of Venda refers to this as the anaphoric function of demonstratives. Consider the following example:

13. Babe akalali ekhaya itolo. Loko
kumnyanyisile make.

'Father did not sleep at home
yesterday. That annoyed mother'.

In the above example the demonstrative "loko" is used to refer back to something that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse, that is, the fact that father did not sleep at home. It is not used as a deitic or pointing form.

Poulos (op.cit:109) also states that when used anaphorically the different positions of demonstratives are used. Compare the following extract from a siSwati short story by Ncongwane (1991:22):

14. " Wacala ngekubhema lokwamenta wagcina sekafuna
timpahla nemali yeligwayi. Asabuke loko uyise
wase ufuna timpahla tekuswenka.... Kusho
LaLubhedze acala lihobo batekuthandaza babeke
indvodzana yabo Gweje njengaloku ingabonakali.
Kwammangalisa Shongwe loku lokwakushiwo
nguLaLubhedze ngoba azange sebathandaze
kulelikhaya labo....Benta konkhe loku Powane
soloku ulele.'

'"He started by smoking which made him to demand clothes and money for tobacco. While his father was still focusing on that he then demanded fancy clothes....Said LaLubhedze starting a hymn so that they could pray for their son Gweje as he was not yet home. Shongwe was surprised by this that was said by LaLubhedze because they have never prayed in their home. ...While they are doing all this Powane is still asleep."

In the above passage the different positions of demonstratives have been used, namely, loku (first) and loko (second).

Poulos (op.cit:109) also states that the reason for the use of different positions despite no physical difference in the position of the nouns with respect to the speaker is due to the distance in time. The demonstratives of the various positions have in the above example been used to translate the differences in time. One can talk of a matter that has just occurred or a matter that happened a short while ago or a matter that happened a long time ago.

1.3. Syntax of demonstratives

Demonstratives can occur preminally as well as

postnominally. When they occur prenominally the demonstratives of the non-nasal classes in siSwati are abbreviated by deleting the final syllable. Compare the following examples in this regard:

15. (a) Lesi sihlala > lesihlahla 'this tree'
(b) leti tindlu > letindlu 'these houses'

The neutral position of demonstratives in siSwati is pronominal. When these words are used postnominally they generate emphasis. Compare the following examples:

16. (a) lomuntfu > umuntfu lo.
'This person' 'This very person'
(b) leyo ndlu > indlu leyo
'that house' 'that very house'.

Demonstratives may act as pronouns, i.e, when the coreferent noun has been deleted. In such instances they may act on their own as the subject or the object of the sentence as in the following examples:

- 17.(a) Lo (muntfu) ulungile.
'This one (person) is kind'.

(b) Le (nyama) iphekiwe.

'This (meat) is cooked'.

(c) Sibite labo (bantfu)

'We called those (people)

Demonstratives may float from their coreferent noun especially when the predicate is non verbal. Compare the following examples:

18. (a) Imoto yinhle kakhulu le.

'The car is very beautiful, this very one'.

(b) Sinkhwa simnandzi lesi.

'The bread is nice, this very one'.

1.4 Writing of demonstratives

According to the latest spelling rules of siSwati first position demonstratives in their neutral position, that is in their pre-nominal position, are written conjunctively with the noun whilst the second and third position demonstratives are written as separate words. Compare the following examples:

19. (a) Lomntfwana uyagula.

'This child is sick'

(b) Letinkhomo tondlekile.

'these cows are well fed.'

20. (a) Leto tinja tiyingoti.

'those dogs are dangerous'

(b) Lawa mantfombatane ayavilapha.

'Yonder girls are lazy.'

2. Demonstrative copulative pronouns

2.1. Formation

2.1.1 First position

According to Ziervogel (1952:49) the first position demonstrative copulative pronouns of the nasal classes are formed by means of the formative na plus ni plus what Ziervogel calls a radical and of which he only gives the Ur. Bantu form e.g.

21. Cl. 1 na + ni + \int u > nangu
 3 na + ni + \int u > nangu > nankhu
 6 na + ni + \int a > nankha
 9 na + ni + \int i > nanki > nansi

In the case of the non-nasal classes these copulatives are formed from na plus an agreement morpheme that resembles the subject concord in form. Compare the following examples:

22. cL. 2 na + ba > naba
 5 na + li > nali
 8 na + ti > nati
 10 na + lu > nalu

The same strategy is possibly also followed in the formation of the variant forms of these pronouns found in classes 3,6 and 9 except that a semivowel is inserted between the formative na and the concord as illustrated below:

23. Cl. 3 na + u > nawu
 6 na + a > nawa
 9 na + i > nayi

2.1.2 Second position

Second position demonstrative copulatives are formed by replacing the final vowel of the first position demonstrative copulatives by o as illustrated in the following examples:

24. cl. 1	nangu	>	nango
3	nankhu/nawu	>	nankho/nawo
6	nankha/nawa	>	nankho/nawo
7	nasi	>	naso
8	nati	>	nato
9	nayi/nansi	>	nayo/nanso

As can be seen in the examples above classes 3,6 and 9 also have variant forms which have been derived from their first position counterparts given in 19 above.

2.1.3 Third position

Third position demonstrative copulatives are formed by suffixing ya to the first position demonstrative copulatives. Compare the following examples:

25. cl.2	naba	>	nabaya
3	nankhu/nawu	>	nankhuya/nawuya
6	nankha/nawa	>	nankhuya/nawuya
9	nayi/nansi	>	nayiya/nansiya
11	nalu	>	naluya
14	nabu	>	nabuya

As it is the case with second position demonstratives, in the above examples classes 3,6 and 9 also have variant forms which have been derived from their counterparts in 19 above.

19 above.

