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A comparative study of Grammaticalisation in Xhosa and Swahili

(Some aspects of grammaticalisation in a Southern Bantu language, Xhosa, with comparisons to similar processes in Swahili.)

by David Julian Lloyd

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Supervisors: Professor N. Love

Professor S.C. Satyo

Department of Linguistics and Southern African Languages.

University of Cape Town.

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Abstract.

Grammaticalisation is a process of language whereby, *inter alia*, lexical items become more grammatical to the point where they no longer fulfill their original role in the language, and may further reduce to become purely grammatical morphemes indicating such functions as tense, aspect or case.

Applied to the Xhosa language, this study of grammaticalisation has revealed shortcomings in the traditional approaches to description of the grammar based on principles more applicable to the European languages of the Indo-European group. Alternative approaches have been suggested in this thesis which lead the way to a more appropriate description of the grammars of components of the Bantu Language group.

Swahili has been used as a basis for comparison due to its unique position as the oldest written language within the group, and its extensive exposure to influences from other languages with which its speakers have come into contact.

Innovative use has been made of Information Technology in compiling corpora rapidly and of meaningful size to provide evidence from a wide range of texts in support of the arguments presented.
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Julian Lloyd

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Introduction

Section I  Objectives of the thesis.

The objectives of this thesis are, firstly, to carry out a study of the processes of grammaticalisation in a Southern Bantu language, isiXhosa, using, where necessary, Swahili as a basis of comparison.

Secondly, this thesis will examine some of the traditional approaches to the study of the grammar of Bantu languages, and, where appropriate, suggest alternative approaches more suited to the languages of the region.

Section II  Methodology.

II (i). A conventional approach.

The data on which the arguments offered in this thesis are based are extracted from the respective literatures of the languages under discussion. Wherever possible, it has been the policy to use actual quotations, rather than to demonstrate grammatical concepts with contrived sentences, although there are some instances where this has been unavoidable. Thus there is in fact a conventional approach to the analysis of grammatical phenomena, which would not be at all remarkable were it not for the use of electronic tools for the identification of some of the data. The following sub paragraphs of this section discuss some of the more innovative methods employed.

II (ii). Outline of Information Technology innovations used in this thesis.

Continuing rapid advances in Information Technology make it necessary to discuss some of the methods employed in this thesis to gather and assess data. Two issues will be mentioned; the sourcing of information and data bases, and the processing of such data by electronic means.

- Sourcing of information - preparation of corpora.

The collection of data is vital to any programme of research, and it behoves the researcher to use the most effective means available. In the case of this thesis, it was clear that a study of various genres of
literature needed to be undertaken in order to provide meaningful evidence by way of examples used in support of arguments presented. Whilst some quotations used were pinpointed by direct reference to published work, a large number have been sourced electronically.

Programmes are available which enable the researcher to examine in detail any corpus of texts, which, in the case of this thesis and the languages under study were not currently available. Initially, the Xhosa corpus which numbers about 180 000 words was sourced by obtaining texts written by Xhosa-speaking academics and comprised work in progress. Such texts are acknowledged in the bibliography and in the body of the thesis in the conventional way. These texts were augmented by a number of text files obtained by scanning a number of pages of selected books from available published literature and processing by OCR (Optical Character Reader). This method, while contributing considerably to the Xhosa corpus, has the drawback that OCR programmes are infrequently (if ever) oriented towards Bantu languages, and thus have difficulty in recognising 'unusual' consonant clusters or word-initial groupings which may differ widely from those found for example in English.

The problem is further enhanced by poor quality print and paper quality, all of which contribute to text recognition difficulties. Nevertheless an accuracy of about 90% on letter counts can be obtained and this obviously means that a useful contribution to a corpus can be achieved by this method. Editing of errors is then only undertaken when passages are required for extract and quotation. An example of a concordance can be seen in Appendix 7, in which line 15 comprises an unedited line of text scanned from Mqhayi's novel *UDon Jadu* (1929).

The other major source for electronically stored texts is obviously the Internet, but very little material in Xhosa is available, apart from a WebPage run by a literary group in the Western Cape.

The situation regarding Swahili is quite different - a large corpus of nearly 400 000 words was readily obtained from Internet sources, and was drawn from a number of genres, namely:
1. Translation of the Qur'an
2. Translation of St. Luke's gospel, and Book of Revelation
3. Articles of commentary on various religious topics
4. Transcripts of Swahili newscasts from Deutsche Welle, the overseas arm of Voice of Germany.
6. Download of poetry from similar sources.

Such a comprehensive cross section of literary genres gives a useful insight into modern Swahili language usage, and it was felt particularly appropriate to obtain and use Islamic literature in the form of Qur'anic translations, due to the strong influence Islam has had over the development of the Swahili language.

- Processing of data - analysis of the literature.

The attached example of a concordancing programme was mentioned above in connection with OCR procedures, but it also shows the method used for identifying grammatical structures within the texts of the two corpora. In the sample, the word *ukuthi* was sought in the context of the matrix verb *ukutsho* within three places to the left. Any unwanted occurrences of *tsh* (for example in nouns like *isitshixo* or verbs like *-tshisa*) have been edited out.

It is thus possible to make rapid evaluations about the occurrence of constructs in a variety of environments, in isolation or in a particular context, and, at the same time identify a quotation from the literature to support argumentation.

II (iii). Referencing of processed data (problems in acknowledgement of sources).
There is so much benefit to be obtained from the use of large sources of data obtained through media like the Internet, yet no formal way of recognising such contribution has yet been devised.

Clearly where authorship is known or properly indicated, it is a simple matter to acknowledge except for the fact that usually no date is shown, nor conventional publishing house. As the Internet is clearly becoming a form of publishing, it seems logical that it should be recognised as such and be accepted in the conventional position for the appropriate acknowledgement. The lack of date is a bigger problem - until Internet authors indicate the date of placement of their texts in the public domain, it may have to be accepted as *sine anno* or at date of viewing.

Anonymity of authorship is another problem - one source of short stories in Swahili is only identified by the compiler, one Chumvi Mtembezi, whose excellent WebPage explicitly claims anonymity for all the short stories on his page. He, the compiler (editor?) is clearly identified with an e-mail address.

In this thesis, the above example, and others in the same category, have been referenced following as closely as possible traditional lines, in the knowledge that the information so provided is inadequate in terms of customary academic usage, but with the feeling that to exclude such material from consideration prejudices the gathering of meaningful data.

**Section III  Overview of the chapters.**

**Chapter 1.**

In Chapter one, a study is made of the relationship between Swahili and Xhosa, focussing on the linguistic evidence of the geographic presence of the two language groups and making comparisons on the basis of a proto-Bantu word list.

A secondary role of this chapter is to review the criteria which identify a Bantu language and also to clarify the definitions of any terms used in the wider literature which may be problematical when applied to the Bantu languages.
Chapter 2.

This chapter will, firstly, address the concept of grammaticalisation, and will define those aspects of the concept against which the language Xhosa will be tested, and will further determine the limits within which "grammaticalisation" will be understood for the purposes of this thesis.

Related to this outline of grammaticalisation is a discussion on the clitic. As the languages under examination make great use of affixation it is necessary to be clear on the differentiation between this concept and that of the clitic. Their respective roles in Bantu languages are discussed here.

Chapter 3.

The third chapter contains a specific study of the auxiliary verb, with particular reference to its role in the Bantu languages, and an attempt is made to develop a wider classification of the category along the lines first suggested by Pahl (1985).

Chapter 4.

In the fourth chapter, there will be an examination of some aspects of grammaticalisation as it occurs in the Swahili language. This language is to be used as a yardstick against which to compare the processes which have occurred in Xhosa, and was chosen, firstly because of the author's own knowledge of the language, secondly because it is one of the oldest of the Bantu languages which have been written - there are records of Swahili poetry in Arabic script from the ninth century. Thirdly, it is sufficiently closely related to Xhosa, being an Eastern Bantu language, to give a fair basis for comparison, with easily recognisable correspondences.

Chapter 5.

Chapter five addresses the question of grammaticalisation in Xhosa, starting with the verb form, -xala, -‘to stay, remain’, and then examining a number of other auxiliary forms of the Xhosa verb, with emphasis on those which have finite forms synchronically in use.
Chapter 6.

The sixth chapter is headed "reanalysis", and in this chapter, a number of word forms based on nouns which name body parts will be discussed, together with another group, the fossilised locative classes, (Classes 16, 17 and 18), as support for the concept of reanalysis. Discussions of other word categories, such as the development of complementizers from finite verbs like ukuthi, ‘to say’, and ukuba, ‘to be’, will also be included in this chapter. They will be compared with their Swahili counterparts, ambaye, ‘which’, and kwamba, ‘that’.

Chapter 7.

Chapter seven presents a summary of the conclusions reached about the process of grammaticalisation in Xhosa, and the relevance, if any, to the findings vis-à-vis Swahili, and will outline any aspects earmarked for further study.

Appendices.

A number of appendices are attached - these contain data pertaining to the study, and are referred to appropriately in the text.
Chapter 1. **Swahili and Xhosa as close relations.**

1.1. **Introduction**

The chapter opens with a short overview of the probable origins of the Swahili language, largely based on notes by Knappert (1979) and Perrott (1957) (revised 1989), followed by a justification of the choice of Swahili as a language to be compared with present day Xhosa. Next follows a short discussion on the Xhosa people and their tenure of the most southerly part of the Bantu speaking region, and the chapter concludes with an overview of the criteria for membership of the Bantu language family.

1.1.1. **The origins of Swahili.**

From the rain forests of Central Africa, the Bantu peoples gradually expanded in a number of directions during the first millennium (Christian era). Those who reached the Eastern African coast would have built settlements and villages along the coastline, and would at first have had a more or less common language. Knappert (1979:2) says "The Swahili language was not originally composed of diverse dialects... but has always been one linguistic unit which ramified into dialects at a comparatively late date in its history". He goes on to describe four major branches of the language, namely Northern (Bajuni, Barawa), Eastern (Comoro), Western (Congo) and Southern (Msumbiji).

Similarly, Perrott (1951:5), confining his interest to the East African region, identifies **KiUnguga**, the language of the Zanzibar region, **Kimvita**, the language of Mombasa and surrounding hinterland, and **Kiamu**, the language of the island town of Lamu in the north of Kenya (the ancient site of Pate). These three languages now form the basis of Standard Swahili, although the core variety of the standardisation process was **KiUnguga**.

A further useful discussion on the various dialects is to be found in Whiteley's book (1969:4ff) on
the rise of Swahili as a national language. From these three scholars' comments it is possible to construct a table, shown below, which clearly indicates the wide distribution of the language and identifies the importance of the coastal region as the crucible from which modern standardised Swahili has sprung. The coastal dialects can be seen to conform to the distribution of the ancient city settlements of the area, such as Lamu, Pate, Mombasa, Tanga (modern name), Zanzibar and Pemba.

**Swahili Dialects**

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*Note: Underlined labels are geographic regions, not language clusters.*

Much has been said about Swahili over the years - there are those who have claimed it to be a hybrid of Arabic and a Bantu language, and those who claimed it to have "no grammar". Whiteley (1969:8) quotes but does not name a novelist who called the language a "lingual obscenity"! It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that Swahili is a Bantu language in every respect, which has, as have many languages of the world, acquired a rich borrowed lexicon, in which Arabic is
perhaps predominant, but even this predominance may change as the language adapts to meet the needs of modern technology.

Although many Arabic words have found their way into Swahili, a noticeable characteristic is that the words are altered to conform to Bantu language norms. A clear example of this is seen in the Swahili word *kitabu*, class 7, "book", which is derived from the Arabic word *kitaab* (کتاب) formed from the "binyan" or root *k-t-b*. In this example, syllabic structure is adapted to conform with the usual Bantu CV - CV - CV arrangement by the addition of the terminal vowel -u, and by analogy with other nouns in Class 7, the plural form is *vitabu*, "books".¹

1.1.2. *Early written evidence.*

That Swahili is the earliest of the Bantu languages to have developed a written form is unchallenged; what is difficult to assess is exactly by how many years or centuries it preceded its fellow group members. The majority of African (Bantu) languages commenced their written periods with the advent of European colonisation in the latter half of the nineteenth century, coincidentally with the arrival of various missionary organisations whose activities took them further inland as the century progressed. Whiteley (1969:53) reports that the U.M.C.A (The Universities' Mission to Central Africa) established their first station at Mombasa in 1864, reaching Lake Nyasa (now Lake Malawi) in 1881. He further mentions (ibid:69) that the missionaries settled in Uganda only in 1876, from which time they concentrated their early efforts to acquire Luganda, the principal language of the area. Thus, both the learning and transcription of eastern Bantu languages other than Swahili were undertaken considerably later than that of Xhosa, which was first set to mechanical print at Tyhume in 1824. This delay seems to have had the effect of strengthening the position of Swahili, which spread inland from the coastal regions as communication methods such as road and rail systems improved, as the language was seen to

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¹ That this analogous allocation of Bantu plural formatives is common practice is supported by the example in Xhosa, *isikolo, *school" which has as its plural *izikolo*, the nouns residing as in the Swahili examples above, in Classes 7 and 8 respectively.
offer a means of contact between the indigenous peoples and the incoming explorers and traders. Whiteley (ibid:52) points out that the main routes of development were through present-day Tanzania, to both the southern countries of Zambia and Malawi, as well as up to the areas around Lake Victoria. It was no doubt this environment for Swahili whereby it had undergone a steady spread inland that led to the subsequent, often stormy debates which ended with the eventual adoption after independence from colonialism of Swahili as the national language of both Kenya and Tanzania, and a wide usage in Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the Congo.

Although the foregoing paragraphs paint a picture of a well established language fulfilling a need for a language of intercommunication between tribes and external entrepreneurs, (the acceptance of which was no doubt in part due to its similarity to the other Bantu languages of the hinterland), it is necessary to concentrate on the coastal regions to establish the credentials of a written tradition earlier than that which was fostered by missionaries and colonial government officials during the last two centuries. Not unnaturally, such written tradition was in Arabic script, and many examples survive to this day, notably those manuscripts discovered by J.L.Krapf and sent to his colleagues in Germany during the period of his studies between 1850 to 1882 (Whiteley 1969:13).

Whilst these manuscripts predate any examples of Xhosa texts by about two hundred years, they comprise in the main poetic works, largely of a religious nature, of which Bishop Steere (1884:5) says in the introduction to his handbook of the Swahili language:

"(These are)...composed in the old or poetical dialect, which is not now, and I believe never was, thoroughly understood by the mass of the people."

Steere (ibid) goes on to point out the problems of writing, and therefore understanding, a language like Swahili in the Arabic script, mentioning that Arabic has a three-vowel system
whereas Swahili has a five-vowel one, and that the consonants *ch*, *g*, *p*, and *v* are not represented in the Arabic orthography. Notwithstanding these difficulties, scholars have been able to transcribe many of the surviving texts and to confirm their Swahili origin. However, a problem in establishing the exact age of many texts, in their original form, is exacerbated by the customary rules of copyright, wherein the ownership remains within a family, and any alteration or transcription made in the interests of changing tastes are considered acceptable (Knappert 1979:210). Thus he points out, one must view with great circumspection any claims regarding age or even style.

Mention was made earlier of texts sent to Germany by Krapf and others (Whiteley 1969:17) - the oldest is stated to be dated 1728 (ibid:18) - but the earliest text referred to by Knappert (1979:20) as the oldest known Swahili poetry is dated 1652 and is said by him to represent the birth of Swahili literature.

It is reasonable to suppose that the birth of a written literary tradition would commence with the recording of poetry, especially as there has always been a strong oral tradition amongst the Bantu peoples, borne out by the continuance of such traditions amongst those tribes where little or no attention has been paid to the creation of a written literature. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that the Swahili people had been under the influence of Arabic culture since the eighth century AD, it is surprising that more evidence of Swahili writing has not survived - trade and commerce must have involved correspondence, and civic procedures would have no doubt have been recorded. Knappert (1979:5) gives some insight into this possibility when he says that successive generations of Arabs would be "Bantuized", and others would settle, take local wives and be integrated into the coastal population. He points out that the towns along the coast entered a period of great prosperity by the beginning of the thirteenth century, a situation which would most likely have been supported by a written, rather than an oral, literacy.
It is nevertheless difficult to track down any hard and fast evidence of this literacy before the early poems discussed above. Knappert (1979:xiii) makes mention of the possibility of other material in private collections, which are reluctantly, if ever, shown, and also mentions the possibility of unexamined material in Portuguese archives. No doubt the difficulties expressed by Steere and discussed above are still contributory to the absence of any detailed analysis of such material.

The same question is posed by Whiteley (1969:25) who points out that the southern city of Kilwa was a flourishing city state in the middle ages, yet the most extensive record of written Swahili is limited to the most northerly areas around Pate. Certainly it is reasonable to speculate that one reason for the absence of a detailed written history is because of the hostile situation which, for two whole centuries from 1498, existed between Arab and Portuguese occupants of the East African coast from the first, peaceful, Arab incursion in the eighth century to the Portuguese occupation until they were displaced again by the Arabs in 1698. However, it was not until 1728 that the Portuguese finally surrendered that part of the African coastline (Knappert 1979:18). During that period, all coastal city states were frequently sacked and destroyed by the warring parties, which accounts for the loss of much valuable material.

Notwithstanding these territorial upheavals, there is some evidence of the existence of Swahili as early as the 10th century. Knappert (1979:xiv) and Whiteley (1969:32-34) both discuss the fact that the Arabic scholar and traveller, Al-Ma'sudi noted such words (Knappert's interpretation) as mukulu ijulu and kilali, which may be translated as "the Great one above" and "potato" respectively. Whiteley is somewhat critical of Knappert's explanation while noting that the transcriptions are based on a French translation of the original Arabic manuscripts and first publicly discussed by Freeman-Grenville, who in another later work (1988) quotes al-Ma'sudi as saying "the Zanj...have an elegant language", indicating that it is their language which binds the people of the coastal area rather than any political unity.
Another traveller of the period mentioned by Whiteley (1969:28) is al-Idrisi, reputedly a scholar at the court of the King of Sicily, who is credited as the first to record the name Unguja, the ancient (but still recognised today) name for Zanzibar, which is clearly of a Bantu language format. He further listed a number of names for varieties of bananas, some of which, viz. kikonde, sukari are recognisable as names used in Swahili today.

All this evidence, whilst comparatively insubstantial, allows for the assumption that Swahili in a reasonably recognisable form was being spoken along the East African coast at least as early as the tenth century AD, and probably earlier as Arab contact with this part of Africa commenced in the eighth century AD. Furthermore it has at least a four hundred year old written tradition (in Arabic orthography), a considerably different situation from Xhosa whose written tradition stems from the early part of the nineteenth century.