Table of siSwati demonstrative copulative pronouns

26.	1st pos.	2nd.pos.	3rd.pos.
Cl. 1	nangu	nango	nanguya
2	naba	nabo	nabaya
3	nankhu/nawu	nankho/nawo	nanguya/nawuya
4	nayi	nayo	nayiya
5	nali	nalo	naliya
6	mankha/nawa	nankho/nawo	nankhaya/nawaya
7	nasi	naso	nasiya
8	nati	nato	natiya
9	nayi/nansi	nayo/nanso	nayiya/nansiya
10	nalu	nalo	naluya
11	nati	nato	natiya
14	nabu	nabo	nabuya
15	naku	nako	nakuya

2.1.4. Differences in the formal features of the demonstrative copulative pronouns between siSwati and isiZulu.

Differences in the formal features of the demonstrative copulative pronouns in siSwati and isiZulu are observed in classes 2,3,4,5,6,9,10 and 14. The differences can be seen in the following complete composite table of these

pronouns in both languages .

27.		1st pos.	2nd. pos.	3rd. pos.
Cl.1	siSwati:	nangu	nango	nanguya
	isiZulu:	nangu	nango	nanguya
2	siSwati:	naba	nabo	nabaya
	isiZulu:	nampa	nampo	nampaya
3	siSwati:	nankhu/nawu	nankho/nawo	nakhuya/nawuya
	isiZulu:	nanku	nanko	nankuya
4	siSwati:	nayi	nayo	nayiya
	isiZulu:	nansi	nanso	nansiya
5	siSwati:	nali	nalo	naliya
	isiZulu:	nanti	nanto	nantiya
6	siSwati:	nankha/nawa	nankho/nawo	nankhaya/nawaya
	isiZulu:	nanku	nanko	nankuya
7	siSwati:	nasi	naso	nasiya
	isiZulu:	nasi	naso	nasiya
8	siSwati:	nati	nato	natiya
	isiZulu:	nazi	nazo	naziya

9	siSwati: nayi/nansi	nayo/nanso	nayiya/nansiya
	isiZulu: nansi	nanso	nansiya
10	siSwati: nalu	nalo	naluya
	isiZulu: nantu	nanto	nantuya
11	siSwati: nati	nato	natiya
	isiZulu: nazi	nazo	naziya
14	siSwati: nabu	nabo	nabuya
	isiZulu: nampu	nampo	nampuya
15	siSwati: naku	nako	nakuya
	isiZulu: nakhu	nakho	nakhuya

2.2. Syntax and meaning

The demonstrative copulatives are semantically made up of a demonstrative element "here", "there" etc. and a copulative element "is" hence they are called by this name. Compare the following examples:

28. (a) Nangu umfana.

`Here is a boy.

(b) Nayo imali.

`there is money.

Demonstrative copulatives may function as predicates of nouns in which case they may either follow or precede the nouns as illustrated in the following examples:

29. (a) Nayi indlu. or Indlu nayi.

'Here is a house'.

(b) Nalo lizembe. or Lizembe nalo.

'There is an axe'.

Demonstrative copulatives may also occur on their own in which case they refer to a coreferent noun that has previously been mentioned in the discourse situation. Compare the following examples:

30. (a) Iphi indlu yakho?

'Where is your house'?

(b) Nayi. (referring to indlu yakho)

'Here it is'.

31. (a) Lphi lizembe?

'Where is the axe'?

(b) Nalo. (referring to lizembe)

'There it is.'

Demonstrative copulatives may be separated from their referent noun by other words or phrases. Compare the following examples:

32. (a) Indlu lengihlala kuyo nayiya.
'There is the house I live in'.
(b) Umfana lengihamba naye nangu.
'Here is the boy with whom I am
going.

Demonstrative copulatives may also act as demonstratives in which case they also express an ordinary demonstrative meaning. In other words in instances such as this there is no semantic difference between the ordinary demonstrative and their locative demonstrative counterparts. Compare the following examples:

33. (a) Ngifuna nasi sicutfulo. (compare
lesicutfulo)
'I want this shoe'.
(b) Ngitawuhamba nananguya umfana.
(compare loya mfana.)
'I will go with that boy'.

CHAPTER 4

The quantitative pronouns

There are two kinds of quantitative pronouns found in siSwati, namely the so-called inclusive and exclusive quantitative pronouns. Linguists are not unanimous about how these words are presumably constructed. This problem will be dealt with below.

1. The inclusive quantitative pronouns.

The following are examples of inclusive quantitative pronouns found in siSwati:

- | | |
|---------|--------|
| 1. Cl.1 | wonkhe |
| 2 | bonkhe |
| 3 | lonkhe |
| 7 | sonkhe |

1.1. Formation

Some linguists like Ziervogel(1952:60) consider the inclusive quantitative pronouns to be formed by means of a subject concord (i.e. agreement morpheme) plus a formative -onkhe. (Ziervogel does not state what he considers the -onkhe to be). However, most other authors like Doke(1955) and van Eeden(1955) differ from Ziervogel

in that they do not regard -onkhe as a monomorphemic unit but as a pronominal stem consisting of a 'pronominal o' plus what Wilkes (Honours lectures) considers to be a pronominal suffix -nkhe. According to the latter authors these pronouns are constructed as follows:

2. Cl.2 ba + o + nkhe = bonkhe
 3 li + o + nkhe = lonkhe
 7 si + o + nkhe = sonkhe

1.1.1. Table of the inclusive quantitative pronouns in siSwati

3. 1st.p.s.	wonkhe	1st p.p.	sonkhe
2nd p.s.	wonkhe	2nd p.p.	nonkhe
Cl. 1	wonkhe	Cl. 2	bonkhe
3	wonkhe	4	yonkhe
5	lonkhe	6	onkhe
7	sonkhe	8	tonkhe
9	yonkhe	10	tonkhe
11	lonkhe		
14	bonkhe		
15	konkhe		

The form of these pronouns in siSwati differs from that of their counterparts in isiZulu in that the consonant in the nasal compound is a semi-voiced [k] in siSwati whilst

it is ejective plosive in isiZulu.

Note: The orthographic symbols of nasal compounds in siSwati are misleading. Sounds like nkh and mph are written with an h although there is no aspiration at all. Investigation has shown that these sounds are not aspirated but partially voiced. According to Ziervogel (1967:98) the Swaziland administration decided in 1955 to write these symbols this way to distinguish them from their isiZulu counterparts.

In this dissertation it was decided to distinguish these sounds phonetically from their ejective counterparts by using the diacritic sign /v/ underneath them.

1.2 Meaning

The inclusive quantitative pronouns basically signify 'all' and 'the whole' as illustrated in the following examples: -

4.(a) Tonkhe tinkhukhu tifile.

'All chickens have died.'

(b) Sive sonkhe simangele.

'The whole nation is surprised'.

1.3 Syntax

- (a) The inclusive quantitative pronoun can precede or follow its antecedent noun. When preceding the noun the inclusive quantitative pronoun expresses the meaning "all" in case of plural classes and "each"/"every" in the case of singular classes. Compare the following examples in this regard:

5.(a) Wonkhe umuntfu abephetse
likhandlela.

'Every person was carrying a
candle.'

(b) Sonkhe sikolo sinemphatsi waso.

'Each school has its principal''

6. (a) Tonkhe titolo tivaliwe.

'All shops are closed'

(b) Tonkhe tinyoni tiyandiza.

'All birds fly.'

- (b) When following the noun it conveys the idea of "the whole" as in the following examples:

7. (a) Umfula wonkhe ushile.

'the whole river is dry'

(b) Sikolo sonkhe sipheshulwe
ngumoya'

'The whole school was blown by the
wind.'

(c) When preceding vowel commencing nouns in siSwati,
these pronouns tend to shed their terminative vowel
and combine with their coreferent noun. Compare for
instance the following examples:

8. (a) Bayitsetse yonkh'imali

'They took all the money'

(b) Bagome wonkh'umntfwana.

'They vaccinated every child."

(d) Quantifier float

The inclusive quantitative pronoun can also float from
the subject noun to a post verbal position. Compare the
following examples:

9 (a) Emabhasi abegcwele onkhe.

'The buses were full all of them'

(b) Imali bayitsetse yonkhe.

'The money they took all of it'.

Du Plessis and Visser(1992:379) state that in Xhosa the inclusive quantitative pronoun can float from the basic object position, that is the position immediately following the verb, rightward to any of the following positions:

(i) After locative adverbs. Compare the following examples:

10. (a) Utitshala ufuna bonke abafundi
esikoleni.

'The teacher wants all the
students at school.'

(b) Utitshala ufuna abafundi
esikolweni bonke.

The same is true of these words in siSwati. Compare the following siSwati examples:

- 11. (a) Umfana udle yonkhe inyama
ebhodweni.

'The boy ate all the meat in the
pot'.

(b) Umfana udle inyama ebhodweni
yonkhe.

(ii) After ka- adverbs. Compare the following examples:

12. (a) Utitshala ubetha bonke abafundi
kakhulu.

'The teacher hits all the
students hard'.

(b) Utitshala ubetha abafundi kakhulu
bonke.

The same is also true of inclusive quantitative pronouns
in SiSwati. Compare the following examples in this
regard:

13.(a) Bafana bembe yonkhe imigodzi
kancane.

'The boys dug all the holes a bit.'

(b) Bafana bembe imigodzi kancane
yonkhe.

(iii) After NPs denoting time. As in the following
examples:

14.(a) Inkosi ifuna bonke abantu mihla
le.

'The chief wants all the people
always'.

(b) Inkhosi ifuna abantu mihla le
bonke.

The same is also true of the inclusive quantitative pronoun in SiSwati. Compare the following examples:

14. (a) Dokotela utawugoma tonkhe tinja kusasa.

'The doctor will vaccinate all dogs tomorrow'.

(b) Dokotela utawugoma tinja kusasa tonkhe.

(iv) After prepositional phrases. Compare the following examples:

15. (a) Inkosi ifuna bonke abantu ngokukhawuleza.

'The chief wants all the people quickly'.

(b) Inkosi ifuna abantu ngokukhawuleza bonke.

The same is also true of the inclusive quantitative pronoun in siSwati. Compare the following example:

16. (a) BoSidlani bagwaze onkhe emasondvo ngemukhwa.

'The hooligans stabbed all the tyres with a knife'.

(b) BoSidlani bagwaze emasondvo
ngemukhwa onkhe.

Du Plessis and Visser (op.cit.:380) also observe that the inclusive quantitative pronoun may float from the prepositional phrase with na- to a position following a locative noun phrase as the following examples:

17. (a) Ndidibene neetitshala zonke
esikolweni.

'I met all the teachers at
school'.

(b) Ndidibene neetitshala esikolweni
zonke.

The same is also true of the inclusive quantitative pronoun in siSwati. Compare the following examples:

18. (a) Lisela libaleke nemali yonkhe
ebhange.

'The thief ran away with all the
money in the bank'.

(b) Lisela libaleke nemali ebhange
yonkhe.

The exclusive quantitative pronouns.

2.1 Formation

Most linguists are in agreement as far as the structure of the exclusive quantitative pronouns is concerned. These words are formed in much the same way as their inclusive counterparts, that is by means of an agreement morpheme plus a pronominal o plus a pronominal suffix dvwa. The first and second person singular and class 1 have e instead of pronominal o. Compare the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------|---|---------|
| 19. | 1st. p.s. | ngi + e + dvwa | > | ngedvwa |
| | Cl. 5 | li + o + dvwa | > | lodvwa |
| | 15 | ku + o + dvwa | > | kodvwa |

2.1.1 Table of exclusive the quantitative pronouns in siSwati.

20.	1st.p.s.	ngedvwa	1st p.p.	sodvwa
	2nd p.s.	wedvwa	2nd p.p.	nodvwa
	cl. 1	yedvwa	cl. 2	bodvwa
	3	wodvwa	4	yodvwa
	5	lodvwa	6	odvwa
	7	sodvwa	8	todvwa
	9	yodvwa	10	todvwa
	11	lodvwa		

14 bodvwa

15 kodvwa

2.2. Meaning

The exclusive quantitative pronoun basically signifies "only" and "alone" as in the following examples:

21. (a) Ngidle sinkhwa sodvwa.