1.2. Justification for the use of Swahili in comparison with Xhosa.

Appendix 6 comprises the data from a study of the two languages based on a word list compiled from Guthrie (1967) and prepared by the Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Botswana. The list is discussed by Batibo (1998) in his article in the South African Journal of African Languages (Vol. 18, No.1.) in which he mentions that some two hundred and fifty words from Common Bantu and Eastern Bantu were carefully selected in order to provide a base list for comparative studies. The list available for this thesis was only two hundred words long and had only thirty three Eastern Bantu words, the remainder being from Guthrie's Common Bantu list. As some words appeared at first to have no reflexes in either Xhosa or Swahili, they were replaced by other words selected at random. The removed words were however added back to the list to avoid a skewed result, and also because it was subsequently decided to include Southern Sotho in the study. The list thus totals two hundred and twenty words of Common or Eastern Bantu in approximately the same proportions as Batibo's original list.
It will be noted from the summary tables which follow the main list in Appendix 6 that the correlation between present day Swahili and the proto-languages is very high - a fact which clearly supports the earlier claim that Swahili is in every way a Bantu language, although there are many borrowings from languages like Arabic. This high correlation may be explained in part by the possibility that the list selected from Guthrie is somewhat biased in favour of words of a strictly "African" nature in the correct belief that such selection would produce a better comparison of languages in terms of their origins, but it may also be explained by the proximity of the Swahili speaking region to the probable points of origin of both Proto-Bantu and Proto-Eastern Bantu. There is support for this argument in the 75% correspondence between Swahili and the rather restricted Eastern Bantu list.

It is interesting to note that Xhosa returns a similarly high percentage of corresponding reflexes, (65%), considering the degree of geographical separation which exists between the two language areas. It is all the more interesting in terms of the very large borrowings of other African languages (not colonial languages which would have introduced terms from widely divergent cultures), notably the Khoisan group from whom all the click sounds have been assimilated. Correspondences in Xhosa lead those of Southern Sotho by approximately seven percent, in spite of an apparently larger borrowed lexicon, which may be construed as indicative of a later arrival in the area.

Regardless of the shortcomings of the investigation, and of the acceptability of the concept of "glotto-chronology" in general, it will be clear that the data reveals a close connection between two language groups located geographically as far apart as is possible given the present distribution of the Bantu languages, which have been separated for at least seven hundred years but more likely closer to 1000-1100 years, as indicated by J. Desmond Clark (1970) on a map accompanying his paper on the history of food crops in "Papers in African prehistory" (1970).
Fage and Oliver, eds.). The following section includes a further discussion on the origins of the Xhosa peoples and their occupation of the south eastern region of the continent.

1.3. **The arrival of the Xhosa in Southern Africa.**

There has always been much speculation as to the origins of the Nguni peoples (of which the Xhosa are a part), both in terms of their geographic origin and of their actual time of arrival in their present location. In this section some of the evidence will be examined which might offer clues to both the length of their residence in Southern Africa and to their possible place of origin.

There seems to be some evidence that there were Bantu speakers in place in Southern Africa at least by the latter half of the first millennium (CE), as measured by study of archaeological remains,\(^2\) in particular pottery styles, but, as pointed out by Mostert (1992:70) extensive cattle keeping was slow to appear in the areas of the northern Natal coast and along the coastline as far as the Great Fish river. This must be considered significant in the light of the importance placed on cattle ownership among the Xhosa people who can be said to have, in Mostert's words (ibid.: 71), a rich ritualistic culture entirely based on cattle.

However, if one accepts the proposals of Greenberg, that the Bantu origins lay in the equatorial rain forests, one must also accept that a cattle culture would only have been acquired after migration into the savannah type grasslands to the south and east, and that such a culture would have only been acquired through contact with practitioners of cattle husbandry who would have had the necessary skills, and livestock, to pass on. Inskeep (1978:125ff) describes four possible models of such contact, explaining that the dispersing proto-Bantu speakers were most likely to have met with Central Sudanic farmers, either by passing through areas occupied by them, or

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\(^2\) The ruins of permanent settlements such as Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe which collapsed towards the end of the 15th century, would support this concept - both names are obviously of Bantu origin, - the explanation of *Zimbabwe* offered by Mostert (1992:77) as *dzimba dzemabwe* ("House of stone")
mingling with them during a southward migration.

Inskeep's first two models deal with the possibility that Bantu expansion comprised groups of people accompanying Central Sudanic migrants on the way south in the first instance, and that they but passed through a static Central Sudanic population in the second, but absorbing something of the cattle culture in both cases. He is, however, hesitant to accept the more probable second option because neither model takes into account any indigenous population occupying the area traversed by the migrant groups. As it is reasonable to suppose that, before the Bantu migrations began, the people of the Southern African region were Khoi-San speakers, it ought to be similarly acceptable to concede that the groups thus encountered would either have co-existed, or been absorbed into the new communities by intermarriage or other means.

There is evidence of both alternatives - the Hadza and Sandawe are still in place in Tanzania today - both are Khoi-San language group speakers, and there is evidence within recent memory of whole Khoi communities, such as the Gonakwa Khoi absorbed by Maqoma into the Xhosa nation (Stapleton 1994:41). Additionally, there is the evidence of the inclusion in the Nguni languages of an inventory of sounds - the "clicks" - which clearly indicates the absorption of at least a portion of the linguistic culture of the aboriginal groups of the area.

As the San at least were hunter-gatherers, they would have practised strict control over the size of their communities in order to maximise the limited resources of their territories - their sparse population would thus have been easily absorbed or depleted by the incoming groups, and the absence of these original people does not seem to offer the problem that Inskeep suggests, given the outcomes documented in the previous paragraph. Likewise one can discount a possible movement too far south of any Central Sudanic speakers - there is no evidence of their presence further south than the Nile headwaters, although there are at least two groups of Cushitic speakers

has its cognates in Swahili, nyumba za mawe, and in the Xhosa word for "stones", amaiye.
(the Iraqw and the Gorowa) found in Northern Tanzania between the towns of Mbulu and Babati.

Of more consequence to this thesis, however, is the question of the time span of the arrival of the Nguni people. It has already been stated that they practise a strong cattle culture - Stapleton (1994:24f) describes the presentation of a much acclaimed bull to Maqoma on the occasion of his circumcision, named Jingqi by his age-mates who adopted the term amajingqi for their support group.

The permanent settlements of Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe have already been discussed - the latter was probably peopled by a group close to the Sotho people of today, a group never as strong in cattle culture as the Nguni, and it is likely that their presence precedes that of the Nguni by some few centuries, a situation that may have pertained up to about the beginning of the tenth century (AD). It was at this point, most historians agree, that a rapid increase in both the cattle and human population of South eastern Africa (now Natal) occurred, probably as a result of a culture of milking with its subsequent increase in the health and general physique of the participants.

Phillipson (1977:204), quoted by Flanagan (1979), says:

"...all that may usefully be said is that, during the period between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries, later Iron Age peoples spread southwards through Natal as far as the Kei river..."

Mostert (1992:71) confirms this view, saying that the most plausible explanation, supported by studies of accumulations of dung in prehistoric cattle kraals, is of a gradual evolution towards the distinctive cattle culture of today.

In the next section, the concept of some linguistic connection between the Xhosa language group
and that of the Central Sudan will be examined.

1.4 Linguistic evidence of contact with Central Sudanic groups.

The introduction of a strong cattle culture has had the effect of leaving traces of the origin of the people and their language, particularly as in other ways the South-Eastern Bantu have been relatively isolated since their arrival in the sub-Zambezi region. The strength of this culture is reflected in the literature - the following quotation from Jordan (1960:113) uses an aphorism for the first light of day being the time when the horns of the cattle are first visible in the kraal:

"Wathi mayivuswe yonke ke uDingindawo, yakhwela emahasheeni, wayikhokela xa kumpondo zankomo, yacanda eNtibane yema kumhiba wamaGcina kwelo thafa liligqaba phezu kwe Xhokonxa."

"Then Dingindawo issued an order that the whole army be put on the alert, and just as night's darkness was beginning to thin, the chief led out his men on horseback. They marched through Ntibane and came to a halt on a flat plain on which there were old ruins, above the waters of the Xhokonxa, in the land of the Gcina clans."

The significance of this metaphor lies not only in its indication of a cattle-dependant culture, but also because it tells us something of the nature of the cattle themselves. Clearly, the horns of cattle which may indicate the breaking day must be up-sweeping - totally unlike the Zebu cattle of the Sotho who, as was suggested earlier, pre-dated the Nguni people in the region. Nguni cattle resemble the type commonly known as Acholi, and also those of the Khoisan who were reputed to have obtained their cattle from the northern parts of Africa.

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3 This translation is from the book by Phyllis Ntantala, (Jordan's widow), published under the title of "Wrath of the ancestors" (1980:120). Whilst not a word for word translation, the work was done with A.C.Jordan's assistance and Ntantala's careful choice of English idiom makes the story every bit as readable as the Xhosa original. The relevant highlighted section is a close interpretation of the Xhosa idiom.

4 The Acholi people of Uganda are an Eastern Sudanic or Nilotic speaking group whose cattle are
The origin of the Nguni word itself for cattle, *inkomo*, is discussed at length by Ehret (1967:5) who points out that the word has passed into the Nguni languages from Khoi, evidenced by the fact that there is no nasal cluster *mb* in the root, although the Proto form would have been *(k)umbi* Other Southern Bantu languages also have the form *-komo* while all languages in the Bantu group north of the Zambesi retain the intervocalic *-mb*- as exemplified by the Swahili word *ng'ombe*.

Of course this would be contrary to the argument that the Nguni had more Northerly connections, were it not for the fact that there is evidence in some of the words used as *hlonipha* words (avoidance of certain forms resembling names of in-laws). Dowling (1988:154) refers to a core list of words by Finlayson which, *inter alia*, shows the term *nombe* as a substitute for *inkomo*. Louw (1978:10) adds the word for milking, *ukukhama*, stating that Xhosa women using a *hlonipha* vocabulary will make this word (generally used by Swahili and other Bantu speakers with this sense) a substitute for the more usual *ukusenga*.

One further piece of linguistic evidence in support of contact with people from the northern sub-Saharan regions is described by Batibo (1998). He describes how certain Botswana languages have retained Eastern Sudanic elements such as *mo-raka* (cattle post), derived from ES *-tanga*, a cow pen. Xhosa also retains this word in the form of *ithanga*, with the same English gloss.

1.5. Conclusions about Xhosa presence in Southern Africa.

The foregoing paragraphs paint a picture of a people with a strong cattle culture which is more characterized by long, up-sweeping horns.

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5 Ehret points out that *m* > *mb* is not obligatory for borrowings into Nguni languages, whereas the reverse applies for Khoisan languages as a general rule.

6 In terms of standard publishers' orthography, there are three forms of the word *ithanga*, all, of course, with different meanings. They are distinguished tonally, *ithanga*, *ithénga* and *ithangá*, and are thus not the homonyms they appear to be.
marked than that of their neighbours, the Sotho people. Whilst their cattle knowledge, and some of the related linguistic units, may have been borrowed from Khoisan speakers, it is not impossible that the contact took place before their arrival in the Southern African coastal regions. Other linguistic traces indicate a contact with more northerly, non-Bantu, groups, a concept which is supported by the physical appearance of the Xhosa cattle themselves.

Earliest records of the Xhosa presence along the South Eastern coast of Southern Africa are only traceable to the 16th century, when the Portuguese explorers visited these regions, but that does not preclude a Xhosa presence several centuries earlier, although southerly progress would have been gradual as families and/or tribes grew, or breakaway groups were formed. Such a scenario is not incompatible with the suggestion of occupation around the beginning of the present millennium (CE).

Xhosa, by virtue of this geographic position, remains a highly structured example of a Bantu language - there have been widespread borrowings into the lexicon, but the grammatical structure remains strongly and typically Bantu. Swahili on the other hand has undergone much change, and, although it retains an unmistakable Bantu character, it has undergone an number of creolisation processes which are in fact ongoing, and which will be discussed in later sections.

This chapter has served to present two languages of common origin, which have been in their respective locations for at least one thousand years, thus having been separated by great distance for somewhat longer, but which show remarkable similarities and equally notable differences. It is these differences which will be analysed in subsequent chapters and about which conclusions will be drawn in the final chapter.

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7 The Khoisan themselves obtained their cattle (and their word for them) from the Eastern Sudanic region (Ehret (1967:6)) but he makes it clear (ibid:2) that the milking of cattle was spread by one Bantu group - this ties in with the concept of the arrival of a well-nourished and prosperous Nguni group in the
1.6. **The principal criteria which determine the Bantu languages group.**

1.6.1. **Historical.**

The exploratory journeys into many parts of sub-Saharan Africa which ended in the latter part of the nineteenth century had led to considerable expansion of missionary work, and along with it, a growing interest in the large number of languages which the travellers encountered. Numerous dictionaries and grammars were produced, and it became obvious that there were many similarities between the various tongues encountered.

In 1862, Bleek, mentioned by Meinhof (1932:21) as "the pioneer in Bantu Philology", drew attention to the family resemblance of these widely separated languages. One of the best known lists of criteria is however that produced by Sir Harry Johnstone (1919:18) who proffered twelve characteristics which were common factors in languages considered to be of the same Bantu language family.

It is not necessary to reproduce these criteria here - in any case, not all of them would stand up to modern linguistic scrutiny, a fact which was recognised by Guthrie (1948:10), who reduced the list to two parts, principal and subsidiary criteria, the main characteristics being as shown in the next section.

1.6.2. **The criteria for membership of the Bantu language family.**

1.6.2.1. A system of grammatical genders, at least five in number, with the following features:

- Each gender is paired into two classes, indicating singular and plural,
although some classes, such as the abstract class, may have no plural.

Each gender is marked by a specific prefix, (a list of which may be seen in Appendix 5), by which the gender, and the class (singular or plural) may be identified. The modern approach is however to consider each class separately, thus Class 1 is a singular class, and Class 2 its corresponding plural class, e.g.

Class 1. \textit{um -ntu} 'a person'

\text{C1PREF-person}

Class 2. \textit{aba -ntu} 'people'

\text{C2PREF-person}

The class prefix motivates mandatory agreement between the word and any dependent speech category, such as verbs or any qualificative such as an adjective, relative or enumerative present in the sentence (6), as shown below:

(6) \textit{umntu omkhulu uyafika}

\text{C1PREF-person C1AGR-big C1AGR-ASP-arrive}

'The big person arrives.'

There is no relationship between the class genders and any sex differentiation. Guthrie (1948:11) says "or with any other clearly defined idea", but remnants can be seen to indicate that, at least originally, there was an attempt to place nouns in classes according to corresponding concepts. Thus, Classes 1 and 2 remain clearly "people" classes, although not without exceptions.
1.6.2.2. A vocabulary of which a sizeable portion can be related to a set of common, but hypothetical roots within the Bantu family.

1.6.2.3. The two subsidiary criteria deal with the structure of the radicals - comprising a CVC construction to which grammatical suffixes may be added to form a verbal base, or by the addition of a lexical suffix to form a nominal stem. Verbal extensions may be inserted between the radical and the terminating suffix. Radicals without prefixes are only found as verbal interjections, i.e. imperatives.

The vowel system is balanced, an open 'a' and an equal number of back and front vowels either side.\textsuperscript{8}

1.6.3. \textbf{Relevance to this thesis.}

The features which will concern this thesis most are those which address the question of noun classes and their requirement that other speech categories are made to agree by means of prefixes - these are the characteristics which most clearly mark a Bantu language, and are thus the features which allow a detailed comparison to be made between the subject language, Xhosa, and Swahili, another language within the Bantu family, with additional reference to areal neighbours where such comparisons are relevant.

\textsuperscript{8} Finlayson (1990:48) shows the Xhosa [a] as low, central. Traditionally it is considered to be a little further back than the cardinal position defined for this symbol (c.f. Ladefoged, 1982:34).
Chapter 2.

2.1. **Introduction - the concept of grammaticalisation.**

This chapter will, firstly, address the concept of grammaticalisation, and will define those aspects of the concept against which the language Xhosa will be tested, and will further determine the limits within which "grammaticalisation" will be understood for the purposes of this thesis.

A secondary role of this chapter is to review the criteria by which clitics and affixes are defined and also to clarify the definitions of any other related terms used in the wider literature which may be problematical when applied to the Bantu languages.

This section comprises a short overview of the concept of grammaticalisation, and of reanalysis, whether the latter is a part of the former, or an independent process, and how the overall process accounts for linguistic change.

2.1.1. **Definitions.**

In their preface (1993:xv), Hopper and Traugott define grammaticalisation as ‘the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalised, continue to develop new grammatical functions’.

Another definition, that of Kuryłowicz (1965), is quoted by Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991:3), as follows:

“Grammaticalisation consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.”
Attributing the term “grammaticalisation” to Meillet, Hopper and Traugott (1993:18) quote a section of his definition, thus: “the attribution of grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word” (Meillet 1912:131). These definitions do not oppose one another to any great extent, thus this thesis will, for the most part, follow that of Kuryłowicz (1965), as this is considered a classical definition.

The next section presents a historical overview of the topic.

2.1.2. Some history of grammaticalisation.

Clearly, from the above, Meillet was the one who gave the name of “grammaticalisation” to the theory, and he therefore ranks as the founder of the modern outlook, but as pointed out by Hopper and Traugott (1993:18), he modelled his ideas on the works of von Humboldt (1825) and Gabelentz (1891). However, a more detailed historical section in Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991:5) points out that the Chinese were aware of the concept of ‘full’ and ‘empty’ symbols (equating, it can be accepted, with lexical and grammatical items) as early as the tenth century.

Scholars such as Condillac (1746) and Horne Tooke (1786) recognised that inflectional and derivational forms could be fragments of earlier words, while Bopp (1816, 1833) presented examples of the development of lexical material to auxiliaries, affixes and inflections.¹

Up to this point then, the concept of grammaticalisation is one of movement of lexical items into the grammatical structure, and therefore one of the factors responsible for language change. The simple example of the English verb ‘go’ (purposive be going (to...)) > auxiliary be going to) used by Hopper and Traugott (1993:1), can be compared with the development of the future tense in some African languages, which use the equivalent verb for the purpose. In Xhosa, the finite verb, ‘to go’ is represented by -ya:

¹ Here, Hopper and Traugott (1993) have taken a different approach to that of Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991:9), who say that Meillet followed Bopp rather than Humboldt in using grammaticalisation in historical linguistics.
(1). (a) *Ndiya eDiken i*

1st.Pers-PRES.go LOC-Alice-LOC.TERM

'I am going to Alice (E.P.)'

(b) *Ndiya kuya eDiken i (xa kukho imfuneko)*

1st.Pers-FUT INF-go LOC-Alice-LOC.TERM

'I am going to go to Alice (when the need arises).'

(c) *Ndiya kuthenga inkomo*

1st.PERS-FUT INF-buy C9-cow

'I am going to buy a cow.'