'I ate bread only'.

(b) Ugcoko ticatfulo todvwa.

'He is wearing shoes only'.

22. (a) Ngihlala ngedvwa.

'I stay alone'.

(b) Babe uwucime yedvwa umlilo.

'Father extinguished the fire
alone.'

2.3 Syntax

(a) Exclusive quantitative pronouns cannot replace nouns. This is evident in the following ungrammatical sentences that would result if nouns were replaced by these words:

23.(a) Ngifuna imali.

'I want money'.

(b) *Ngifuna yodvwa.

*'I want alone'.

24.(a) Bafana bayadlala.

The boys are playing'.

(b) *Bodvwa bayadlala.

*'Alone are playing.

(b) The exclusive quantitative pronouns are in fact determiners of their coreferent nouns. They differ syntactically from the other pronouns in that they cannot function without the presence of their coreferent nouns as illustrated in the following examples:

25. (a) Utele bafana bodvwa.

'he has given birth to boys only'

(b) *Utele bodvwa.

26. (a) Bantfu bodvwa labahluphekalo.

'Only blacks are poor.

(b) *Bodvwa labahluphekako.

(c) When occurring with subject nouns the subject must always be a copulative noun whilst this cannot be so in the case of object nouns. Compare the following examples in this regard:

27. (a) Lituba lodvwa lelindizile.

(it is only the dove that has
flown)

'Only the dove has flown'

but

(b) Sibone tindlovu todvwa.

'We saw elephants only.'

(d) Another important syntactic feature of the exclusive quantitative pronouns is that unlike their inclusive counterparts they may never precede their coreferent object nouns as illustrated in the following examples:

28.(a) Ngigcoke sigcoko sodvwa.

'I am wearing the hat only'.

(b) *Ngigcoke sodvwa sigcoko.

'I am wearing only the hat'.

(e) The exclusive quantitative pronouns differ in another way from their inclusive counterparts in that they can also function adverbially in which case they are separated by the verb from their coreferent noun. In such cases they convey the meaning of 'alone'.

Compare the following examples in this regard:

29. (a) Likhehla lihlala lodvwa.

'The old man stays alone.'

(b) Siphó uhambe yedvwa.

'Siphó went alone.'

(f) A further syntactic difference between the exclusive and inclusive quantitative pronouns is that the inclusive pronouns can also act as numerals with the significance of "only one". In this case the inclusive pronoun occurs with the relative concord. Compare the following examples in this regard:

30. (a) Ngifuna umntfwana loyedvwa.

'I want only one child'.

(b) Kushe indlu leyodvwa.

'Only one house was burnt.'

(g) Quantifier float

Du Plessis and Visser (op.cit.:384) state that in Xhosa the exclusive quantitative pronoun can float from the object position rightward to any of the following positions:

(i) After locative adverbs. Compare the following examples:

31. (a) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe odwa
esikolweni.

(b) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe
esikolweni odwa
'The principal beats only the
boys at school'.

The same is true of the exclusive quantitative pronoun in
Siswati. Compare the following examples:

32. (a) Babe ugawula umtfolo wodvwa
ehlatsini.

(b) Babe ugawula umtfolo ehlatsini
wodvwa.
'Father is chopping only wattle
trees in the forest'.

(ii) After ka-adverbs. Compare the following examples:

33. (a) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe odwa
kakuhle.

(b) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe
kakuhle odwa
'The principal beats only the
boys well.

The same is also true of the exclusive quantitative pronoun in Siswati. Compare the following examples:

34. (a) Gogo utsandza Gugu yedvwa
kakhulu.
(b) Gogo utsandza Gugu kakhulu
yedvwa.
'Granny likes only Gugu the most.'

(iii) After time noun phrases. Compare the following examples:

35. (a) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe odwa
mihla le.
(b) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe mihla
le odwa
'The principal beats only the
boys always'.

The same is also true of the exclusive quantitative pronoun in Siswati. Compare the following examples:

36. (a) Lendvodza idla inyama yodvwa
ekuseni.
(b) Lendvodza idla inyama ekuseni
yodvwa.

'This man eats only meat in the morning.

(iv) After prepositional phrases. Compare the following examples:

37. (a) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe odwa
ngomswazi.

(b) Inqununu ibetha amakhwenkwe
ngomswazi odwa

'The principal beats only the boys with a switch'.

The same is also true of the exclusive quantitative pronoun in Siswati. Compare the following examples:

38. (a) Melusi unisele timbali todvwa
ngemanti.

(b) Melusi unisele timbali ngemanti
todvwa.

'Melusi watered only the flowers with water.

With two objects. Compare the following examples:

39 (a) Ndinika amakhwenkwe odwa
iintaka.

- (b) Ndinika amakhwenkwe iintaka odwa
'I give only the boys birds'.

The same is also true of the exclusive quantitative pronoun in Siswati. Compare the following examples:

40. (a) Make unika bantfwana bodvwa
kudla.

(b) Make unika bantfwana kudla
bodvwa.

'Mother gives only the children
food.

3. The numeral quantitative pronouns

3.1 Formation

The numeral quantitative pronouns are based on the numerals two to five as stems, that is -bili 'two', -tsatfu 'three', -ne 'four' and hlanu 'five'. These pronouns signify plurals only and have forms corresponding to the plural classes. However, in some cases where nouns have singular forms only there may be corresponding quantitative pronouns as in the following examples:.