In (1)(a), the same purposive usage as in English is seen, while in (1)(b) the transition has taken place to auxiliary (the adverbial phrase in brackets is added to make the sentence more "natural" Xhosa; it would otherwise seem a stilted construction. It serves, however, to demonstrate the transition.) In (1)(c), the process is complete and the use of -yza is entirely auxiliary. Reanalysis has occurred in the same way as in English - (1)(a) meant [going] to Alice, whereas (1)(b) and (1)(c) are re-analysed to [going to] go, buy, etc.

By way of contrast, the same structure in Swahili may be examined - here the verb 'to go' is *-kwenda* (the root is *enda* but, being a vowel-initial verb, the infinitive *ku-* remains attached):

(2) (a) *Ninakwenda Nairobi*

1st.PERS-PRES.go Nairobi

'I am going to Nairobi.'
(b) *Nakwenda Nairobi*

1st.PERS-FUT.go Nairobi

'I will go to Nairobi.'

There is no auxiliary used here - the future tense in Swahili is marked by the affix, -ta, grammaticalised from the verb, -taka, (Heine, Claudi & Hümmer, 1991:175), as shown in (2)(b), but it is possible to reconstruct the path along which the affix developed by suggesting (2)(c):

(2) (c) *Ninataka kwenda Nairobi*

1st.PERS-PRES.want INF-go Nairobi

'I want to go to Nairobi.'

The use of -taka in the sense of 'I want...' is purposive, but the verb re-analyses to [I want to] in its affixal form.

These examples serve, as do their English counterparts, to illustrate some of the seven typical factors in grammaticalisation outlined by Hopper and Traugott (1993:3) but they only represent a limited notion of the theory, viz. that the lexical item becomes grammaticalised, and thereby expands its distribution. But the very nature of this expansion must be motivated by meaning, thus the study moves into the semantic/pragmatic realm. This outlook will be developed in the next section.

2.1.3. **Some more recent history.**

In their review of more recent events in the development of grammaticalisation as a school of thought,

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2 Not all of the seven factors necessarily apply to the Bantu languages, but the most important ones which compare directly are these: 1. There is an inference of futurity from purposive verbs. 2. The process has reanalysed both the components, viz. the new auxiliary and its complement (*ninataka*/kwenda*] > *ninataka kwenda* > *nitakwenda*). 3. The process becomes manifest because the following verb is incompatible with a purposive meaning. 4. Reduction of the new auxiliary can occur - *ninataka* has reduced to *nita-... 5. The lexical and grammaticalised forms can and do coexist.
Heine, Claudi & Hünnefelder recall the oft-quoted saying of Talmy Givón, "today's morphology is yesterday's syntax" (Givón 1971b:413), calling to mind his argument that in the process of grammaticalisation, a more pragmatic mode of communication gives way to a more syntactic one.

That is exactly what was demonstrated in sentence 2 (b) & (c) above, where the development of the Swahili future tense affix -tta- from the finite verb -taka 'to want' was shown. Expressed diagrammatically, the process has passed through the first three stages of the following:

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Discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero
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What is important here is that there is a move from the simple reanalysis of lexical material as grammatical material, but as Heine, Claudi & Hünnefelder say (1991:13), one must "encourage a view of grammaticalisation ... as the reanalysis of discourse patterns as grammatical patterns and of discourse-level functions as sentence-level, semantic functions." (At least three papers of Hopper's - 1979a, 1979b and 1982 are quoted in support of this argument, and, further on (ibid:14), Traugott's concern with the principles of meaning change in the process of grammaticalisation (1980:46) is discussed.)

2.1.4. **The focus of this thesis on aspects of grammaticalisation.**

The above discussion shows that there are a number of concepts of the process known as grammaticalisation. But, as Hopper and Traugott, (1993:4) point out, there are prototypical instances of grammaticalisation which most linguists recognise, and it is these instances which will be focused on in this thesis.
The most obvious of these instances, and the one which will be explored in detail, is that grammatical items have their origin in lexical items, a concept which Hopper and Traugott (1993:2) define as: "...that subset of linguistic changes through which a lexical item in certain uses becomes a grammatical item, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical."

As discussed earlier in this chapter, reanalysis is a factor in the development of grammaticalised forms. Cowie (1995:184) sums up the argument for the grammaticalisation of the French negator pas 'step' (also discussed by Hopper & Traugott (1993:58)) by saying that the particle "...which at first plays the role of negative reinforcer only in the context of verbs of movement...is generalised to verbs to which its attachment would be semantically inappropriate...(It) is clear that pas has been reanalysed as a negative particle; but that is only clear because of the analogical extension to non-movement verbs."

In Xhosa, the noun, umva, 'rear, back' has undergone a similar process. From umva kwendlu, 'the rear of the house' a locative form is derived: emva kwendlu, 'at the back of the house'. By analogy the construct has become useable as a temporal expression, emva koko, 'after that'. The process is identical to that described above - the noun umva is first reanalysed to the role of adverb of place as emva (the locative formative e- replacing the Class 3 pre-prefix), then, by analogy, the use of the construct is semantically broadened to take in the notion of temporality, seen in expressions like emva koko, 'after that' and emva kwemini, 'in the afternoon'.

The changes to which a lexical item is prone, Cowie argues (ibid), are determined by the original grammatical category; Hopper and Traugott discuss this further (1993:84) using the English word while as an example. Their examples are selected from Old English of the 10th century and later, nevertheless a number of conversational inferences from the use of the word while can still be found today, as can be seen from the English gloss of the set of examples in 3 (a), (b) and (c).

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3 The locative usage of the construct remains extant, although most speakers would categorise it, and the temporal form, as adverbial, strengthened, no doubt, by the requirement that the locative noun be followed by the possessive kwa- and another NP.
These examples, together with those in 4(a),(b) & (c) are chosen to show how these different conversational inferences are handled in the respective languages - one language, Xhosa, uses three distinct and unrelated constructions to convey the concepts, while the second, Swahili, has grammaticalised one construct to perform the same task. In Xhosa, the lexical item *ilixa* (Class 5 noun: 'time') has provided a number of grammaticalised constructions, perhaps the most common being *xa* used as a conjunctive indicating spontaneity as in 3(a) below. 3(b) shows that Xhosa uses a grammaticalised verb, *ukuba* 'to be', in its locative form, *ekubeni*, as an equivalent to *while* for use with spatial or situational verbs and 3(c) demonstrates the third, concessional form of *while* by using the conjunctive *nangona*. (Coincidentally, another grammaticalised (but covert insofar as it totally resembles the original) form of *ukuba* appears as the complementiser in 3(c). This form will be discussed in a later chapter, and is not relevant to the present discussion.)

(3)  

(a)  

*woysisa bubuthongo xa wayesafunda*  

PAST-bring-PASS COP-C14-dream while PAST-he-still-read  

'He fell asleep *while* he was reading.'

(b)  

*wayefunda egumbini ekubeni abanye babesebenza esiityeni*  

PAST-he-learn LOC.C5-room-LOC.TERM LOC-be-LOC.TERM C2-other C2-PAST-work LOC.C7-garden-LOC.Term  

'He studied in his room *while* the others worked in the garden.'

(c)  

*nangona ndivuma ukuba usebenze kakhulu...*  

while 1st.PERS-PRES.agree that 3.PERS-work.PAST ADV-well  

'While I agree that he worked well...'

As indicated above, reanalysis of the usage of the word *while* in English⁴ has taken place, as apparent

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⁴ Traugott and König, writing in *Approaches to grammaticalisation*, (1991), (Traugott & Heine, eds.) discuss how the OE *wile* loses the precise simultaneity of the first example, and in fact, in the second example, it is as if it refers to the two different places preferred as much as any reference to the time at which the actions take place. Hence the description of spatial or situational has been used.
from the gloss supplied with the Xhosa examples, whereas the three concepts in Xhosa itself are expressed by using different words. However the examples of similar sentences in Swahili show that it is possible in some Bantu languages to have a reanalysis process akin to that seen in English:

(4) (a) Alikuwa na usingisi alipokwa akisoma
3PERS-PAST-AUX CONN C14-sleep(iness) 3PERS-PAST-ASP.TIME-AUX 3PERS-ASP-read

'He fell asleep while he was reading.'

(b) Alijifunza chumbani walipokwa wakifanya kazi bustani wengine

'He studied in his room while the others worked in the garden'

(c) Ijapokwa nimekabali kwamba alifanya kazi yake vizuri...
CONJ.CONCESSION 1PERS-PERF-agree COMP 3PERS-PAST-do C9-work C9.AGR-POSS.PRN ADV-good

'While I agree that he worked well.'

The above examples serve to confirm that a relationship exists between grammaticalisation and reanalysis - but that it is difficult to keep the two concepts clearly separated is borne out by the comments of Heine & Reh, (1984:95) who say that by some definitions reanalysis "appears as a concept which is largely synonymous with our term "grammaticalisation"", and later explain the need to differentiate on the basis of the evolution of lexical and grammatical morphemes on the one hand, and syntactic or pragmatic structures on the other. Cowie (1995:184) identifies the same problem, observing that not all cases of reanalysis are cases of grammaticalisation, but points out that "analogical extension is the key process that may push a reanalysis down the path to grammaticalisation" - this is the object lesson of all the above examples.

It makes sense to follow this definition of discrimination for the purposes of this thesis, and thus the function of Chapter 5 will be to examine such morphosyntactic processes as cliticisation and affixation
(cited by Heine & Reh, (1984:17) as processes of grammaticalisation), and in Chapter 6 the concept of reanalysis will be further addressed by a study of the transformation of certain Xhosa structures to demonstrate the strategy which Heine & Reh (1984:97) call ‘syntactic transfer’.

2.1.5. The concept of clines.

The discussion of grammaticalisation is concluded by a short review of the concept of clines, and a comparison with the term "channel", preferred by Heine & Reh (1984). The diagram on page 22, above, illustrates what Hopper and Traugott (1993:6ff) describe as a cline, pointing out that forms do not shift abruptly from one category to another, but pass through a series of transitions. It must be appreciated that the positions on the cline are not necessarily clear-cut, but will show variation from language to language, or even from category to category within a particular language. The discussion of clitics in a later section of this chapter demonstrates this clearly.

This concept of clines is similar to the approach of Heine & Reh (1984:113) who use the term 'channel' to describe much the same phenomena - they suggest that languages have several options to choose from in order to introduce a new category - these channels may have morphological features, or as we saw in example sentence (2) above, (and repeated below as (5), for convenience), may be motivated by semantic considerations. Thus the derivation of certain affixes, such as the future tense morpheme in Swahili illustrated in that sentence (examples b and c), follows a channel of verbal reanalysis from finite verb, through use as an auxiliary, to the final affix.

(5) (a) Nitakwenda Nairobi

1st.PERS-FUT.go Nairobi

‘I will go to Nairobi.’
(b) Ninataka kwenda Nairobi

1st.PERS-PRES.want INF-go Nairobi

'I want to go to Nairobi.'

This compares directly with Hopper and Traugott's notion as expressed in the following diagram, and thus justifies the claim that the two concepts are sufficiently similar to be considered as effectively interchangeable for the purposes of this discussion:

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Verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix
```

2.2. Differentiation of the terms "clitic" and "affix".

If we are to accept the idea of Hopper and Traugott (1993:108) that grammaticalisation follows a cline which may be depicted as shown in the diagram at the end of the last section, then it is necessary to be clear as to the meaning and function of the component parts of the cline. Whilst the concepts of finite and auxiliary verbs obviously present few problems, the same is not true of clitic and affix when taken in the context of Bantu languages.

2.2.1. Zwicky & Pullum's six criteria for clitics.

Zwicky & Pullum (1983:503) as quoted by Katamba (1993:246) have six criteria by which they test whether a construct is a clitic or an affix. These are summarised here:

1. Selectivity. Clitics have a low degree of selection relative to their hosts, affixes are highly selective.
2. Arbitrary gaps. There are more arbitrary gaps in affixed word groups than in clitic groups.

3. Morphological idiosyncracies. These occur more frequently among affixed words than among clitic groups.

4. Semantic idiosyncrasies. Likewise, these are more characteristic of affixed groups.

5. Syntactic rules. These affect affixed words, not clitic groups.

6. Attachment. Clitics may attach to cliticised words, whereas inflectional morphemes may not be added. (This, and the previous two criteria apply more to English, as will be shown.)

However, Katamba uses English examples to support his discussion of these criteria, and thus misses the opportunity to fault them as universal concepts if they do not measure up when applied to other, particularly Bantu, languages. Considering Katamba's examples (1993:247) for the first criterion, it is noted that examples of auxiliary verbs, cliticised and attached to various speech categories, are used:

a. Preposition  The house Marie was born in's been demolished.
b. Verb  The jug she sent's lovely.

Because of the structure of a Xhosa sentence, and, in particular the form of the auxiliary, *ukuba* 'to be', it would be impossible to find a contraction and cliticisation of the type described by Katamba in that, or in any other Bantu language, as can be seen from the approximate equivalent:

(7)  Ingqayi ayithumele  yena  intle


'The jug she sent is lovely.'
It could be claimed that the Xhosa equivalent of the English ‘is’ in this sentence is in fact criticised, as its construction, as shown, is a copulative affix attached to the adjectival stem, -hle, ‘lovely’. Most Bantu languages use some form of copulative for the Present tense equivalent of ‘to be’; here Xhosa is no exception, whereas Swahili uses a similar copulative formative which may however alternate with an invariable -ni unless the complement is [State] or [Condition], e.g. ni mbovu ‘it (a tree) is rotten’.

2.2.1.1. **Affixes are selective, clitics are not.**

The first criterion, which states that affixes tend to be very selective, is certainly true for Bantu languages - because these languages are noun-based systems with concordial agreement, (an outline of which has been discussed above under the heading of Bantu language criteria), few affixes are able to attach to a wide range of word categories at will, being limited to those for which they are purpose-designed. For example, -w-, the passive morpheme in many Bantu languages, may only follow a verb root, albeit sometimes separated from it by other verbal extensions, and may not attach, for example, to a noun, as shown in (8) and (9) below:  

(8)  
\[ \text{Inkomo } ithengwa \quad yindoda. \]

C9-beast AGR-buy-PASS C9.COP-C9-man

‘The beast is bought by the man.’

(9)  
\[ \text{Inkomo } ithengiswa \quad yindoda. \]

C9-beast AGR-buy-CAUS-PASS C9.COP-C9-man

‘The beast is sold by the man.’

---

5 It makes no sense to offer an example in Xhosa where a passive extension is attached to another speech category. It would not be possible to describe its morphology, nor to attach a meaningful gloss. It is not however implied that the formative is not seen in verb-derived nouns, e.g. isithandwa ‘beloved one’, where the attachment takes place in the original verb form.
Bantu language clitics, such as the example of the Zulu clitic -ke, discussed by Taylor (1989:179), have the primary function of speech embellishment (Taylor (ibid) points out that clitics do not affect word meaning or function, but have more to do with text structure or speaker attitude). They therefore tend to be relatively free of such selectivity as was demonstrated for the passive morpheme and may attach to many different word categories:

(10) \textit{Ngubani-ke igama lakho?}  
COP-who-then C5-name AGR-2PERS.Poss  
'What's your name, then?'

(11) \textit{Yeboke!}  
yes-then  
'OK, then.'

2.2.1.2. The second criterion - arbitrary gaps.

The next criterion of Zwicky & Pullum (ibid) is that there are more arbitrary gaps in groups of affixed words than in clitic groups. Xhosa confirms this concept with verbs like ukufa (to die). It could be expected that a full range of extensions could apply, as to any finite verb, but the list reads thus:

\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
-\text{fa} & -\text{fisa}^7 & -fela & -fiwa & -\text{fana} & -\text{feka} \\
( no ext. ) & Causative & Applied & Passive & Reciprocal & Neuter \\
\end{tabular}

showing that the reciprocal form is not allowed, and the causative and neuter forms are, at best, doubtful starters. The causative of this verb, ukufa, (to die) is replaced with another verb, uku-bulala, 'to kill'.

---

6 Zulu and Xhosa are closely related languages of the Nguni language group. To all intents and purposes, what pertains in Zulu is the same in Xhosa, thus where an author uses Zulu as an example, it will be considered as though it were an example in Xhosa.
2.2.1.3. **Morphological idiosyncrasies.**

The third criterion, that morphological idiosyncrasies, like English plurals *sheep, deer*, for example, are more characteristic of words with affixes, is barely an issue in Xhosa, due to the nature of the language which has few if any deviations from the regular inflected forms. Such changes do appear follow general phonological rules of voice assimilation, a feature, according to Katamba (1993:247), of clitics.

2.2.1.4. **The remaining criteria for clitics.**

The remaining three criteria are all explained by Katamba (1993:248) as being exemplified by the cliticised form of English auxiliaries, *have* and *be* (is) as in *I've not finished yet* or *My mother's late again*. Such examples of cliticisation invariably comprise the loss of a vowel whereas the strict CV rule of Bantu languages prevents the appearance of this phenomenon in those languages.

2.2.2. **Clitics in Bantu languages.**

Turning to the Bantu languages literature, some dissent as to the nature of the term *clitic* can be seen. Du Plessis and Visser (1992:11) use the term to describe the object concord, a construct generally considered to be an affix by most other writers, but make no comment as to the nature of *-nje* (ibid:177). This latter is a special clitic,\(^8\) carrying the meaning of *thus, simply, merely, or yet* if used with a negative sentence:

\[
\text{(12) } \quad \text{Bemvle nje.}
\]

PAST-AGR-hear-PERF.TERM ADV.CLIT

'Having heard him thus.'

---

\(^8\) Katamba (1993:246) defines the special clitic as one which is not a contraction of an existing word, but which must be bound to some other word category, rather unselectively, as was shown in the example from Taylor (1989) above.
(13) *Ningeva nje.*

2PERS.PL-NEG-hear ADV.CLIT

'Yet you don't listen.'

By way of confirmation, it is noted that Lombard, (1985:176) identifies two "clitic particles" in North Sotho with the same function:

(14) *Ke a sepela ge.*

(ek loop *nou maar*)

'I am going now then.'

(15) *Nthuse hle*

(help my *asseblief tog*)

'please help me then.'

2.2.3. The policy within the scope of this thesis.

The most logical way to treat the problem seems to be to adopt the policy that, in Bantu languages, the terms, *simple clitic* and *special clitic* should be applied as follows: the term *special clitic* will be used to describe one which has invariable shape, (such as seen in the sentences 6 - 9) and may join with a wide range of word categories, whereas the term *simple clitic* will refer to the attachment of a portion of a structure such as an auxiliary, to the structure of its complement when in its independent form. An example of this is given in sentence (16) where the auxiliary *-sala* 'already' is attached to its finite verb:

(16) ...*Ngokuthetha ngeminwe nezinye iimpawu waba seleqondana*

evana nosapho lwakhe kungagqithanga veki zimbini.

3PERS.PAST-be AUX-already-understand-RECIPR
'Before two weeks had passed, she and her group were already able to understand one another by speaking with their fingers and using other signs.'

(Sinxo, G.B. 1980:7)

The next chapter moves into more specific studies of the topic of this thesis, and commences with a detailed examination of the role of the Auxiliary in the Bantu languages.
Chapter 3. The role of the auxiliary in Bantu languages.

3.1. Introduction

Before continuing with an examination of the various Xhosa or Swahili structures which are liable to the process of grammaticalisation, it is necessary to clarify some aspects of the Bantu languages in general, insofar as they are relevant to these discussions. In Chapter 1, an outline was given of those criteria which characterise the Bantu language family, and in this chapter, a comparison will be made between some general aspects of languages, and their application in the Bantu languages. The principal aspect to be examined in this chapter will be the concept of the Auxiliary.

3.1.1. The auxiliary in Bantu languages.

In the opening chapter of his book Auxiliaries, Heine (1993:4) says the following. It is so appropriate to the discussion of auxiliaries in Bantu languages that it is quoted in full:

"In many languages, experts will disagree with one another in defining the term auxiliary, or in determining the range of entries that should be subsumed under this label, or in deciding whether there is a need for such a label in the first place. While some argue or imply that auxiliaries must exhibit verblike features to some extent, others maintain that this is in no way essential to their nature."

Heine continues (ibid) by saying that auxiliaries, for his purposes, are associated with a limited range of notional domains such as tense, aspect and modality, but an examination of the Appendices 1 and 2 will show that, at least in Xhosa and Swahili, such a narrow definition will not suffice.
Indeed, both languages have just such a set of auxiliaries, as listed in the respective section 1, exemplified in Swahili by -kuwa, "to be", in (1), and in Xhosa by ukuba, "to be" in (2):

(1)  Alikuwa  na  usingisi  alipokwaa  akisoma

3PERS-PAST-AUX  CONN  C14-sleep(mens)  3PERS-PAST-ASP.TIME-AUX  3PERS-ASP-read

'He fell asleep while he was reading.'

(2)  Ndiya  kuba  ndithetha

1PERS-AUX; AUX2-INF-be  1PERS.PART-speak

'I will be speaking.'

This use of auxiliaries is not of such interest in Bantu languages, however, as it fits in with the more widely accepted view about the category, complying, as it does, with a number of the attributes listed by Heine (1993:22ff) as being typical of a large sample of languages not restricted to the European language groups. Such attributes include the following:

(a) They are neither clearly lexical nor clearly grammatical items.

(b) Typically, they may only associate with a restricted range of tense/aspect distinctions and/or verbal inflections.

(c) They may not be passivised.

(d) They do not have imperative forms.

(e) Subject agreement is usually marked on the auxiliary, not the main verb (True at least for Swahili and Xhosa and any other language which uses the form Aux + Infinitive).
(f) They tend to occur in a fixed order and fixed position in the clause.

(g) The main verb is likely to be nonfinite, with a morphological marker such as a nominal, infinite participial or gerundival form.

There are other attributes not noted by Heine - in Xhosa at least, an additional attribute should be added: that the subjunctive mood is frequently found following an auxiliary verb, although the standard forms envisaged by Heine do comply with (g), as is shown in the following examples, the first, (3), presenting a Subjunctive form following an auxiliary, the second, (4), a Participial form used in the formation of the Continuous Past tenses, and (5) showing the Future tense using an infinitive form:

(3) **Ufumane aphendule**

3SING-get-AUX.TERM 3SING.SUBJ-reply-SUBJ.TERM

'He just replies without thinking.'

(4) **Ndibe ndihamba apha**

1SING-be-AUX.TERM 1SING.PART-walk here

'I was walking here'

(5) **Ndiza luhamba ngomso**

1SING-AUX.FUT INF-go tomorrow

'I will go tomorrow.'

But another, important characteristic of auxiliaries is mentioned by Haegeman (1994:67), who
says that auxiliaries do not assign thematic roles, a very pertinent point when consideration is
given to the two appendices listing auxiliaries in Swahili and Xhosa respectively. The first section
of each appendix shows the conjugational auxiliaries - those which comply with Heine's concept
of contribution to tense, aspect and modality. The second section shows a number of constructs
which may in many cases have a coexistent finite form, whilst complying in other respects with
the criteria set out above.

The function of the auxiliaries listed in those sections is not to contribute to the conjugation of
the verb, but to add some other attribute, which, in many cases, seems distinctly adverbial:

(6) (SW)  Tutakuja  tutatumia
1PL-FUT-AUX.come 1PL-FUT-use
‘Later, we will use it.’

(7) (X)  Sada  safika
1PL.PAST-AUX 1PL.PAST-arrive
‘Eventually we arrived.’

To test the concept of thematic allocation mentioned above, the following sentence with two
arguments will be considered:

(8) (SW)  maneno  matupu  hayajapata  kujenga  mji  (Ashton 1947:277)
C6-word  AGR-empty  NEG.C6-yet-AUX  INF-build  C3-town

1 A number of these forms are affixal in nature, while others retain independent forms. The significance
of this evidence of grammaticalisation will be discussed in subsequent sections.

2 It is perhaps more appropriate to say that such expressions would use an adverb in a language like
English. Such Bantu language constructions might be better designated "descriptive", a term which in
these languages is used to include a wide range of constructions denoting place, manner or time,
including ideophones, agentive copulatives and certain uninflected nouns used adverbially.
'Words only have never yet built a city.'

There are two Noun Phrases, one, *maneno matupu*, in the Subject position, and the other, *mti*, in the Object position. The thematic roles of these Noun Phrases are clearly assigned by the main verb, *-jenga*, "to build", and not by the auxiliary, *-pata*, ("to get" in its finite usage). Furthermore, the auxiliary assigns no thematic roles, as all the roles of the two argument predicate are filled, and there are no other Noun Phrases to accommodate any other allocations.

It would be inappropriate to consider the usages in (6) and (7) just to be examples of serial verb constructions similar to those in (9) and (10), for a number of reasons; the actions of the subordinate verbs differ from the main verbs, and are consecutive or concurrent respectively, also each verb assigns a different thematic role to the appropriate Subject Noun Phrase of the respective clauses:

(9) (SW)    
*Waaambie*  *waje*  
them-tell-IMP they-come-SUBJ

'Tell them to come.'

(from Vitale, 1981:71)

(10) (X)    
*Bafike*  *elele*  
C2-arrive-PERF C1.PART-sleep-PERF

'They arrived while he was asleep.'

Nevertheless, the possibility of serial or nominal periphrasis as a source of grammaticalised auxiliaries cannot be dismissed lightly - there is the evidence of the development of the Future tense marker in Swahili from the verb form, *-taka*, "want", as discussed in Chapter 2, and repeated as examples (11) and (12) below:
3.1.2. An appropriate approach to the Bantu auxiliary.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the approach to auxiliaries in, say, Indo-European languages, is less than satisfactory when dealing with the Bantu language family. That the topic may be a controversial one, or at least one where further research would be of benefit, can be seen from the different approaches of a number of Nguni language scholars. Taljaard and Bosch (1988:159) say that the auxiliary is derived from ordinary verb stems in order to assume a figurative meaning. Pahl, on the other hand, in his grammar, *IsiXhosa* (1983-99) uses three Xhosa terms, which will be discussed below, to subdivide the category.

The term "deficient verb" is often used in connection with these constructions, a term first mooted for Bantu languages by Doke, and used as the main description for the category by Du Plessis and Visser (1992:246). They list a number of features for this category which are similar to those of Heine mentioned above, with the significant difference that they refer specifically to Xhosa. These properties, briefly summarised, are as follows:

1. Deficient verbs are subcategorised for clausal complements, thus excluding Noun Phrases.
2. They determine the mood of the clausal complement, restricting the choice to Subjunctive, Participle or Infinitive.

3. The clausal complement will have anaphoric agreement with the subject of the auxiliary.

4. They may not be extended by derivative affixes (inter alia, they may not be passivised - c.f. Heine (1993:22ff)).

5. They often have a characteristic -e as terminative vowel.3

While the foregoing may appear applicable as a general guide for Bantu languages, Du Plessis and Visser have not differentiated between the morphologically different types of auxiliary found in Xhosa, preferring to divide them according to the dependent mood of the complement, although they do give a separate treatment to -ba and -nga. (A similar division is found in Louw and Jubasse (1978:257ff) who also use the dependent mood as a form of classification, and furthermore, apply the term 'deficient verb' to all auxiliaries with the exception of the basic group involved in the conjugation of the simple tenses.)

A shortcoming of all these methods of classification is the failure to recognise the group of affixes in these languages which not only have an auxiliary function, but are likely to have derived from verb forms which have subsequently been reduced to their present affixal form. For this reason, the approach of Pahl (1983) will be examined more closely.

3 Reference to Appendix 2 will reveal that a number of Xhosa auxiliaries have this variant, which is not fully explained, except that it seems more usual when followed by the subjunctive.
3.1.2.1. **An examination of Pahl's approach to the Bantu auxiliary.**

In the first following section, the terminology of Pahl's approach will be discussed, and the etymology of those terms will be examined, followed in the second section by an analysis of the five classes of auxiliary proposed by him, with examples of their usage. The discussion will be concluded with a comparison of this approach with the more traditional approaches already discussed.

**Xhosa terminology for auxiliary verbs.**

In *IsiXhosa* (Pahl, 1983:165), three Xhosa terms are used to describe the various forms of the auxiliary verb, namely, *isincedisi, intsiza-senzi* and *isilabali*. All three nouns are derived from verbs, and two are in class 7. Satyo (1980:316) describes how deverbative nouns placed in Class 7 have the function of habitual agentives, thus lending weight to the argument in favour of an African-language-derived terminology.

**isincedisi.**

The verb from which this term is derived is the Xhosa verb, *ukuncedza*, to help, aid or assist. The causative extension, *-is-* enhances the meaning to "help strongly, give assistance to", while the terminative *-i-, together with the Class 7 prefix, *isi-* impart the sense of "one who... habitually" (Satyo, 1980:327). Thus this term, *isincedisi* clearly refers to "one (something) which gives assistance habitually.

**intsiza-senzi.**

Two verbs are used in deriving this Xhosa compound construction. The second, *ukwenza*, "to do", produces the noun *isenzi*, the Xhosa term for "verb". The other half of the compound derives
from the verb *ukusiza*, "to feel for, sympathize with, come to the aid or rescue of, help, succour, relieve" (McLaren 1963:153). Under the same entry, the noun form, *intsiza*, is given as having the meaning, "help or benefit", thus imparting the overall meaning of a thing "which is in sympathy with/helps the verb in a sentence.

*isilabalabi.*

The name of this type of auxiliary is derived from the verb, *ukulabalaba*, "to fail to reach up to". This term is applied to those auxiliaries considered "deficient", and whose properties have been discussed earlier in this chapter. The meaning of the nominal form of the verb could thus be considered as being "a structure whose properties are somewhat less than those of a finite verb".

**Five types of auxiliary usage proposed by Pahl.**

Pahl (1983:165) describes five different types of auxiliary usage, of which only the first group carry the title of *isincedisi*. All the constructs in this first group are affixal by nature, and are described in the following sub-section.

**Pahl's Group 1.**

Pahl says (1983:165):

"*Ezi zizincedisi zexesh* okanye *zemilo ezifakelwa phakathi kwsivumelanisi sentloko nesiqu sesenzi. Aziluguquli uhlobo lwesenzi.*"

"These are auxiliaries of tense or aspect which are put in between the subject concord and the root of the verb. They do not change the mood of the verb."
Affixes in this category, according to Pahl (1983:165) are:

-ya-, -wa-, 4 sa-, -nga-, -ka-, -kwa, -â-

Of these, only -â- can be said to be a true tense marker, as shown in (13) below; although Pahl (1983:99) says that -ya- denotes the present tense, the fact that the present in Xhosa can be formed without it belies this opinion - it is not an invariable present tense marker. (More recent approaches such as Kosch (1988) show that in Southern Bantu languages at least, the affix -ya- plays more of a semantic role than a syntactic one. The following examples (14), (15) and (16) in fact support this by demonstrating a topicalisation role.)

(13) Wâthânda

3SING-PAST-love

'S/he loved.'

(14) Ndiyafunda

1SING-ASP-read

'I am reading.'

(15) Ndifunda incwadi

1SING-read C9-book

'I am reading a book.'

(16) Ndiyayifunda incwadi

1SING-PRES-C9.AGR-read C9-book

'I am reading the book.'