41. Cl.3 Umusa wombili.

'Both kinds of kindnes.

- 9 Imfe yoyintsatfu.
'All three pieces of sweet
corn.'
- 11 Lutsandvo lolubili.
'Both kinds of love.'

Doke (1963) and Ziervogel (1952) give two contrasting views concerning the formation of the prefix of the numeral quantitative pronouns. Although Doke's view concern these words in isiZulu it equally applies to siSwati pronouns.

3.1.1 Doke's view

According to Doke (op.cit.:96) numeral quantitative pronouns are made up of a pronominal prefix which is made up of a quantitative pronominal prefix plus the adjectival concord with its initial vowel elided. Compare the following examples:

42. Cl.2 bo + aba- > boba-
eg. bobathathu
- 9 zo + ezim- > zozim-
eg. zozimbili
- 11 yo + emi- > yomi- eg. yomine

3.2 Ziervogel's view

According to Ziervogel (1952:61) the prefix of the numeral quantitative pronouns are probably made up of a contracted form of an absolute pronoun stem plus the copulative adjective concord, probably derived by analogy. Compare the following examples:

43. Cl. 2 bo(na) + ba- > boba-
 eg. bobabili
- 4 yo(na) + mi- >yomi-
 eg. yomitsatfu
10. to(na) + tin- >totin-
 eg. totonhlanu

3.3 Meaning

The numeral quantitative pronouns signify "both", "all three", "all four" and "all five". Compare the following examples:

44. (a) Bobabili bafana bafile.
 'Both boys have died'.
- (b) Ngitsengisele totintsatfu
 tinkhomo.
 'Sell me all three cows'.
- (c) Wageze omane emasondvo.
 'Wash all four wheels'.

- (d) Ulimele iminwe yomihlanu.
'He was hurt on all five
fingers'.

3.4 Syntax

- (a) The numeral quantitative pronouns may corefer with subject nouns in which case they precede or follow their coreferent nouns. Compare the following examples:

45. (a) Omabili emehlo abuhlungu.
'both eyes are sore'.
(b) Emehlo omabili abuhlungu.

- (b) The numeral quantitative pronouns may also corefer with object nouns in which case they precede or follow their coreferent nouns. Compare the following examples:

46. (a) Litulu lishaye tindlu
totintsatfu.
'lightning struck all three
houses'.
(b) Litulu lishaye totintsatfu
tindlu.

(c) The numeral quantitative pronouns can also float from their subject nouns . Compare the following examples:

47 (a) Tindlu tinhle totimbili.

'Both houses are beautiful'.

(b) Emantfombatane amitsi omatsatfu.

'All three girls are pregnant'.

(d) The numeral quantitative pronouns can not float from their object nouns . Compare the following examples:

48. (a) Make uncelisa emaphahla omabili.

'Mother is breast-feeding both twins.

(b) *Make emaphahla uncelisa omabili.

4 Qualificative pronouns

Zulu grammarians consider adjectives, relatives, enumeratives and possessives to be qualificatives. Van Eeden (1956:48) defines qualificatives as words that qualify the substantive. The basic position of qualificatives in a sentence is the position before the noun. Compare the following examples:

49. (a) Umfana lomkhulu uhambile

'The big boy is gone'

(b) Inkhomo lebovu itawuhlatjwa.

'the red cow will be
slaughtered'.

(c) Kufe imvu yinye kuphela.

'Only one sheep died'.

(d) Umkhono wami ubuhlungu.

'My arm is painful'.

According to authors like Van Eeden and Doke qualificatives may function as pronouns in certain circumstances. Van Eeden (op.cit.:148) comments as follows in this regard:

" 'n Sintaktiese kenmerk van die kwalifikatief is dat dit volg op die substantief wat gekwalifiseer word; waar dit nie die geval is nie, fungeer so 'n woord nie as 'n kwalifikatief nie maar as 'n substantief, en meer bepaald as 'n pronomien."

' " a syntactical characteristic of the qualificative is that it follows the substantive that is being qualified; where this is not the case such a word does not function as a qualificative, but as a substantive and more especially a pronoun." '

Doke (1963:100) concurs with Van Eeden about the pronominal feature of qualificatives. According to him

"if the qualificative be deprived of its accompanying substantive or if it is placed before that substantive it necessarily ceases to be a qualificative and becomes a qualificative pronoun." The following examples illustrate these two authors' point of view:

50. (a) Inja lemnyama inyamalele.

'The black dog has disappeared.

Lemnyama inyamalele.

'The black one has disappeared.

(b) Umfana munye ubalekile.

'One boy has escaped.'

Munye ubalekile.

'One has escaped.'

51. (a) Lomkhulu umuntfu uhambile.

'The big one, the person has gone'.

(b) Yami indlu yinhle.

' Mine, the house is beautiful'.

4.1 Critical appraisal of Doke and Van Eeden's view on the pronominal function of the qualificatives.

There seems to be nothing wrong with these author's view that qualificatives function as pronouns when their coreferent noun has been omitted (as known information)

in discourse as illustrated in 50 above.

The second environment in which these authors claim these words function as pronouns is, however, debatable. Their claim that these words function as pronouns when they precede their coreferent nouns seems to be unfounded. In actual fact the prenominal movement of the qualificative is to attain emphasis and not for any pronominal purposes. Compare the following examples:

52. (a) Wami umntfwana

'My child (with emphasis on my).

(b) Lomkhulu umfana

'the big boy (with emphasis on big).

Writers such as Doke and Van Eeden give a wrong translation of sentences such as these above. Instead of translating 'wami umntfwana' as above they translate it as "mine, the child" and 'lomkhulu umfana' as "the big one, the boy". They translate pre-nominal qualificatives by means of pronouns. It is probably due to this wrong translation that these grammarians regard qualificatives as pronouns when they occur before their coreferent nouns.