4 -we- is not listed by Pahl on P165, but is discussed by him earlier (P99) where he says that -we- is used postpositionally as a double affix with -ya-. Its usage will be discussed in the text.
The remaining auxiliaries in this category are exemplified in Appendix 2, Section 1.1., and, with the exception of -wa-, will not be discussed further in this section.

-wa- is of considerable interest in a study of grammaticalisation because it appears unique in that it can only be used in conjunction with -ya-, and that it is the only auxiliary particle with such a restriction, resulting in the only polysyllabic one. Further, it is mutually exclusive with other aspect affixes, but not so with other affixal auxiliaries denoting tense. It will be argued that it has fossilised in this form, namely -yawa-, and any explanation of the origin will have to explain the reason for the retention of the morpheme -ya-. As previously discussed, it is a shortcoming of current methods of classification that recognition is not given to the affixal auxiliaries, and the possibility that their origin lies in earlier forms of finite verbs. It is for this reason that the examination of -wa- will be undertaken in detail as it is crucial to the defence of the argument that a grammaticalisation cline exists whereby finite verbs may become morphosyntactic affixes.

Pahl (1983:99) describes the construction as ngokufakela u-wa emva ko-ya kwixesha langoku, kudaleka isincedisi esingu-yawa- omhaxa. ('-wa is placed after the -ya- of the present tense to create the bisyllabic -yawa'), specifically referring to the particle -ya- as a present tense marker. However, the particle clearly can no longer act as such because examples of the construct are attested using a variety of tenses, whose markers are mutually exclusive with an extant present tense marker. Pahl (133) shows nine different tenses in addition to the present tense, three of which are shown here:

Elidluleyo (Perfect tense): uyawazile ‘he has become crazy (as usual)’

---

5 The affix -a- (denoting past tense, and discussed above and in a later section in some detail) is derived from a bisyllabic structure /V + Ø + V/ but the deletion or elision of one of the vowels will have been effected by the restriction imposed by the phonotactic rule which forbids the juxtaposition of vowels in Xhosa. See Lass 1984:187 for detailed discussion of filtering of ill formed strings.

6 Examples of various tenses are shown at the end of the next paragraph.

7 The usage of the particle -ya- and reservations as to its function as an aspect marker have been discussed in an earlier part of this chapter.
It must therefore be assumed that -wa- has been fossilised and is now conjoined with -wa- as one monomorphemic affixal particle.

Nevertheless, two dictionary definitions offer contrasting approaches. McLaren's (1963) lists -wa- as an auxiliary verbal particle expressing constant or continual action, as in Siyawa lahleka (We are always getting lost). The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa (1989) makes no reference to an individual auxiliary particle -wa-, but lists it under -yawa-, and emphasises the derogatory role, by defining the structure as "verbal auxiliary indicating contempt, censure, disapproval, depreciation of an undesirable habit or something often repeated".

From McLaren's example above, it could be assumed that there were two particles, -wa- and -wa-, the first being the usual present tense aspect marker discussed above, and the second an independent particle imparting the meaning of constant or continual action, whereas the Greater Dictionary of Xhosa supports the view that the construct is now monomorphemic.

Pahl says (1985:99):

"Lo -yawa- ngowokuvakalisa ukusinyemba eso senzo sichazwa sisenzi, o.kt. wakha imilo yokunyemba."

'-yawa- is used to emphasise the denigration of the act described by the verb, in other words it creates a derogatory aspectral form.'

Thus it would appear that the primary function of the construct is to imply disapproval of the act

---

The question of why the aspect marker -ya- has been fused and apparently degrammaticalised (i.e. it no longer acts as a tense/aspect marker) must and will be addressed in another section of this study, but for present purposes it is convenient to accept the monomorphemic nature of the structure.
described by the main verb, but also, as a secondary function, it indicates an on-going practice of
the act, and as shown in the following examples may be used in a number of tenses:

(17) "Eli nqengerha liyawalele. 'This lazybones is continually sleeping.'

(18) Ibiyawakho loo nkewu.

'He was always there, that scoundrel.'

The examples in the Greater Dictionary of Xhosa show that the construct may be used with a
copulative; this example shows both the concept of repetitive behaviour, and a mildly critical
tone:

(19) iyawangengezi lo uliayo.

'there goes Mongezi again, crying as usual'

The auxiliary is to be found in the future tense, where the following infinitive may contain an
object concord - there is no overt reason to prohibit an object concord immediately following -
\( yawa^- \), subcategorising being the prerogative of the main verb:

(20) bayawaza kusigezela

'\( they will play the fool with us once more'\).

However, one example was found in the literature using the verb \( zenzisa \) 'pretend, feign' - this
is derived from the finite verb \( enza \) 'to do' by using the reflexive formative -\( zi^- \) which behaves like

\(^9\) Used by Pahl, but attributed to Mbulawa (s.a.): Mamfene.

\(^{10}\) Whilst the gloss may seem to indicate a present tense meaning, the Xhosa structure is the perfect form
of the verb, used in a stative sense.
and is mutually exclusive with an object concord. The formative in this case is fossilised to the verb root, thus explaining the apparent exception:

(21)  
Nangona kunjalo ayivumanga ukucima kuye ingcinga ethi iBhele eli liyawazenisa, limbonisa izimbo ezitsha.

'even if it is so, she could not quite extinguish the thought that this Bhele always pretends, shows her new oddities'.

Burns-Ncamashe (1989:58)

Although the formative may be used in many tenses, it has to be considered that the first part of the construct, -ya-, had its origins as a present-tense marker, and is only usable in this way because of its conjunction with the -wa- particle. In this sense, it appears to serve the function of imparting an inchoative sense to the compound affix, thus:

\[-ya- + (ku)-wa- > -yawa-\]

PRES.CONT + (to) ? > is becoming ?

This suggests that one possibility for the origin of -wa- is that it is a cognate of (uku) -ba- 'to be', retained in Xhosa solely for the limited functions discussed below. The following table of cognates shows that a number of Eastern Bantu languages use the Proto Bantu *va offering some support for this theory:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Tumbuka</th>
<th>Venda</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ur-Bantu)</td>
<td>(S.31)</td>
<td>(S.21)</td>
<td>(S11)</td>
<td>(G42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*va &quot;</td>
<td>[-ba]</td>
<td>[-va]</td>
<td>[-va]</td>
<td>[-wa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to be)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Botne, in Linguistique Africaine No. 10. (1993) uses the symbol [b] to represent a labio-dental approximant which contrasts with [w] and [v]. It is used here in the same way.
If it could be claimed that the affix -\(wa\) is a unique remnant of the alternative form of the verb *\(v\)a ‘to be’, it must also be claimed that it is of restricted usage in Xhosa, in that it may only appear as a conjoined particle with -\(ya\), and limited in meaning to implying a specific attribute to a verbal construction (denigration) at the same time imparting the aspect of habituality. As already suggested, it could further be concluded that the two morphemes, -\(ya\) and -\(wa\) have fused into one phonological unit, a process which, according to Heine & Reh (1984:25), is normally preceded by compounding, provided, it is pointed out (ibid:32), that the two morphemes concerned were originally root morphemes. This condition is valid for -\(wa\), but would only hold for -\(ya\) if it could be shown that at the time of compounding, the particle was still a root morpheme (-\(ya\), to go), but this remains a matter of conjecture.

Two factors however render this solution an unlikely hypothesis (and open the way for an alternative) - firstly, the unlikelihood that the language allows two reflexes -\(ba\) and -\(wa\) for the one Proto form - such possibilities do exist in phonological comparisons with Proto Bantu, but they are governed by the nature of the following vowel, e.g: *\(P\) > Xhosa \(ph\), but *\(P\) > Xhosa \(fi\).

The second objection to the hypothesis stems from the possibility of finding -\(yawa\) sandwiched between the past tense of \(ukuba\) ‘to be’ and an identifying copulative as in:

\begin{equation}
(22) \text{} \quad \text{\textit{ibiyawanguMongezi lo ulilayo}}
\end{equation}

‘there went Mongezi again, crying as usual’.

- it clearly cannot be a cognate of any verb with the meaning ‘to be’, and the possibility must be dismissed.
Another potential source (and, it is suggested, the most likely point of origin) in the Xhosa lexicon is the verb -wa-, 'to fall, fall down, sink morally' (McLaren 1963:180), a lexeme for which the Greater Dictionary of Xhosa devotes twenty-six clearly separate entries, with another twenty-six suggestions which carry no number. This alone indicates a word that has undergone a considerable semantic broadening process, which can be seen from the following divergent examples:

(23) 
*ikomityi lwe etafileni*

'the cup fell off the table'

(24) 
*imqwelonya ziwa kwelo bala*

'aeroplanes land on that landing strip.'

(25) 
*lo mfo uyawa*

'he suffers from epilepsy.'

(26) 
*uwuwa kwenkuku*

'early morning, soon after dawn.'

lit: 'the alighting of the fowls.'

These examples, all from the Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, demonstrate the polysemous nature of the verb, ranging from the meaning 'to fall' in the original sense, to two metaphors, one of which has become an adverb denoting time. Significantly, none of the entries for this lexeme exemplify any strictly pejorative or derogatory concepts, but, as quoted above, there is a separate entry for -yawa- in which such concepts are portrayed.\(^\text{12}\) McLaren's dictionary by comparison

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\(^{12}\) This is perhaps not surprising as the editor of Volume 3 of the Greater Dictionary of Xhosa was H.W. Pahl who wrote the grammar book *IsiXhosa* (1967) upon which the discussion of Xhosa auxiliaries is based.
(first published in 1915) does give a pejorative meaning ‘fall, sink morally’ for the verb and further lists the particle -wa- as an unconjoined particle with the meaning of constant or continual action. This may be interpreted as diachronic evidence of different positions on the posysemny chain, and thus on the grammaticalisation cline, albeit over a comparatively short period of time.

(27) *Mbokro, wawa ngomhlana umntu omkhulu, wabetheka ngenqentsu phantsi.*

Masibaliselane 1989: 20

‘This big Mfengu fell on his back, hitting the back of his head on the ground.’

(28) *Eninzi yawa eMkhubiso kuloo ndawo ngoku sekusithiwa kuse Sinqumeni.*

Masibaliselane 1989: 17

‘Many arrived from Mkhubiso to settle at the place now known as Sinqumeni.’

The above examples (27) and (28) are from the literature (first published in 1961) and demonstrate the same polysemous use seen in the Dictionary entries. However, to argue convincingly for its development as an auxiliary, it is necessary to find evidence of some usage such as serial periphrasis, as mentioned in the earlier part of this section, to justify its transition from finite to auxiliary function. Such evidence appears in the following quotation from *UDon Jadu* (Mqhayi, 1929: 42):

(29) *...inkonyana...yajukujeleka yawa yafa, entla komzi.*

"the little cow...was brought down suddenly, fell down and died, on the upper side of the homestead."

In this example the use of *yawa* is seen to be more or less superfluous to either of the other verbs in the sentence - the first, *-jukujeleka* describes the action of falling down, and the second, *-fa* that
of dying. It can be assumed that *yawo*\(^{13}\) is thus becoming descriptive and only embellishing the actions described by the other verbs - it is on its way to becoming an auxiliary!

In spite of the number of examples of the grammaticalised form -*yawo*, given both by Pahl and in the Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, the construct seems rarely used in literature,\(^{14}\) although there is no cultural restriction on its usage (Gxilishe, S. in private conversation, 1997). More common is the use of the copulative construct as seen in example (19) and repeated here as (30). However the examples directly from the literature corpus show that the more common usage is a detached, neuter form of the verb, followed by a copulative complement, as in (31):

(30)  
*yawanguMongezi lo ulilayo.*

‘there goes Mongezi again, crying as usual’

(31)  
"*Iyawa yintoni na Mphumanto Mbotyi yaseGqili?*

*Ngahle kasukume wena nje hleze konakale.*"


C9-AUX C9-what-INT

"What is it this time, Mphumanto Mbotyi of Gqili? Stand up gently lest you get into trouble."

---

\(^{13}\) It is coincidental that the C9 Subject Concord in the past tense gives rise to the construct *yawo*. A reader with no Bantu language experience should not consider that it is being suggested that it is in any way related to the fused particle -*yawa* other than having the common root -*wa*. It is this root that is under discussion as it progresses from finite to auxiliary usage.

\(^{14}\) When looking for specific morphological or syntactic constructs in the Xhosa literature, a small corpus of works was scanned and searched electronically for examples. In the case of -*yawo* approximately 100 000 words of literary text were scanned, resulting in nine examples - a frequency of approximately one in 10 000 words!
In Chapter 2 (Para 2.1.5), the cline described by Hopper and Traugott (1993:108) shows the progression from auxiliary form to clitic as a stage in what Heine would call a grammaticalisation chain. It is argued that this copulative use of the construct -yawa- equates to that stage in the process - the fact that the form coexists with finite, auxiliary and affixal forms is perfectly in line with the concept of overlapping (Heine, Claudi & Hynnemeyer (1989:328)), in which they point out that there is always a stage where the preceding and the following structures coexist as optional variants, alternatively (329) that they may be intermediate stages which incorporate elements of both structures but are not fully describable in terms of either of them.

It is argued that the verb, already showing that it has developed a derogatory use even in its finite form, as in wamwa ngentsimi, 'she ridiculed him', has moved further along the cline to become an affixal auxiliary. The table below summarises the discussion on this auxiliary formative, showing each stage on the grammaticalisation cline as demonstrated by the examples used in the text, and supports the argument that this formative has its origin in the finite verb, ukuwa, "to fall", with the addition of the originally present tense marker, -ya- which could be considered that which imparts the habituality aspect of the construct, and which is now fused into a single monomorphemic, polysyllabic affix.

### Grammaticalisation cline of "yawa"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>As a finite verb (no derogation)</th>
<th>As a finite verb (with derogation)</th>
<th>As a serial verb (auxiliary function)</th>
<th>As a copulative (clitic form)</th>
<th>As a copulative (affixal form)</th>
<th>As an auxiliary (affixal form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iwe etafileni</td>
<td>wamwa ngentsimi</td>
<td>...yawa yafa</td>
<td>iyawa yintoni</td>
<td>iyawanguMongezi</td>
<td>uyawaphanelewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex. (23)</td>
<td>P.38 (text)</td>
<td>Ex. (29)</td>
<td>Ex. (31)</td>
<td>Ex. (30)</td>
<td>&quot;you are deserted by&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Satyo 1997 (in prep)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pahl’s second group.

In this group, Pahl places those auxiliary affixes of tense and aspect which are followed by the infinitive form of the verb, shorn of the pre-prefix. He quotes the affixes -ya-, -za-, -sa- and -â, the first three of which, the Xhosa future tense markers and the progressive form affix, are well documented elsewhere in this study, and will not be discussed further here. The Past tense marker, -â-, which also serves as a temporal form affix in Xhosa, merits an attempt to derive its origin. Heine & Reh (1984:129) point out that there is but one primary channel through which verbal tense markers originate; from main verb through auxiliaries in nominal periphrasis. Thus Pahl’s listing of this affix as one followed by an Infinitive is an apt one, as it can be assumed that its early form was that of a finite verb.

The Xhosa rule of Prosodic morphology relating to a form such as -â- shows that the original structure will have been:

\[
\begin{align*}
H & \quad L \\
V & \quad ?C & \quad V
\end{align*}
\]

as, for example in the full Class 5 prefix, î, which becomes î in the presence of a polysyllabic stem with an initial high tone, viz.

\[
\begin{align*}
i & \quad (\text{î}) & \quad \text{hashe} & \quad > & \quad \text{i hashe} \\
H & \quad L & \quad H & \quad L & \quad F & \quad H & \quad L
\end{align*}
\]

Thus, by analogy, and by the application of the Bantu CV rule, it is a sound assumption that -â- is derived from

\[
\text{á} + \varnothing + \text{à} > \text{â}
\]

(C)

A number of candidates for the deleted consonant may be considered - Heine & Reh (1984:129) indicate that the commonest sources for Past tense markers are motional verbs and some copulas.
Elsewhere the use of the copula -\textit{li}- as a Past tense marker in Swahili has been discussed, as has the use of three motional verbs in Xhosa, viz. -\textit{ya}-, -\textit{za}- and -\textit{sala}; from the same source as the latter verb, Proto Bantu *-k\textit{a}d\textit{a}, another Bantu language, Umbundu (R.11) (Heine & Reh (1984:126)) uses \textit{kala} as a past tense copula.

But an examination of some closer, South and Eastern Bantu languages, produces a strong contender in the ur-Bantu verb, B. *\textit{ka}, 'go'.\textsuperscript{15} Botne (1993:12)\textsuperscript{16} says of Tumbuka (N.21a), "the tense element -\textit{ka}- specifies a remote or discrete past..." and exemplifies with (ibid:16):

\begin{verbatim}
(32)  vantu vakava phe ku-pulizga
2-person 2-RP-be silent to listen
'the people were silent, listening'.
\end{verbatim}

Botne, in notes to a paper presented in 1966 comments that Meinhof and Van Warmelo (1932) reconstruct a verb root *\textit{ka}- "go" based on Swahili -\textit{ka}- "consecutive", Ngonde and Herero -\textit{ka}- "motional". Swahili, as Botne says, uses -\textit{ka}- as a consecutive tense/aspect marker with the meaning "and then...", or of one action subsequent to another, viz:

\begin{verbatim}
(33)  Nilikwenda sokoni, nikamuna ndisi sita, nikala tatu, nikampa mwenzangu tatu.
'I went to market and bought six bananas. I ate three and three I gave to my companion.'
\end{verbatim}

Shona (T.11-15) provides an even stronger confirmation of the hypothesis of the origin of -\textit{a}-.

\textsuperscript{15} Guthrie lists C.S.2247a as *aka-a in his table of verbal markers. He describes *aka-a as a Past marker.

\textsuperscript{16} Botne, in notes from a Round Table on Bantu Historical Linguistics, Lyon, France; May 30 - June 1, 1996, indicates that a change by way of a resemanticisation into a future marker occurs with this construction. Such a shift does not, however, contradict the present argument.
Fortune (1955:257) says "-a is probably the remnant of a deficient verb which has coalesced with
the basic subject concords to form the past concords which we have today". He quotes the
following examples:

(34) \textit{ndakatora} 'I took' - positive indicative non-recent past.

(35) \textit{handisakatora} 'I took not' - negative indicative non-recent past

Fortune (ibid) continues, "-ka- is probably the same deficient verb as that used in the past
subjunctive. Thus these forms are, very likely, compound predicates of form: deficient verb + verb
stem. In the negative forms it is the deficient verb which is negated, not the stem".

Thus, on the basis of the retention of -ka- as a past tense marker in Tumbuka, the explanation by
Fortune (1955) of the Shona derivation of -a-, and the number of Southern and Eastern Bantu
languages using -ka- in some form as tense or aspect markers, it is a reasonable conjecture that
the origin of the Xhosa -á- form is a compounded predicate comprising:

\begin{align*}
\text{deficient verb remnant -a- + verb stem -ka- (from B -ka-, 'go')} & > \text{-á + ká} > \text{á}
\end{align*}

which has followed the path, Verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix by a well documented process of
grammaticalisation.

\textbf{Pahl's third group.}

In this group, which is described by Pahl in the same manner as the previous group, i.e. auxiliary
affixes of tense or aspect, four examples are given, together with the explanation that these forms
are used in conjunction with the Participial form; \textit{be- ye-}, \textit{se-}, and \textit{nge-}.

In his examples (1983:165), Pahl has used affixal forms rather than showing the constructions in
full when the use of the participial complement becomes clear, e.g. \textit{bendithetha} ('I was speaking')
in place of *ndibe ndithetha* ('I was speaking'). It could be construed that Pahl was making concession to more common usage as the full forms are discussed earlier in the book (1983:160) and followed by a section (ibid:161) explaining the loss of the duplicate subject concord.

All the constructions in this section are fully discussed in a later chapter of this thesis, and furthermore, there is little doubt as to the original forms, as will be shown; there is thus little purpose in further analysis at this stage. Pahl did not use the term grammaticalisation in his explanation but has nevertheless drawn attention to the process whereby verbs used as auxiliaries may in time become cliticised or affixed to the remainder of the construct.