4.2 Differences between the Nguni languages concerning the inflectional features of qualificative pronouns.

The Nguni languages exhibit differences concerning the formation of qualificative pronouns especially the possessive pronouns. IsiZulu and isiXhosa make use of inflectional formatives while on the other hand siSwati and isiNdebele do not have any inflections on the possessive.

In isiZulu and isiXhosa the possessive pronouns are formed by prefixing a-, e- or o- according to whether the noun prefix contains a-, i- or u- respectively as in the following examples:

53. isiZulu: (a) wami > owami
(b) bakhe > abakhe

isiXhosa: (a) zam > ezam
(b) bam > obam

In siSwati and isiNdebele no inflections are added to the possessive in the formation of the possessive pronoun. The possessive is left as it is. Compare the following examples:

54. siSwati: (a) wami > wami
(b) tami > tami

isiNdebele : (a) zami > zami
(b) bami > bami

CHAPTER 5

1. The concordial agreement system in the Bantu languages.

What surely ranks as one of the unique features of the Bantu languages is their so-called agreement system in terms of which all words that are syntactically linked to nouns must formally agree with such nouns by means of what is generally known as concordial agreement morphemes. The type of agreement depends on the kind of word category that is syntactically linked to the noun. The following are the word categories that normally agree with nouns by means of the so-called agreement morphemes:

(a) Verbs

In the case of verbs agreement with nouns is in the form of subject and object concords. Subject concords agree with subject nouns whilst object nouns agree with object nouns. Compare the following examples:

(subject concord): 1. (a) Umfana ushaya inyoka.

'The boy is hitting a snake'

(b) Emanti ayashisa.

'the water is hot'.

(object concord): 2. (a) Umfana uyayishaya inyoka.

'The boy is hitting a snake'

- (b) Likati liyawatsandza
emanti.
'The cat likes water'.

(b) Pronouns

With pronouns agreement with nouns occurs in the form of agreement morphemes. Compare the following examples of absolute and demonstrative pronouns in this regard.

- 3.(a) Bantfu bona .(=ba-o-na)
'People themselves'.
(b) Tifo tonkhe. (= ti-o-nkhe)
'All diseases'.
(c) Tindlu leti. (= la-ti)
'These houses'.
(d) Umuntfu lo (= la-u)
'this person'

(c) Adjectives

Adjectives may agree with nouns by means of adjectival prefixes in the case of copulatively (predicatively) used adjectives and by means of the so-called adjectival concords in the case of qualificatively used adjectives. Compare the following examples in this regard:

- Copulatively used: 4. (a) Umuntfu mkhulu.
'The person is big.'
(b) Sitja sihle.
'The vessel is beautiful'

- Qualificatively used: 5. (a) Umuntfu lomkhulu.
'The big person'.
(b) Sitja lesihle.
'The beautiful vessel'.

(d) Relatives

In the case of relatives agreement with nouns is in the form of relative concords. Compare the following examples in this regard:

6. (a) Umuntfu lomnyama.
'A black person.'
(b) Likamelo lelibanti.
'A wide room'.

(e) Possessives

Possessives agree with nouns by means of possessive concords. Compare the following examples in this regard:

7. (a) Imali yami.

'My money'.

(b) Sinkhwa sami.

'My bread'.

(f) Enumeratives

In the case of enumeratives agreement with nouns is in the form of the so-called enumerative concords of which the form is similar to the real prefix of their coreferent nouns. Compare the following examples in this regard:

8. (a) Umuntfu munye.

'One person.

(b) likamelo liphi?.

'Which bedroom'?.

(g) Copulatives

With the so-called personal copulatives agreement is in the form of object concords. Compare the following examples:

9.(a) Umfundisi ungumelusi.

'The priest is a shepherd

(b) Salukati singumfelokati.

'The old woman is a widow"'.
.

Although grammatical agreement forms an integral part of Bantu grammar very few scholars have thus far taken interest in investigating the possible origin of this unique phenomenon. Two notable exceptions however, are Ponelis (1976) and Givon (1976) who were the first linguists to formulate theories concerning the possible development of verbal agreement in the Bantu languages. Both these scholars are of the opinion that subject and object agreement originated from what they term focus constructions.

1.1. Development of subject agreement

Givon (op.cit.:151) maintains that subject agreement arose from what he calls topic-shifts (TS) constructions . By topic-shifts constructions Givon means the repetition of a topicalized NP (Noun Phrase) in contexts where a gap between the first and subsequent mention of the topic exists and the use of its coreferent (anaphoric) pronoun (AP) only is not sufficient to avoid ambiguity and confusion. Givon (op.cit.:153) illustrates his theory by way of the following example:

10. Context: Once there was a wizard. He was very wise... They had two sons. The first one was tall and brooding... The second was short ...

AP: He lived in Africa.

TS: Now the wizard, he lived in Africa.

According to Givon the topicalised NP in instances such as (10) above is marked or focussed. Speakers, however, eventually began to realize that the contexts in which the TS-subjects occur are much too weak to justify their marked status. They consequently re-analyzed these contexts as neutral syntactic environments. This resulted in their reinterpretation of the topic- subject as 'mere' subject and the topic-agreement anaphoric pronoun as subject agreement morpheme. In other words:

<u>The man</u> , <u>he</u> came TOP PRO	<u>The man</u> <u>he</u> came SUBJ AG
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The morphological binding of the pronoun to the verb as happens in the Bantu languages is according to Givon (op. cit.:155) due to the unstressed status of pronouns resulting in their eventual phonological attrition.

Ponelis (op.cit.:58) holds more or less the same opinion as that of Givon concerning the possible development of verbal agreement in the Bantu languages. Ponelis basis his argument primarily on the Keenan's theory of propositional structure. (Keenan(1972)). According to Ponelis (op.cit.:57) subject agreement in the Bantu languages developed from what once were focus constructions in which the subject concords were primarily used to place focus on the subject. This focus function of the subject concords eventually faded resulting in what we know today as agreement or concordial morphemes. Possible indication of the

estwhile function of the subject agreement morphemes as focus morphemes comes from van Eeden (1956: 65) where he remarks about the concordial linking between subject and verb.