**Pahl's fourth group.**

Pahl's fourth group contain four examples of what he calls *isilabalabi zoqobo* ("real" deficient verbs), viz. -*mana, -phantse, -de* and -*soloko*. It is clearly Pahl's opinion that there is no finite form of these auxiliaries, as they are the only group in his summary (1983:165) which have the title of *labalabi* and it is also apparent that they may be found without any concordial agreement or as conjugable forms, as shown in these examples:

(36) \[ Kufuneka ndisoloko ndisenza iti. \]

‘I must always make tea.’

(37) \[ Soloko ndimxelela \]

‘I am always telling him.’

(38) \[ Uphantse wahlatywa yinkunzi yenkomo. \]

‘He was nearly stabbed by the bull.’

(39) \[ Phantse wonke umntu abe wakha wasinda cebetshu ekufeni \]
‘Almost everybody has had an escape from almost certain death.’

It can be seen that this category of auxiliaries, has, as mentioned earlier, an adverbial function, and in fact, in McLaren's dictionary (1983:77 & 124), both examples are listed as adverbs. However there appears to be a restriction on the word order, which prevents the auxiliary verb from occupying the post verbal position normally used by a standard adverbial phrase - these forms only appear in the preverbal, auxiliary position.

If the principle of unidirectionality\textsuperscript{17} is accepted, then the conclusion must be that there was an original, finite form for all these auxiliaries, and that they did not emanate from an original adverbial form. Indeed, \textit{-mana} has an equivalent finite form in the reciprocal form of \textit{ukuma}\textsuperscript{18} ‘to stand’, but it is difficult to conclude that they are common derivatives, even allowing for semantic broadening.

The auxiliary \textit{-de} has the meaning of ‘at last’ or ‘until’, and is related to the (perhaps little used) verb \textit{ukuda}, "to be long". Here the semantic relationship is less clouded, and the form \textit{-da} is also used in an auxiliary role, unless the following verb is in the subjunctive mood:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Sada safika apha}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
‘At last we arrived here.’
\end{quote}

The last construct of Pahl's set, \textit{soloko}, is not easily explained in terms of the usual cline verb > auxiliary > affix, because its origin appears to be nonverbal at first glance. The latter part of the construct is formed from the demonstrative pronoun, second position, for Class 15, or more likely Class 17, a defunct locative class. Support for this is seen in the retention of the old demonstrative

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Wherein a lexical item becomes more grammatical, or a grammatical item becomes more grammatical - see the discussion 'Aspects of grammaticalisation' in Chapter 2.}

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{In Xhosa, this verb is strictly intransitive, and therefore theoretically does not support a reciprocal form, however, in Zulu, a closely related language, such a form exists: \textit{Mana njalo, Nkosi! 'Live for ever, King!'}}
formative l-, which is universally retained in Zulu, but only seen in monosyllabic demonstratives in Xhosa.

The most usual suggestion for the prefix of the construct is a form of the auxiliary se(le), which has had vowel assimilation to the following vowel in -oko, thus:

\[ se(le)- + -l + oko > so + loko > soloko \]

Auxiliary verbs normally only take verb phrase complements (see Heine's features at the start of this chapter), thus the union must be considered to have taken place between se(le) as a finite verb and a locative phrase comprising the demonstrative for the locative class, viz "stay at that place/time". The concept of "always" as a deficient auxiliary is thus an acceptable meaning shift.

More examples of this category of deficient verbs as auxiliaries in Xhosa are discussed further in a later chapter, when the issues surrounding the concept of grammaticalisation will be discussed.

**Pahl's fifth group.**

The last of Pahl's divisions of the category Auxiliary are those verbs which he describes as follows:

"Izenzi ezinobulabalabi. Izenzi-gqibi ezinokusetyenziswa njengezilabalabi."

(Pahl. 1983:165)

'Vers which have deficient characteristics. Finite verbs which are used as deficient verbs.'

The critical aspect of this definition is that the verbs in this section are normally found as finite verbs, but may be used in Xhosa in an auxiliary way, with characteristics of a deficient verb. (see Du Plessis and Visser's attributes of a deficient verb in Section 2.1.2.)

A number of verbs in this category are given in Appendix 2., section 2.2. which illustrate a wide,
but not necessarily complete, range of the Xhosa verbs which may be used in this way. Some of
these are discussed in terms of their participation in the process of grammaticalisation, in later
sections of this thesis. The following example from Pahl (1983:160) demonstrates the usage of
a finite verb in such a role:

(41) *Ilanga labelhe layomisa ibhutukhwe yakhe.*

'The sun soon dried his trousers.'

**Summarising Pahl's approach.**

The discussion on the five types described by Pahl seems to provide a clear basis for classification,
in that it has recognised all possible types of Auxiliary in Xhosa, ranging from the
tense/aspect/mood type similar to auxiliaries in, say, Indo-European languages, to the type last
discussed where a finite verb finds itself in an auxiliary role. In the chapter on grammaticalisation
the discussion will focus on whether this represents a concurrent range of stages in the
grammaticalisation process, together with comment on the trend in the language in the future.

**3.1.2.2. Conclusions about Bantu auxiliaries.**

As stated in the last section, Pahl's approach provides a clear explanation for the various verb
forms found in Bantu languages in the role of auxiliary or deficient verbs, as exemplified
principally by the Xhosa examples, but also supported by examples from Swahili, and, on
occasion, other Southern/Eastern Bantu languages.

It can thus be concluded that both languages have developed auxiliary verbs for two clearly
separated purposes. Appendices 1 and 2 summarise these purposes by listings in Swahili and
Xhosa respectively, divided into groups according to Pahl's classification.
The first group comprises those which are extensively used in the conjugation of the verb itself, in terms of either tense or aspect marking, or in terms of both functions. The second group, not so numerous in Swahili but considerably larger in Xhosa, lists finite verbs found in a role which has little to do with conjugation but adds to the descriptive properties of the verb phrase. Such verbs are, once grammaticalised, seen to have many of the properties of auxiliaries as outlined above, and, further, because of their ability in some cases to function without concordial agreement, could be considered candidates for further grammaticalisation, and, like -taka, 'want', become affixal at a later stage in the development of the language. Examples (42) and (43) show sentences from both languages using auxiliaries which do not always need to show concordial agreement with the main verb:

(42) (SW)  
*endapo nikienda, itakawaje?*  
\begin{align*}
\text{AUX-ASP.LOC} &\ \text{1SING-COND-go} &\ \text{NEUT-FUT-be-INT} \\
\text{\textquoteleft Supposing I do go, what then?\textquoteright}
\end{align*}

(43) (X)  
*tyaphe amkele ukutya*  
\begin{align*}
\text{AUX-AUX.TERM} &\ \text{3PERS.C1.SUBJ-receive-SUBJ.TERM} &\ \text{C15-food} \\
\text{\textquoteleft It is a good thing that he has received food.\textquoteright}
\end{align*}

The concept "auxiliary" in respect of the languages under study has been demonstrated to be more far-reaching than the traditional view, and the term is therefore justifiably extended to include such constructions as have been discussed above, as most of the constructs demonstrate many of the attributes of auxiliaries contained in Heine's (1993:22) listing. Furthermore, the process of change follows closely that noted among the more narrowly defined auxiliary forms of Indo-European languages. In Chapter 4 and in Chapter 5, examples of this process, already seen to be taking place, will be discussed.
Chapter 4. The Swahili Auxiliary.

4.1. Grammaticalisation of the auxiliary in Swahili.

In Chapter 3, a pattern was established whereby the Bantu language auxiliary might be classified in such a way as to give recognition to the affixal forms which are widely found in this language family, and which have an auxiliary role in the construction of the verb. The development of that pattern into a classification system will not be revisited in this chapter, but the proposed form of five distinct groups, ranging from the affix group to the group of verbs with no extant finite counterpart, will be applied to the Swahili auxiliaries as a basis for comparison with those found in Xhosa and discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Appendix 1 lists the more common auxiliaries in use in Swahili. Appendix 2, which covers the auxiliaries in Xhosa, is laid out in a similar manner, so that comparisons may be more readily made. It will be noted that there is a considerably shorter list of Swahili auxiliaries, when compared to those of Xhosa, particularly in the section of verbs used in the conjugation, and those which are still extant as finite verbs. As the theme of this chapter is developed, it will become apparent that one reason for this is that grammaticalisation has already taken place in the production of tense affixes, whereas in Xhosa, the conjugation of the verb is largely still dependent upon full and separate auxiliary constructions. Detailed comment on the significance of this will be covered in the concluding chapter.

The examination of Swahili auxiliaries will begin with comment on the verb, "kuwa", "to be", as it is used in various compounded tenses, which may involve other auxiliaries. The second sub-section under this heading will look at the alternative form "li", "to be", the third sub-section will comment on those auxiliaries which still have a conventional, finite, equivalent. The chapter concludes with a study of some auxiliary forms which areriticised or already affixal.
4.1.1. **The auxiliary, -kuwa, "to be".**

It is commonly accepted by most scholars that words for the most frequent concepts are the most likely to undergo a process of grammaticalisation, and in this regard, the Bantu languages are no exception. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991:35) confirm that some of the most common source concepts are verbs like "be/exist", "be at", "sit", "want/like", and "stay/live", the equivalents of which are all found in Bantu languages, and in some cases have already been mentioned in this thesis.

Meinhof (1932: 209, 228) gives two translation equivalents for the English verb, "to be", viz. B.-li- and B. va, both of which have a cognate in Swahili, the former reduced to a copula used in the Present relative construction and the past tense, the latter being extant as a widely used verbal construct, ranging from independent verb (shown below) to clitic form:

(1)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tuliyo</th>
<th>watoto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL-be-REL</td>
<td>C2-child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"We, who are children."

(2)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>atakawa</th>
<th>daktari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SING-FUT-be</td>
<td>C9-doctor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"S/he will become a doctor."

4.1.1.1. **-kuwa as auxiliary to na of possession.**

Although Meinhof (1932:213) lists B. na as meaning "with, and", other scholars have posited a verbal origin with the meaning "have" (viz. Van Eeeden (1956:423) and Nkabinde, (1985:64) as quoted by Bosch (1995:41). That this construct can be used independently is demonstrated in Swahili by such sentences as the following:
Further proof of the independent usage of na is the auxiliary use of -kuwa in tenses other than the Present. Whilst it is not possible to conjugate -na- by itself, the use of -kuwa enables the 'verb' to be used in the Past (4) or Future (5) tenses, when those tenses are negated (6), and with negative relative constructions (7):

(4)  
Alikuwa na pesa nyangi  
3SING-PAST-AUX.be have C9-money C9.AGR-much  
"He had much money."

(5)  
Watakua na vitatu  
3PL-FUT-AUX.be have C8-book  
"They will have books."

(6)  
Hakwa na kitabu  
NEG.3SING.PAST-AUX.be have C7-book  
"He did not have a book."

(7)  
Asiyekuwa na kikapu  
3SING-NEG-REL-AUX.be have C7-basket  
"She who does not have a basket."

1 By this it is intended to convey that -na- cannot be put into other tenses such as the past or future by
The above examples of the usage of -kuwa show that the verb is being used in a role somewhere between an independent verb and an auxiliary, depending on the understanding of the construction na. If it is seen as a remnant of a now non-conjugable verb, then its role is that of auxiliary; if na is to be considered as a conjunctive, then -kuwa is an independent verb. The next section will, however, show that -kuwa has become a full auxiliary.

4.1.1.2.  
-kuwa as an auxiliary in the compound tenses.

Compound tenses in Swahili are formed with the auxiliary -kuwa followed by the complement verb with aspect markers, -na-, -ki- and -me-. These markers represent specific time, continuous action and completed action respectively, and sample sentences are shown below.

(8)  
\[
\text{alikuwa  anasoma} \\
3\text{SING-PAST-AUX be 3SING-ASP-read}
\]
"At that time he was reading."

(9)  
\[
\text{atakuwa  akisoma} \\
3\text{SING-FUT-AUX be 3SING-ASP-read}
\]
"He will be reading."

(10)  
\[
\text{alikuwa  amelala} \\
3\text{SING-PAST-AUX be 3SING-ASP-sleep}
\]
"he was asleep."

conventional, affixal means. Adding Pronominal concords is of course a form of conjugation.
It has been shown by the above examples that -kuwa has a role as an independent verb, a role that is clearly auxiliary, as well as one which appears to be an intermediate one between the two types. This shows that the verb has followed the early stages of a grammaticalisation cline as discussed in Chapter 2, and it will be shown in the next section that the verb is being further grammaticalised (and probably reanalysed) when the Impersonal prefix, I- is used.

4.1.1.3. **Further grammaticalisation of -kuwa.**

The loss of concordial agreement in a Bantu language construction must be seen as a sign that a grammaticalisation process has begun, as it indicates a weakening of the bond between a constituent of a sentence and the Subject noun. Furthermore it is probably a necessary part of the process if reanalysis is to occur. Heine (1993:116ff) warns against a too general use of the term, and doubts its widespread relevance to grammaticalisation theory. He does, however, concede that elsewhere (Heine & Reh, (1984:95ff)), he has reserved the term for the reinterpretation of syntactic and pragmatic constituents, and it is in this context the term will be used in this chapter.²

Ashton (1947:253) anticipates the reinterpretation of constituents when she says:

"In many of these compound tenses the first subject prefix is replaced by the Impersonal Prefix I-; this practically gives the auxiliary the status of a conjunction."

There are a number of Swahili tense markers with an aspectual, rather than a temporal function, and it appears that when compound tenses comprise two of these aspect tenses, the process of reinterpretation begins. The tenses which will be examined use the markers -ka-, -ki-, -nga-, as representative of the tense markers which exhibit these features. They indicate subsequent action,

² In Chapter 6, the question of reanalysis will be more widely treated, and Heine's characteristic parameters discussed in detail.
condition and concession respectively.

The following examples show a number of auxiliary constructions of -kuwa in which the auxiliary is conjugated normally, i.e. there is regular concordial correspondence, together with equivalent constructions in which the auxiliary has the Impersonal Prefix. It will be noted that de-categorisation as well as desemanticisation has taken place:

(11) (a) **akiwa anakula, mwacha amalize**

3SING-ASP-AUX be 3SINK-ASP-eat 3SINK-IMP leave 3SINK-SUBJ finish

"if he is eating, leave him to finish."

(b) **Mwandishi anapendekeza kwamba fasih ya Kiswahili itapiga hatua zaidi ikiwa tutakuwa na uzoefu wa kutathmini kazi za kifasih katika lugha ya Kiswahili badala ya kuwa wakusanyaji, wasomaji au wenyewe kusifu tu.**

Baragumu, 1995: editorial)

**ikiwa tutakuwa na uzoefu**

if 1PL-FUT-AUX become CONN C14-practice

"The author states enthusiastically that purity of Swahili will be advanced if we become used to valuing the idea of correctness in the Swahili language, instead of just being collectors, readers or people full of their own praise."

(12) (a) **(WaArabu) Waliuuma Lamu na kuoa wanawake wa Kifakika katika hali yao ya**

As discussed elsewhere, long quotations will not be syntactically analysed in full - only relevant and highlighted portions are so treated.
maisha ya nyumbani na kuendeleza biashara na Wabantu, maneno kadha ya Kibantu yakawa yanatumika.

(Leonard, C.M. in Baragumu Vol. 1. 1995)

yakawa yanatumika

C6.AGR-ASP-AUX.be C6.AGR-ASP-use-NEUT

"They settled in Lamu and married African women adopting their way of life in the home, and pursuing trade with the Bantu people; eventually a number of Bantu words came into use."

(b) alikimbia hata ikawa amechoka

3SING-PAST-run until eventually becoming 3SING-PERF-tired

"He ran on until at length he became tired."

(13) (a) Ningawa nitasoma

1SING-CONCESS-AUX.be 1SING-FUT-read

"Although I shall be reading."

(b) Johnson F. (1930) ana wazo linalotafautiana na wataalamu wote hao waliotangulia ingawa anakubaliana nao kwa Kiswahili ni lugha ya mseto.

(Leonard, C.M. in Baragumu Vol. 1. 1995)

ingawa anakubaliana nao

although 3SING-PRES-agree-REcip CONN-3PL.PRON
"Johnson F. (1930) has thoughts which differ from those of previous scholars although he agrees with them that Swahili is a language mixture of many origins."⁴

Appropriate comment by Perrot (1957:129) indicates that, twenty years before his book was written, full conjugation of the foregoing structures was the norm, whereas at the time of writing the changes indicated in the second part of each example were the accepted form. He continues: "These tenses are still in existence, but for all practical purposes they have been displaced by conjunctions formed from the impersonal forms of the tenses of "to be"."

4.1.1.4.  **Deletion of -kuwa**

There appears to be evidence of a further process which has seen the beginning of simplification of the somewhat cumbersome system of conjugation of the compound tenses, as demonstrated by the examples in the previous section. Ashton (1947:263) mentions that the alternative form, *ijapokua*, "already", is frequently found in shortened form. Not only does the agreement concord (or the impersonal concord) appear to have been deleted, but the verbal portion of the construct falls away as well:

(14)  \( Lazima ahudhurie, japo hakupata taarifa. \)

(Ashton 1947:263)

**CONJ 3PERS.NEG-PAST-get notice**

"He must put in an appearance, even though he may not have received any

---

⁴ The Swahili word, *mseto* is difficult to translate into English, whilst being colourfully clear in Swahili - a compote or mixture of vegetables or the like. The reader will thus appreciate the underlying meaning of the rather stilted translation!
The examples of this auxiliary form, -\textit{kwa} clearly show a process of grammaticalisation at work - not only can the verb under study be found in independent form, but it is seen to be undergoing change from active auxiliary to a form which lies between that and a conjunctive, in terms of its semantic usage, and further, it is seen to be capable of cliticisation as shown in the last example. Thus it can be said to have passed through three stages of the verbal auxiliary cline described in Chapter 2. In the next section, the affixal counterpart of -\textit{kwa}, namely -\textit{li}-, will be discussed.

4.1.2. -\textit{li-}., "to be", an affixal form.

This affixal form is rarely found in modern Swahili in its original form, other than in relative constructions. Ashton (1947:283) points out that the construct can sometimes be observed in aphorisms and that such usage indicates the antiquity of the proverb:

(15) \textit{Mwana-mongwe ali kwao, na mchanga hangelile.}

C1.PRES.-to be

"\textit{Were} the nobly-born one in his native land, he had never eaten sand."

(16) \textit{Udongo upatize uli maji.}

C11.PRES.-to be

'Use the clay while it is wet.'

These archaic uses show how the construct applies - it would have been used in sentences like \textit{mlango u(li) wazi?} (Is the door open?) but modern usage has discarded the -\textit{li-} form. It is however still to be seen in constructions where the relative affix is also present:

(17) \textit{Sisi tulio walimu.}

C2-to be-REL.
"We who are teachers."

Its status is perhaps confirmed by observing that -li- must be negated in the complement:

(18) *Walia si walimu.*

\[C2-\text{to be-REL NEG C2-teacher}\]

"They who are not teachers."

It is further of interest to note the following two alternatives to express ownership - the latter is probably most commonly found in every day speech:

(19) *Watoto walia na vitabu vipywa.*

\[C2-\text{to be-REL ASSOC. C8-book.AGR-new}\]

"The children who have new books."

(20) *Watoto wenye vitabu vipywa.*

\[C2-\text{owner of.C8-book.AGR-new}\]

"Children with new books."

The examples themselves, the retention of the structure in relative constructions, and the substitution for the older form of a preferred approach, are all indicative of grammaticalisation clines - from independent verb to zero, and from independent verb to affix - all stages in a process described in earlier sections of the thesis. The language has come to rely more heavily on the alternative, and still fully conjugable, form *kawa* for most functions, but as has been shown, even this form is subject to deletion where convenient without loss of grammar. Both forms have reanalysed to other categories as exemplified above in (11) and repeated here as (21) and in (22), which gives a simple example of Swahili comparison using a fused form of -li-:
(21) \textit{ikiwa tutakuwa na uzoefu}\textsuperscript{5}

if 1PL-FUT-AUX.become CONN C14-practice

'...if we become used to...'

(22) \textit{Kitu hiki ni kubwa kuliko kile}.

(lit. "where there is")

'This thing is bigger than that one.'

4.1.2.1. \textbf{The Auxiliary \textit{ngali}.}

This auxiliary form is made up of the verb stem -\textit{li}- and the Progressive formative -\textit{nga}-, and has the English meaning, "still". It is probably considered archaic and as will be demonstrated is often substituted by an alternative construct. The examples, which are from Ashton (1947), show the form as an independent verb and as an auxiliary:

(23) (a) \textit{Angali kijana}.

3SING.PROG-be C7-young person.

'He is still a child.'

(b) \textit{Alipokuka angali mbali, baba yake akamwona}.

3SING.PROG-be

'While he was yet a long way off, his father saw him.'

(23)(b) confirms the ability of -\textit{ngali}- to be an independent verb, because it is itself served by the auxiliary \textit{alipokuwa}. In the next examples, -\textit{ngali}- either modifies another tense form or an

\textsuperscript{5} As discussed elsewhere, long quotations will not be syntactically analysed in full - only relevant and highlighted portions are so treated.
infinitive form supported by an auxiliary to impart tense:

(24) (a) *Angali akjifunza*

3SING.PROG-be 3SING..PART -learn.

"He is still learning."

(b) *Alikuwa angali kujifunza.*

3SING.PAST-be 3SING.PROG INF-learn

"He was still learning.

Lastly, the more usable form uses the adverb *bado,* "still", in place of the *-ngali-* construct:

(25) *Alikuwa bado kusoma.*

"He was still reading."

Clearly, the form has passed through phases, that of independent verb form like its *-li-* parent, and an auxiliary phase, which is being superseded by a simpler form - and example of simplification in the second case.

The affix *-li-* has the same shape as the past tense marker *-li-* and the possibility of their common origin will be revisited, together with other tense markers which might have derived from independent verbs, in a later section of this chapter. The next section deals with those verbs which are actively used as independent verbs, but also have a role as auxiliaries.

4.1.3. **Independent Verbs with an additional auxiliary role.**

Reference to appendix 1 will show a number of verbs which are widely used in their independent form and also are used in an auxiliary role. Such coexistence of verb roles has been previously identified as a part of the grammaticalisation process, and it will be shown that
some verbs are in fact to be found in three steps of the process - independent, auxiliary and clitic. The first group to be discussed is kwisha (root - isha), a verb which it will be shown is grammaticalised to a large degree. It is a vowel-initial verb and thus is often found with the infinitive prefix *ku* attached.

4.1.3.1. The auxiliary kwisha (already).

In its finite form, *-kwisha* has the meaning, "to be finished", as illustrated by Ashton (1947:25):

(15) *Mchezo umekwisha? Umekwisha.*


"Has the game finished? It has finished."

The verb is, however, as frequently used as an auxiliary, as can be shown from the following example:

(16) *Alikuwa amekwisha ondoka.*

C1-PAST-AUX C1_PERF-AUX depart

"He had already left."

Such usage is described by the Oxford Standard Swahili-English dictionary (1939)\(^7\) in the following terms:

"*Isha* is constantly used as a semi-auxiliary of time, expressing completion more emphatically than the tense prefix *-me*-. Thus used it is commonly followed by the stem only of the principal verb, without the infinitive prefix *ku-*"

\(^{6}\) There are two auxiliary constructs in this example - the *-kwa* form is used to denote the Pluperfect tense.
Other forms of the use of this auxiliary are readily attested; C. Shivachi in private communication offered the following variants:

(17) (a) **Nimekwisha kula.**

1Sing.PERF-finish INF-eat

"I have finished eating."

(b) **Nimeisha kula.**

(c) **Nimesha kula**

The three expressions show increasing degrees of grammaticalisation of the auxiliary towards a clitic, and in fact, according to Shivachi, in rapid speech the form *Shakula*! may be observed, thus making a full clitic out of the auxiliary form.

4.1.3.1.1. **Other categories formed from kwisha**

By a normal process of production the noun *mwisho*, "end, ending" is formed but its usage has extended into an adverbial form, meaning "lastly", as demonstrated by these examples, the first one being a possessive construction and the second an adverbial form:

(18) (a) **Mwisho wa mstari.**

C3-end AGR-POSS C3-line

"The end of the line."

---

7 Hereinafter, the Oxford dictionary, unless otherwise indicated.
8 Although the gloss indicates the infinitive *ka-* , this is present on account of the monosyllabic root *-la*, not because any breach of rule has occurred.
(b) *Mwisho, wacha niseme hivi.*

**ADV-end** 2PERS.IMP-leave 1SING-say-SUBJ thus

"Finally, let me say this."

Another form derived from *kwisha* is also an adverbial, this time apparently grammaticalised from the infinitive form. It appears to have moved through two stages, both extant in the language - that of adverb of time and that of manner, as exemplified by the following from the definition in Oxford Swahili/English dictionary (1939):

(20) (a) *Tulikula, kisha tulondoka.*

**ADV-end**

"We ate and afterwards (then) left."

(b) *Yeye ni mwizi kisha ni mwongo.*

**ADV-end**

"He is a thief, moreover he is a liar."

Before closing the discussion about *kwisha*, one anomaly raised by Heine and Reh (1984:73f) is that *kwisha* was adopted by speakers of Kenya Pidgin Swahili (KPS) as a replacement for -*me*- as a Perfect tense marker. Allowing for the fact that KPS has probably existed since the advent of European colonisation, the question arises as to whether the auxiliary usage of - *me*- + *kwisha* might not have been introduced into standard Swahili by this route, rather than accepting that KPS adopted a simplified perfect form. The most likely route would have been for KPS to select an independent form of the verb with the necessary meaning "finish", as is suggested by the following examples:

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9 This form is also confirmed by Heine et al. (1991:202)

10 The writer has personal experience of this usage while in Nairobi in 1955 - British troops acquiring
(21)  (a)  *Amekwisha*

3SING.PERF. INF-finish

"s/he has finished finishing"

(b)  *Kwisha fika.*

KPS-AUX arrive

"S/he/they have arrived."

(c)  *Amekwisha fika*  

3SING.PERF.INF-end arrive

"S/he has arrived."

*Kwisha* has thus been shown to be a highly grammaticalised verb. The foregoing examples have shown that it is still an independent verb in the language, it has a widely used auxiliary form, and it has shown simplification and cliticisation. It has reanalysed as an adverbial and has progressed from adverb of time, through place (as exemplified by *mwisho*) to that of manner. No other Swahili verb has undergone such an extensive process, or been so productive in providing grammatical structures for the language. The remaining independent verbs with auxiliary counterparts will now be examined.

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Swahili informally invariably used *kwisha fika* and similar forms. Compare this form with that discussed earlier in example (17).
4.1.3.2. **The auxiliary kuja**

As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991:153) point out that amongst the commonest targets for grammaticalisation are those which represent the English concept "go" or "come". Swahili is clearly no exception to this and both these verbal concepts will be examined. The verb for "come" in Swahili is monosyllabic and thus usually appears with the infinitive prefix attached, viz. *kuja*, in order to preserve the preferred Bantu pattern of stress on the penultimate syllable. The following examples show the verb in its independent form:

(22) (a) *Njukuja kesho.*

1SING.FUT.INF-come

"I will come tomorrow."

(b) *Sijaja!*

1NEG-SING.PROG.come

"I have not yet come"

As an auxiliary, the verb has a number of meanings, such as "eventually", "later", and "lest" in the negative form, as shown by:

(23) (a) *Atukuja uawatu.*

3SING.INF-come kill C2-person

"He will eventually kill someone"

(b) *Mkifanya bidii, mtukuja kuwa na faida*
2PL.FUT.INF-AUX

"If you (pl.) make an effort, you will eventually profit."

(c) ...akaonya kuwa haya lazima yatakujaa kuathiri vibaya matamshi ya vizazi vijavyo.

Barwani, A.M. (1992)

C6.FUT.INF-come

"...He warns that it will eventually be necessary to eliminate completely
mentions of births yet to come..."

(d) Asije atukute tukila

3SING.NEG.come-SUBJ 3SING.1PL.OC.meet-SUBJ 1PL.PART.eat

Let him not come and find us eating.

(e) Asicheze na moto asije aumizwe.

3SING.NEG.play-SUBJ CONN 3SING-fire 3SING.NEG.come-SUBJ 3SING.hurt.PASS

"Let him not play with fire lest he be hurt."

In addition to providing a convenient adverbial form, the verb *kuja* can be seen as part of some
negative constructs, where, as discussed elsewhere, there has been a movement of meaning from
specific to general, and what originally expressed the concept of motion now has the meaning of
progression in time. Consider example (22)(b), repeated here. The first -ja- morpheme is shown
as a negative formative in what the Oxford dictionary calls the Deferred tense, meaning "not yet".
In an earlier example of this chapter (example 14), the formative -ja- was combined with a
locative affix to give a conjunctive form, meaning "even though". Additionally, -ja- is also seen
as a negative formative in the Subjunctive, and may be found with a variant -e-. The following
examples demonstrate these forms:
(24) (a) *Sijaja!*

1NEG-SING..PROG.come

"I have not yet come"

(b) *Lazima ahudhirie, japo hakupata taarifa.*

(Ashton 1947:263)

**CONJ 3PERS.NEG-PAST-get notice**

"He must put in an appearance, even though he may not have received any notice."

(c) *Tusile kab(i)la hajaja.*

1PL.NEG.eat-SUBJ before NEG-3SING.DEF.come

"Let us not eat before he comes."

(d) *Asijelala asoma kitabu kitakatifu.*

3SING.NEG.SUBJ.sleep.

"Before he goes to sleep, he reads a holy book."

(Lit. "Without his yet lying down... (Oxford dictionary (1939))

Whilst not grammaticalised to the extent of the verb *kwisha*, clearly *kuja* has also undergone a number of stages, and is seen as an independent verb, an auxiliary and as an affix in both positive and negative form.

4.1.3.3. **The auxiliary kwenda**

The verb *kwenda* has the independent meaning "to go", and normally describes the action carried out by the subject:

(25) (a) *Nitakwenda dukani.*
1SING.FUT.INF-go shop-LOC

"I will go to the shop."

(b) **Msiende**\(^{12}\)

2PL.NEG.go-SUBJ

Do not go! (You should not go!)

(c) **Nenda zako!**

"Go away! (colloq.)"\(^{13}\)

However, when the verb is used as an auxiliary, it shows a change in direction - it is used to indicate an action being done, but not yet completed, but contains the idea that someone had to go to do the thing. It is followed by its complement in the Passive voice:

(26) (a) **Watoto wamekwenda kuitwa, wamwonyeshe mwalimu kazi yao.**

C2-child C2.PERF.INF-go INF-call-PASS C2.OC.show-SUBJ C1-teacher C9-work C9-POSS

"Someone has gone to call the children, so that they may show their work to the teacher."

(b) **Matofali yamekwenda kuletwa**

C6-brick AGR.PERF.INF-go INF-bring-PASS

"Someone went to fetch the bricks."

The above two examples show that *kwenda* as an auxiliary can be fully conjugable. There are two more forms where the process of change has begun by the dropping of the agreement concords and eventual fusion as an adverbial form. These forms, illustrated below, both have

\(^{12}\) Being a vowel-initial verb *kwenda* re-inserts the infinitive marker when the preceding affix may not take stress, but this is not used in the Subjunctive mood.

\(^{13}\) This is the most common spoken form - the -n- is described in most grammars as "irregular" - it is obviously a phonological preference for the initial vowel.
the meaning of "supposing?" or "maybe"; the first form, -endapo may still appear with
agreement concords, the second huenda is now invariable.  

(27)  
(a)  
basi msiwazie kuolewa na waume zao endapo baina yao wamepatana kwa wema.  
Holy Qur'an, Surat 2. Sura al Baqara. 232
"Just don't prevent them from being married to their menfolk - it may so
happen that their explanation that they had struck a bargain may be true."

(b)  
Nendapo nikianguka?

ISING.go.REL
"Suppose I fell?"

(c)  
Masuala ya kilimo huenda yakawa ni magumu zaidi

Sauti ya Ujerumani: Idhaa ya Kiswahili - Habari
1.12.99, (Deutsche-Welle Swahili News.)
"Issues about agriculture maybe are harder (to resolve)..."

Again, it has been shown that the Swahili auxiliary kwenda has many forms; it exists as an
independent verb, it may be a fully conjugated auxiliary and it has also moved into an adverbial
form in the process of losing concords.

4.1.3.4.  
The Auxiliary kuweza

The meaning of kuweza in an auxiliary role is to impart the concept of possibility, but as this is
much the same meaning as its independent form, it is difficult to differentiate between the two

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14 The form huenda comprises the root -enda and the habitual prefix hu-. This prefix does not change for
number or gender, thus it is natural that the form of the adverbial has this shape.
- the structure is followed by the infinitive which has a degree of nominality and thus a view of a verb form moving along a grammaticalisation cline is at least a clouded one. Example (28)(a) can be construed as an example of the independent form, while (b) shows an auxiliary role:

(28) (a)  *Na enyi watu wangu! Fanyeni mwezayo, na mimi pia ninasanya.*


**2PL.able.REL**

"And you, my people! Do what you are able and I will do likewise."

(b)  *Watoto wasiokwenda shuleni havawezi kujifunza vizuri.*

**3PL.able.NEG**

"Children who do not go to school cannot possibly learn well."

No simplified, adverbial form of this verb appears to exist.

4.1.3.5. **The auxiliary kupata.**

The independent meaning of *pata* is "get", and as an auxiliary, the meaning implies an opportunity to achieve something. The first example shows the independent form and the second another quotation, both from the Qur'an, showing the auxiliary usage:

(29) (a)  *Na hakika hutapata kiu humo wala hutapata joto.*

Holy Qur'an, Surat 20. Surat t'aha. 119.

**NEG-2SING.FUT.get**

"...Surely you will suffer neither thirst nor the heat of the sun."

(b)  *jina lake ni Yahya. Hatujapata kumpa jina hilo...*

"...his name is Yahya. We did not yet have an opportunity to give him that name..."

There do not appear to be any adverbial forms of this verb.

4.1.3.6. **The auxiliary kutaka.**

The last auxiliary form to be examined is *kutaka*, "to want", which is widely used as an independent verb and also as an auxiliary. In a later section the movement of this verb into an affixal situation will also be discussed. Ashton (1947:277) points out that the auxiliary meaning of "being on the point of..." or "about to..." is probably indicative of a previous Immediate Future tense. As the normal Future tense uses a grammaticalised form of -*taka*- it is not clear how there would be a distinction between the two tenses, unless the full form related to the Immediate Future whereas the short form -*ta*- referred to Distant Future tense.

There is extensive usage of the independent form, as could be expected from a verb with such wide-ranging meaning - the Oxford dictionary lists four interpretations: feel a want, express a want, be in want of and seem to want.

(30) (a) *Pesa gani mnataka, mwatutia hasirani,*

"Jundwe Tume haraka" K.S.Luanda (Nolo), Dar es Salaam.\(^{15}\)

"How much money do you(pl.) want, setting us to anger?"

(b) *Humpa anayetaka, jamii ya wanadamu,*

"Kiburi" By - Abdala Kizere.

"Always give him what he wants, all you of the human race.

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\(^{15}\) This quotation, and others following, from a modern Swahili poem is taken from a corpus of poetic work, collected from the Internet for concordance analysis, under the Web Page title of Bwambani.
In an auxiliary role, -\textit{taka} has the meaning, as mentioned above, of "on the point of..." - the next example (31)(a) from Surat 2 demonstrates this, as does example (b):

\begin{enumerate}[(a)]
\item \textit{Au mnataka kumwomba Mtume wenu kama alivyo ombwa Musa zamani?}
\begin{quote}
"Or are you about to pray to your (pl.) Apostle just as Moses was prayed to in the past?"
\end{quote}
\item \textit{Huyu mtu ataka kufa.}
\begin{quote}
"This person is at the point of death."
\end{quote}
Ashton (1947:277)
\end{enumerate}

As mentioned in several places previously, -\textit{taka} has provided Swahili with a future tense marker in more than one form. In the concluding section of this chapter, those verb forms which have produced tense affixes will be discussed in detail.

\section{4.1.4. Tense affixes formed from independent verbs.}

Swahili tenses are generally marked by affixes, some of which have been discussed in earlier chapters - the future tense marker was discussed in Chapter 2 (examples (2)(a, b & c), and again in the previous section. It has been shown (but will be explored in more detail) that the independent verb \textit{taka}, "to want", has provided the affix for this tense - following sub-sections will explore this further, as well as examining the Perfect suffix \textit{me-}, the Past formative -\textit{li-} and the Narrative -\textit{ka-}. It will be recalled that reference was made to the suggestion of Heine et. al. (1991:35) that the process of grammaticalisation often relied on independent verbs like "want", "stay" and "be at" as source concepts - this will be tested in the ensuing paragraphs.
4.1.4.1. **The future -taka- and -ta-.**

In Chapter 2, it was shown that a possible path along which the Future affix developed was by the use of the purposive form -taka-which later shortens to -ta-. The examples used are repeated here for convenience:

(32)  (a) *Ninataka kwenda Nairobi*

1st.PERS-PRES.want INF-go Nairobi

'I want to go to Nairobi.'

(b) *Nitakwenda Nairobi*

1st.PERS-FUT.go Nairobi

'I will go to Nairobi.'

There are two pieces of evidence for this process. The first will be noted by referring to the previous section 4.1.3.6. in which it was suggested that the auxiliary form of the verb has the meaning, "to be on the point of". This is a shift from the purposive interpretation of (32)(a) to a more temporal approach as seen in (c):

(c) *Huyu mtu ataka kufa.*

"This person is at the point of death."

Ashton (1947:277)

The transition is completed by the entirely temporal usage in (b) where the marker -ta- is now fully employed as a tense marker.

The second piece of evidence for the transition of -taka- to -ta- is the fact that in Future tense relative constructions, the full form -taka- has been retained, strongly suggesting that the Future form arose from this verb.
It was tense.

HADITHI: ALFU LELE U LELE au usiku elfu na moja

(Thousand and one Nights: Internet)

3SING.FUT.REL.return

'Before he left, he chose his chief Minister to administer his responsibilities until he should return.'

(b) Atakayefika.

3SING.FUT.REL.arrive

'S/he who will arrive.'

It has been shown that -taka exists in four different forms - the independent verb with the meaning, "want", the auxiliary form imparting a concept of being "on the point" of doing something, the Future marker used with relative constructions with the same form as the independent and auxiliary forms, and the reduced affix used as a tense marker for the primary Future tense.

4.1.4.2. The tense marker -me-

In the discussion of the auxiliary form of kwisha, "to finish", it was shown (4.1.3.1.) that this verb is used as a simple Perfect marker in the linguistic variety called Kenya Pidgin Swahili (KPS). Heine and Reh, (1984:73) describe a three cycle process of grammaticalisation of which the use of kwisha is seen as a replacement for the affix -me-. In the discussion above, it was also pointed out that the structure has moved back into the standardised form of the
language, and is to be found complete with the -me- Perfect affix although it is debatable whether it was the independent or the auxiliary form which gave KPS its construct - the former seems the most likely. The example from 4.1.3.1. is repeated here:

(34) Amekwisha fika  
3SING.PERF.INF-end arrive  
'S/he has arrived.'

Heine and Reh (1984) describe the process through which -me- has moved as a series of steps starting with another verb, mal- (PB *mad-)16 which became fused with the proto form of (kw)isha, namely PB *gid, in the form of a suffix -ile (a common Perfect suffix in Bantu languages today) to give *meele, subsequently shortened to -me-, and finally deleted, they suggest to give the KPS form discussed above. That these various verb roots and suffixes exist today is confirmed by the examples:

(35) (a) mapatano ya kumaliza vita vya wenyewe kwa wenyewe Kongo-Brazaville.  
From: Sauti ya Ujerumani: Idhara ya Kiswahili - Afrika Magazini 26.11.199917  
INF.finish  
'...agreement to end the internal wars of Congo Brazzaville.'

(Xh) (b) Benaphosisile nobabini.  
(Peteni, 1980:43)18  
AUX.NEARPAST-2PERS.PL.PART-mistake-CAUS-PERF.TERM  
'Both of you were wrong.'

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16 The verb exists in modern Swahili, as will be shown in the example, with the form maliza, which has the appearance of having been fused with a causative suffix. There is however a causative form malishita which may indicate that the form entered the language already fused.

The development of this construct can be summarised as applying to one form which is now only found in affixal form in the standard forms of the language or deleted in some varieties. The independent verb which makes up part of its morphology still exists in a modified shape, and another part, from an alternative verb meaning 'finish', provides the Perfect tense marker for Xhosa.

4.1.4.3. The tense marker -li-

The form -li- as a variant form of the verb "to be" has been discussed in detail in section 4.1.2. For completeness' sake, it is necessary to comment on any relationship between the verb form and the Past tense marker, as they both have the same shape. Ashton (1947:205) is careful to distinguish between the two forms, but adds in a footnote that they probably share a common origin. Heine and Reh (1984:130) say that the Past tense marker grammaticalised from the copula, and quote as support an example from Bari, an Eastern Nilotic language, which uses a copula particle a which is also seen as a Past tense affix. In Swahili, the similarity between the two usages is seen in these examples:

(36) (a)  
\[ \text{Niliye mwalimu.} \]
1SING.be.REL teacher
"I, who am a teacher"

(b)  
\[ \text{Nilihekwa mwalimu.} \]
1SING.Past.REL INF-be
"I, who was a teacher."