In hierdie verband is betekenisvol dat (rou) Zoeloes wat Afrikaans nog nie goed magtig is nie, hulle dikwels as volg uitdruk: "Die kind hy speel, Die perd hy skop, ens."

[In this regard it is evident that (plain) Zulus who have not yet mastered Afrikaans properly use the following expressions: The child he is playing. The horse he is kicking.]

Bosch (1985:4) using an example taken from Zulu gives a very appropriate summary of Givon and Ponelis' theories concerning subject development in Bantu languages:

Stage 1: Subject agreement morpheme is a focus morpheme and subject is focussed.

11.(a) Umfundi u-ya-funda.

'The scholar he is learning'.

(where umfundi = focussed subject noun

u = focus morpheme.)

Stage 2: Focus morpheme becomes agreement morpheme, subject noun is unfocussed.

11. (b) Umfundi uyafunda.

`The scholar is learning.

(where umfundi = subject noun

u- = Subject agreement

marker.)

1.2.. Development of object agreement.

Givon (1976:15) and Ponelis (1976:58) state that object agreement in the Bantu languages developed the same way as subject agreement did. Object agreement has, however, not yet completed all the stages of its development.

Ponelis (op.cit.57), referring to Northern Sotho, maintains that the object concord acts as a focus morpheme and not as an agreement morpheme when it accompanies an object noun in a sentence. He gives the following examples in this regard but refrained from translating them:

12 (a) Piti o-rata Maria.

(b) Piti o-a-mo-rata Maria.

In the above example according to Ponelis (op.cit.) the object Maria is focussed by means of the object concord mo-.

Ponelis (op.cit.:57) also states that there is a possibility that in due course the object concord in Northern Sotho can develop from being a focus morpheme and become an agreement morpheme as is the case with the subject concord.

Givon's (1976:157 et.seq.) theory corresponds with Ponelis' (op.cit.57 et.seq.). Givon (op.cit.:157) states that in many Bantu languages unmarked object nouns may be interpreted as either definite or indefinite. This is true of siSwati as illustrated by the following example:

13. Ngibulale umfana.

'I killed a/the boy.'

Givon (op.cit.:158) furthermore states that in some languages the object marker is beginning to function as a definitizer of object nouns. In Luganda for instance, this function is confined to negative environments in which the object nouns are preposed. Compare the following Luganda examples taken from Givon (op.cit:158) in this regard:

14. (a) ya-laba omu-sajja

'He saw a/the man.

(b) omu-sajja, ta-ya-mu-laba

'He didn't see the man'

Givon (op.cit.158) states that in Rwanda the object marker as a definitizer has developed a step further in that it is extended to non-negative environments whilst the object noun need no longer be preposed. He gives the following examples:

15. (a) ya-bonye umunhu
 `He saw a man.'
 (b) ya-mu bonye umunhu
 `He saw the man.'

According to Givon (1976:159) the development of object agreement in Swahili progressed even further than in Rwanda in that the object concord in this language is not only a definitizer of non human object nouns but it's use is also obligatory with all human objects regardless whether these nouns are definite or indefinite. this is evident in the following examples cited by Givon (op.cit.:159):

16. (a) ni-li-soma kitabu
 `I read a book.'
 (b) ni-li-ki-soma kitabu
 `I read the book.'
 (c) *ni- li-ona mtu
 `I-past-see person
 (d) ni-li-mw-ona yule mtu
 `I saw the person.'

(e) ni-li-mw-ona mtu.

'I saw a person'

Givon (op.cit.:159) has interpreted the development of the object agreement in Swahili as comprising of three steps. The first step comprised the development of the object agreement morpheme as a definitizer of human objects as in 16(d). This was followed by a second stage in which the object marker lost its function as a definitizer of human objects and became a definitizer of both human and non human objects as in 16(b).

The third step in the development the object agreement in Swahili according to Givon (op.cit.:160) comprised the re-interpretation of the object marker according to which definite object agreement was re-interpreted as human object agreement as in 16(e)

Givon (op.cit.:160) postulates that the next step would be that of removing the restrictive feature [human] and re-interpreting human object agreement as indefinite object agreement. This step is not yet attested in Swahili.

Givons's theory about object development in Swahili can be summarized as follows:

Stage 1	+Obj. Agr. [+ human]	e.g.16(a)
		[+ def]
Stage 2	+Obj. Agr. [± human]	e.g.16(b)
(demarking)		[+ def]
Stage 3	+Obj. Agr. [+ human]	e.g.16(e)
(re-interpretation)		[± def]
Stage 4	+Obj. Agr. [± human]	
postulated		[± def]

From what has been said above it is clear that the Bantu languages are not all on the same level as far as object agreement is concerned. Whilst object agreement is still used as a focus morpheme in languages such as Northern Sotho, Swahili has already reached a stage where object agreement with human objects is a neutral compulsory construction.

According to Bosch (op.cit.:7) isiZulu has reached stage 2 of Givon's postulated development object agreement in the Bantu languages. The same seems to be true of siSwati where the object concord is also used as a definitizer of human as well as human nouns. Compare the following examples in this regard:

17. (a). Ngiyamfuna umfana.[+ human]
 [+ def]

'I want the boy.'

(b) Ngiyayifunainja.[± human]
 [+ def]

'I want the dog.'

Whilst most forms of grammatical agreement in the Nguni languages take place by means of agreement morphemes which closely resemble the so called subject concords in form, the situation is quite different when it comes to the category adjective. Here agreement between the adjective and its coreferent noun takes place by means of the so-called adjectival concords. These concords do not have the same form as the subject concords. This form is more closely related to the form of the noun class prefix than to the form of the subject concords. In the following paragraphs more will be said about adjectival agreement in siSwati.

1.2 The adjectival agreement system in the Bantu languages

The adjectival agreement system differs markedly from the other forms of agreement found in the Nguni languages. Whereas the other forms of agreement in most instances look like subject concords, agreement in the case of the adjectives looks more like noun class prefixes than subject concords. Compare the following examples:

18.(a) Indlu lenkhulu.

'A big house.

(b) Umuti lomuhle.

'a beautiful home'.

The possible reason for this different form of agreement in the case of adjectives could be found in Givon's (1972:430) diachronic interpretation of the possible development of adjectives in Bantu languages.

According to Givon (op.cit.:430) the majority of the few original adjectives that can be constructed from Proto-Bantu were probably derived from nouns through the process of gradual shifting. During this process some noun stems started to be used as modifiers. Noun prefixes lost their noun class characteristics while the nouns underwent semantic bleaching. A noun such as *-bi "child" could have been used to modify the meaning of another noun with the characteristic [+animal]. This would have then entailed a semantic shift from "child" to "young". If such a noun was then further used to modify the meaning of inanimate nouns the meaning could have undergone another change to "new". As the modifying noun undergoes shifting there would also be a gradual wearing away of its class characteristics so that it would agree with the noun antecedent. This could have resulted in the origin of a new word class "adjective" which displays agreement with the head noun by way of a prefixes which is similar in form to the class prefixes. Givon (op.cit.:431) also says that in many Bantu languages today there is a

tendency to treat the adjectival agreement system the same way as the agreement system of the other word categories i.e. by means of concords and not prefixes.

It seems Givon's theory can be successfully applied to siSwati. The fact that the agreement formatives of siSwati adjectives look more like the noun class prefixes than concords is probably because they were derived from nouns through a process of semantic bleaching which was accompanied by a loss of the original noun class characteristics.

Gauton (1990:166) acknowledges Givon's view as far as it applies to isiZulu when she says:

By nadere ondersoek blyk dit dat Givon se teorie rakende die moontlike historiese ontwikkelingsgang vanaf naamwoord na adjektief, in 'n hoë mate deur die Zulufeite ondersteun word. In terme van Givon se teorie, kan Zulu se sogenaamde 'egte' adjektiewe as verteenwoordigend van die oudste vorm beskou word. Stamme soos -khulu "groot", -ncane "klein", -de "lank", -fishane "kort" -bi "lelik, sleg", -hle "mooi, goed", -dala "oud" en -sha "jonk, nuut" het waarskynlik eerste in die nuwe klas adjektief inbeweeg as gevolg van 'n proses van semantiese verbleking wat weer aanleiding gegee het tot

morfologies afslyting. Hierdie woorde se vroeëre status as naamwoorde blyk daaruit dat hulle met behulp van prefikse wat met naamwoordprefikse ooreenkom, met hul naamwoordelike antesedente kongrueer, en nie soos alle ander naamwoordelike bepalers met behulp van skakels nie. Die geslote klas "egte" adjektiewe van Zulu kan dus beskou word as verstarde reste van 'n vroeëre strategie met behulp waarvan adjektiewe vanuit naamwoorde ontwikkel het.'

'It is clear from the recent discoveries that Givon's theory concerns the possible historic development stages of the noun to the adjective, which can be supported more particularly with facts from Zulu. In terms of Givon's theory the so called 'true' adjectives in Zulu can be viewed as representatives of the old form. Stems like -khulu "big", -ncane "small", -de "long, tall", -fishane "short", -bi "ugly", -hle "beautiful, good", -dala "old", and -sha "young, new" have probably been put in the new class adjective as a result of the semantic changes which in turn give rise to morphological wearing out. These words earlier status as nouns proves that they are congruent with the adjectival antecedent with the help of prefixes which agree with the noun prefixes, and not like all other noun determiners

that agree with the help of the so-called links.
The closed class 'true' adjectives of Zulu can thus be viewed as a rigid remainder of the earlier strategy with the help of which adjectives have developed out of the noun.'

2 Conclusion

This chapter may be concluded with a summary of the findings of this investigation. The main aim of this study was to give a detailed description of the morphology, the syntax and finally the semantic function of the different pronouns found in siSwati. Before this was done the modern and traditional views regarding pronominalisation in the Bantu languages were analyzed and evaluated. In the final chapter the views of a number of prominent scholars regarding the possible development of the Bantu agreement system are investigated.

On analyzing the views on pronominalisation in the Bantu languages it was found that the traditionally recognized so-called pronouns in Bantu languages do not replace nouns in sentences but they are nominal determiners which become pronouns only when their coreferent nouns have been omitted in discourse. It was also concluded that pronominalisation in the Bantu languages is not a substitution process but a deletion process whereby nouns are pronominalised by simply omitting them in discourse

in which case their respective agreement morphemes act as their coreferent pronouns.

In the morphological analysis of the pronouns it was concluded that the assumption that demonstratives are formed by means of noun class prefixes is unjustified and that they are formed by means of agreement morphemes.

A syntactical analysis of the pronouns has revealed that the claim that the prenominal movement of qualificatives is not for any pronominal purposes but to attain emphasis.

An analysis of the semantic features of the pronouns has revealed that the so-called absolute pronouns have a dual function, namely to contrast their coreferent noun when they appear in a post-nominal position and to emphasize their coreferent noun when they appear in a prenominal position.

Finally an investigation into the agreement system in Bantu languages has revealed that verbal grammatical agreement originated from what Givon (1976) and Ponelis (1976) term focus constructions. It has also been concluded that the Bantu languages are not all in the same level as far as the development of object agreement is concerned. It was also noted that the adjectival system differs from the other forms of agreement found in

Nguni languages. It was concluded that the possible reason for this difference could be due to the fact that adjectives were probably derived from nouns through the process of gradual shifting as postulated by Givon(1972).

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