Guthrie (CS547) lists *di as a radical for "be", but shows in his list of starred verbal elements (CS 2245) the form *di - a as a past marker, which could be construed as representing two different forms, as other past markers discussed elsewhere in this thesis have the form

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18 Also used as example (41) in Chapter 5.
It seems C1ltJrtCUltt further, thus the conclusion remains that the two forms may have a common origin either in Proto Bantu, or possibly pre-Proto Bantu.

4.1.4.4. The tense marker -ka-

The last tense marker to be examined is -ka-, which is used to denote continuation of action, as in a narrative form. In Chapter 3 (3.1.2.1. Pahl's second group) it was argued that a contender for this tense marker was the Proto Bantu verb, *kâda, which gives -sala, "stay", in Xhosa and -kaa, "stay", in Swahili. Some support for such an argument is found in the Oxford dictionary entry for -kaa, under the fourth meaning listed which says "4. continue, last, endure." But, as was argued in that section, a stronger contender is the ur-Bantu *-*ka, "go", and the relevant comparison and an example is repeated here:

"Botne, in notes to a paper presented in 1966 comments that Meinhof and Van Warmelo (1932) reconstruct a verb root *-*ka- "go" based on Swahili -ka- "consecutive", Ngonde and Herero -ka- "motional". Swahili, as Botne says, uses -ka- as a consecutive tense/aspect marker with the meaning "and then...", or of one action subsequent to another, viz:

(33) Nilikwenda sokoni, nikanuma ndisi sita, nikala tatu, nikampa mwenzangu tatu.

'I went to market and bought six bananas. I ate three and three I gave to my companion." (end of quote.)

It would thus be inconsistent not to conclude that -ka- is derived from the same form that produced the Xhosa Past tense â and the similar constructs in other languages mentioned above.
4.1.5. Summary of examination of Swahili auxiliaries.

One of the objectives of the chapter has been to test the concept of the Swahili auxiliary against the model proposed in the previous chapter, based on Pahl (1983). Whereas Pahl identified five different forms of the auxiliary in Xhosa, the list for Swahili seems shorter. In Appendix 1, which was compiled in line with the model mentioned above, it was only possible to identify three of the types which appear in Xhosa. The first group, those affixes which appear before the verb root, are limited to two forms, -li- and -ngali, although to these could be added -me- and -ka-. The auxiliary -li- may be considered a doubtful starter, as it does have an independent form, as has been shown. Group 2 of the Pahl paradigm comprises affixal types followed by the infinitive without a pre-prefix. In the case of Swahili, there is no pre-prefix, and likewise no affixa1 equivalent of, for example, (Xhosa) ndiya kuhamba, "I will go". Swahili has introduced a pre-verbal affix -ta- as shown in the relevant section above.

Pahl's third type employ a participial complement fused to a truncated auxiliary of the form, bendithetha, "I was speaking". No such conjoined construction occurs in Swahili; the participial is marked by -ki-, as in nilikawa nukisema, "I was speaking". The participial marker in Xhosa, a cognate of -ki-, is only found in monosyllabic verbs.19 Deficient verbs in the fourth section, such as Xhosa -mana-, soloka, "always", perhaps equate to Swahili constructs like endapo, "finally", but it is not yet clear that in Xhosa they have become fully adverbial. This aspect of the grammaticalisation process will be examined in detail in later sections. Pahl's fifth section, those independent verbs which have auxiliary counterparts, has a large number of entries. The equivalent Swahili list is considerably shorter, comprising only six verbs, discussed in detail above. It will be argued in the concluding chapter that there are clear reasons for these differences in the approach to auxiliaries in these two languages.

19 This concept is discussed in detail in the next chapter.
Chapter 5.

Grammaticalisation in Xhosa.

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, some examples of Xhosa grammaticalisation will be examined, in terms of the earlier definitions discussed in Chapter 2, and of the concepts already examined in other Bantu languages.

5.2 Channels of grammaticalisation.

Heine & Reh (1984:113) describe development of grammatical categories as being through specific channels of grammaticalisation. Normally, they indicate, there will be one preferred channel for each grammatical category, called the primary channel, and sometimes a number of secondary channels providing alternative, if not so common, sources. Typically, such channeling may be illustrated in Bantu languages by the development of a complementiser from verbs, usually those meaning "say", and in Xhosa is demonstrated by the use of *ukuthi* (to say):

(1) Ndibone *ukuthi* mandishintshe ingqondo.

I-PAST-see COMP HORT-I-change-SUBJ C9-mind

'I saw that I would have to change my mind.'

This confirms the suggestion by Heine & Reh (1984:113) that the re-analysis of "saying" verbs is commonplace in African languages, and further supported by the following Swahili example, whose complementiser is, similarly, the infinitive form of *amba* 'to say or tell'.

(2) *Juma aliniambia* *kwamba* Ahmed *ataliipa* *wiki* ijango.

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1 This example is taken from The greater dictionary of Xhosa, Vol. 3.

Juma he-PAST-me-tell COMP Ahmed he-FUT-you-pay week coming.

‘Juma told me that Ahmed will pay you next week.’

5.3 **The Auxiliary as a grammaticalisation channel.**

Heine & Reh, (1984:113) use two options to demonstrate how these channels are made use of, namely, tense/aspect markings and verbal derivative extensions. To these can be added a third verb option - that of the auxiliary verb and it will be shown that this option is a frequent channel for grammaticalisation in Xhosa. It will be seen that a number of finite Xhosa verbs are also used in an auxiliary role to assist in the conjugation of the verb, whilst others have an auxiliary role, but no function in the conjugation. A third group have neither finite correspondences, nor any role to play other than that of an auxiliary.

Appendix 2 presents a list of most Xhosa verbs that have auxiliary roles, divided into the categories mentioned above. Various examples from each of these categories will be examined in the next few pages, to establish to what degree grammaticalisation has taken place, and whether the Xhosa experience measures up to that discussed in the context of other Bantu languages.

Hopper and Traugott, (1993:108), in a not altogether different approach to that of Heine & Reh, develop an approach which seems to be appropriate to this discussion, in that they typify a verb-to-affix cline as shown in Section 1.2.5, and repeated as follows:

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Verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix
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The following examples will show how some Xhosa verbs, used as auxiliaries, have progressed along the cline to the affix position whilst still having a commonplace role in the language as a finite verb.

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3 Hopper and Traugott, (1993:108) in fact introduce the term "vector verb" in between "verb" and "auxiliary", equating to the compound verb often found in Indo-Aryan languages. It is not material to this study.
Such a situation is a clear stage in the process of grammaticalisation, and is stated by Hopper and Traugott, (1993:36) as ‘...A probably never "becomes" B without an intermediary stage in which A and B coexist.’

5.3.1. *The finite verb -sala ‘to stay, remain’.*

An appropriate selection from the first section of Appendix 2 is the Xhosa verb, -sala ‘to stay, remain’. The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa exemplifies the finite usage of this verb with this sentence, in which the auxiliary -ze precedes the main verb in the Subjunctive and has the sense of "please" in English:

(3) Uze usale wena ugcine umzi.

2PERS-AUX 2PERS-remain-SUBJ ABS.you 2PERS-care for-SUBJ C3-house

‘you stay behind and look after the house.’

5.3.2. *-sala as an auxiliary.*

In its role as an auxiliary, -sala is found in its perfect tense form, -sele, frequently abbreviated further in less formal register, but the following example from the literature will show it being used in its full form (Jordan, 1960,136):

(4) UDabula wayesel' emazi kancinane uThembeka...

C1-Dabula 3PERS.PAST-AUX.already 3PERS.PART-C1-know ADV-small C1-Thembeka

‘Dabula already knew Thembeka slightly.’

5.3.3 *-sala as a clitic.*

In the next example, the author (Sinxo, G.B. 1980:7) has used the same unabbreviated form, but it

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4 The quotation is taken from the 1980 edition, but the original was first published in 1922, and it is in this earlier
is shown as one structure with the main verb, showing that the next stage of the grammaticalisation process has begun to take place:

(5) ...Ngokuthetha ngeminwe nezinye iimpawu wëba seleqondana evana nosapho lwakhe kangagqithanga veki simbini.

3PERS-PAST-be AUX-already-understand-RECIPRO

'Before two weeks had passed, she and her group were already able to understand one another by speaking with their fingers and using other signs.'

This stage in the cline as suggested by Hopper and Traugott is that of clitic, a category which, as has already been discussed in an earlier chapter, presents problems of identity in Bantu languages. However, as concluded in that discussion, for the purposes of this paper, the term special clitic will be used to describe one which has invariable shape, and may join with a wide range of word categories, whereas the term simple clitic will refer to the attachment of a portion of a structure such as an auxiliary, to the structure of its complement when in its independent form.

A further contraction of the verb form -sala is seen in a shortening of the perfect form from -sele to -se, a form frequently found in the conjugation of compound tenses, both in the full auxiliary construction, and in the cliticised form, as illustrated by the next two examples from the literature (Jordan 1960:138):

(6) Ndise ndikuyiphawula futhi' into yokuba abantu abasiphetheyo siyabalibalela.

1PERS-AUX already 1PERS-TEMP-c9.AGR-notice often

'I have noticed many times that we are inclined to lose sight of the fact that those who rule us are also human beings.'

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5 Structural analyses of lengthy quotations will be limited to the relevant extract, as highlighted, to avoid unnecessary complicated syntactic strings.

6 These two English translations, together with any others of Jordan's "Ingqumbo yeminyanya" are taken from Priscilla Jordan's translation, "The wrath of the Ancestors". As a whole, the translation is an excellent representation of Jordan's novel, but Xhosa translations are of necessity only paraphrases, thus whilst the literary sense is skilfully retained, the grammatical sense may not appear to be so accurate. This is not, however, relevant to the discussion.
(7) *Khona sekusithiwa "yinkosasana"

AUX.now-c15-1PERS.PL.OC-say-PASS

'Granted she is a princess'

It has thus been demonstrated that the verb *sala* has a number of usages which have moved along the cline from finite verb to the role of auxiliary, and also to the next stage, that of clitic. The next section will show examples to demonstrate that the verb has moved into the final phase of grammaticalisation, that of becoming an affix.

5.3.5  *sala* as an affix.

The progressive form of the verb in Xhosa uses an aspectual affix *sa*, and has the meaning that an action or state is still in progress. It may be used in the positive or negative paradigm of most tenses where its meaning is appropriate. Gough et al, in Xhosa Study Guide 3 for XHA100-F (1989:161) say:

"*sa* is a contraction of the verb *sala* (remain). In this context, it is in fact an auxiliary verb, indicating a continuing action or state." and, in introducing their chapter on the Xhosa auxiliary verb:

"Some auxiliary verbs are fully grammaticalised in their use and are incorporated in the conjugation of the verb."

This is demonstrated in examples (8), (9) and (10), and confirms that the process as outlined by Hopper and Traugott, (1993) and discussed in the introductory paragraph to this chapter, exists in Xhosa, and grammaticalisation has taken place according to the suggested cline.

(8)  *Ndisahamba*

and translations are only given as a guide to the non-Xhosa speaker.
1PERS-PROG-go
'I am still going.'

(9) Andisayi kuthetha
NEG-1PERS-PROG-AUX-NEG.TERM INF-say
'I am no longer going to speak.'

(10) Wáya kulala esakambile
3PERF.PERF-AUX INF-sleep 3PERS.PART-PROG-hungry-PERF.TERM
'He went to lie down, still hungry.'

5.3.6. Semantic bleaching.

One of the characteristics of the process of grammaticalisation is that, as a construct moves from a position of lexicality to one of greater grammaticality, its meaning becomes diluted. Hopper and Traugott (1993:96), discuss two aspects of this, namely the fact that early grammaticalisation does not show any great degree of bleaching, but that later forms will show an increase in polysemy. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991:108) point out that the most common interpretation is one whereby a grammaticalised structure loses all lexical content, and retains only its grammatical content. They further suggest (ibid:109) that bleaching is not confined to semantic content only but also affects the categorial status of the morpheme, i.e. it loses its prototypical categoriality, as in the case of verbs which have become auxiliaries, and even more so in the case of verbs which become complementisers.

This view is supported by the evidence from Xhosa, where, as has been shown in Chapter 2, the verb ukuba, 'to be', is found as a conjunctive, as is xa, 'when', derived from the noun ili xa, 'time'. In this chapter, it will be shown that all verbs which undergo grammaticalisation, have, to a greater or lesser degree, lost their more specific meaning, and are used in a more general sense.

Bybee and Pagliuca (1985:63), quoted by Heine (1993:89), summarise this as follows:
"...it has been viewed as leading to a generalisation of semantic content, a process that has the effect that the morpheme concerned is emptied of its semantic specificities and hence has a more general distribution in more contexts."

5.3.6.1 **Meaning shift in the auxiliary stage.**

Referring to the examples of the various stages in the development of *-sala from a purely finite verb, with the meaning of 'stay, remain', it can be seen from sentence (4), repeated below as (11), that the concept of 'remaining' is still present in the auxiliary meaning 'already', being an action or state which has occurred, and still exists at the time represented by the sentence:

(11) **UDabula wayesel' emazi kancinane uThembeka...**

C1-Dabula 3PERS.PAST-AUX already 3PERS.PART-C1-know ADV-small C1-Thembeka

'Dabula already knew Thembeka slightly.'

5.3.6.2. **Meaning shift in the clitic stage.**

The clitic stage, as exemplified by sentence (5) and repeated as (12) still retains the meaning of 'already', although sentence (7) (here 13) might have a dual meaning of 'now' as shown, or 'already' in the sense, 'we are already told'.

(12) **...Ngokuthetha ngeminwe nezinye impondw wiba seleqondana evana nosapho lwakhe kungagqithanga veki zimbini.**

3PERS.PAST-be AUX-already-understand-RECIPR

'Before two weeks had passed, she and her group were already able to understand one another by speaking with their fingers and using other signs.'

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7 The bleaching model.
Khona sekusithiwa "yinkosasana"

AUX.now-c15-1PERS.PL.OC-say-PASS

'Granted she is a princess'

5.3.6.3. **Meaning shift in the affix stage.**

As -sele in its auxiliary role may not be used in a negative sentence, but is substituted by the exclusive -ka- (not yet), it is clear that a meaning shift has begun to occur in the affixal forms, as exemplified by the negative sentence (14), which has the meaning of 'no longer', whereas the form -ka- in (15) has the meaning of 'not yet':

(14) **Andisayiboni**  

 NEG-1PERS-PROG-C9.AGR-see-NEG.TERM c9-man

'I no longer see the man.'

(15) **Andikayiboni**  

 NEG-1PERS-EXCL-C9.AGR-see-NEG.TERM c9-man

'I do not yet see the man.'

The other affixal examples showed that -sa- had taken on a meaning of 'still', i.e. an indication that the action or state is still in progress, as opposed to the auxiliary 'already' indicating the continued existence of a state. Sentence (10), repeated as (16), and (17) serve to confirm this.
(16) Wâya  
{kulala  
esalambile  
3PERF.PERF-AUX INF-sleep 3PERS.PART-PROG-hungry-PERF.TERM

‘He went to lie down, still hungry.’

(17) Ubesehamba  
(Ubè ese ehamba)

3PERS-AUX.PAST-AUX.PERF-go (Aux1 Aux2 Part)

‘He was already going.’

5.3.7. Insertion of -s- - epenthesis or grammaticalisation?

Most authors of Xhosa grammar books\(^8\) offer the explanation that when forming either possessive or copulative constructions from Xhosa locatives, the juxtaposition of the concordial vowel and the locative prefix, e-, is prevented by the presence of -s-, as shown in (18) & (19):

(18) Usekhaya

3PERS-s-LOC-home

‘S/he is at home.’

(19) Wathi xa selehunge selelela ukutshata wakhetha kwezesikolwendi

LOC-REL-C10.POSS-s-LOC-C7-school-LOC.TERM

‘When getting ready for marriage, one chose from amongst those (girls) from that school.’

(Gough et al. 1989:10)

As -s- is the only consonant to be found in an apparently epenthetic role in Xhosa,\(^9\) and because

\(^8\) e.g. Louw & Jubase (1978:123), Gough et al (1989:211), Satyo (1992:26)

\(^9\) Other examples of epenthesis make use of semi-vowels, not consonants, e.g. kwayizolo (of yesterday, and uTyenala, (beer), and follow patterns of consonantalisation widely seen where vowels are found in juxtaposition. Satyo, however, (1992:26) suggests that the negative agreement concords for classes 1 & 6, -ka-, and the 2nd. Pers object concord, also fall into this category. It will be argued elsewhere that these too represent grammatical morphemes, not hiatus breakers.
languages do not arbitrarily choose consonants to act as hiatus breakers, it is a reasonable assumption that the formative is derived from a grammatical form. Therefore, it can be argued that it is a further shortened form of -sala whose vowel has elided with the locative vowel following. In the light of the comments above, regarding the bleaching of meaning, it must be agreed that there is a concept of staying or remaining in both the above examples, which leads to the conclusion offered here. Further, Xhosa shows a clear strategy for hiatus breaking when vowels are juxtaposed, by the widespread use of the semi-vowels, -y- and -w-, either by direct insertion, as in sentence (20), or by the elision of the front vowel, as in (21):

(20) umzi wakhe

C3-homestead C1-3PERS.Poss

‘His/her home.’

(21) Bayayitwa imifuno

C2-PRES-C4.OC-eat C4-vegetable

‘They are eating vegetables.’

It is thus argued that the morph -s- is a form of the morpheme -su-, which has a grammatical function, and not merely an arbitrary choice of consonant inserted between two juxtaposed vowels.

5.3.8. Conclusions about -sala.

It can thus be concluded from the above discussions and examples, that the finite verb -sala exists in its normal finite form, and also appears as an auxiliary, and has grammaticalised into a form appearing both as a clitic and as an affix, satisfying the requirement of Hopper and Traugott, (1993), that A > A+B > C. Further, it can be said that a degree of semantic weakening takes place, not so obviously in the earlier stages, as predicted, but at the stage when the structure becomes an affix, a shift, or perhaps more
aptly, a broadening, of meaning takes place.

5.3.9. **The occurrence of -s(i)- in participial constructions.**

Another occurrence of an -s- morph is to be found in the Present Participial construction, where -s(i)- is inserted immediately before the root of monosyllabic verbs. As this construction appears idiosyncratic to a certain class of Xhosa verbs, as will be shown at the end of this section, a fairly close examination of its usage will follow, in order to establish, or eliminate any possibility of a link with the previous usage. Appendix 3 presents an analysis of affected verb roots in Xhosa.

5.3.9.1. **Usage.**

The construction is used in the present participial form where no object concord is present. The OC and -s(i)- are thus mutually exclusive. Some forms are seen where the use of the affix -s(i)- seems optional, e.g. the Group 4 verb (see Appendix 3) -mka, 'depart', where either of the two forms, emka or esimka (3rd Pers Sing) may be used. It should be noted that this verb is not truly monosyllabic, as the nasal -m is syllabic, retaining the syllabicity of the following, now deleted, -u- (which is still present in Zulu and some Xhosa dialects).

5.3.9.2. **Range of verbs using the -s(i)- structure.**

Five groups of verbs are identified in Appendix 3, as follows:

(i). The latent-i verb group.

(ii). The other monosyllabic verbs (excluding group (iii)).

(iii). Monosyllabic verbs with endings other than -a.

10 The participial form is often referred to as a mood in Xhosa teaching, whereas other language groups may consider it as a form of the indicative. The concept is discussed in more detail in footnote 13.
(iv) The verb -mka (syllabic -m).
(v) Vowel verbs.

(Note: Tone markings are only shown where distinctive.)

5.3.9.3. **Scope of the investigation.**

Each group of verbs is listed in its infinitive form, followed by an indication of usual valency. Next follows the form of the Present Indicative, 1st and 3rd person, singular, usually in Class 1 unless inappropriate (e.g. liyana, ‘it rains’ is shown in Class 5.). Both short and long forms of this tense are shown, so that the effect on the preceding vowel of the latent -i in the root can be observed, as shown in the examples below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Indicative Tense</th>
<th>Short Form</th>
<th>Long Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 1. Latent -i verbs.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uku</em>ba ‘to steal’</td>
<td><em>ndiba</em></td>
<td><em>ndiyeba</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PERS-steal</td>
<td>1PERS-ASP-steal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I steal.’</td>
<td>‘I am stealing.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ukuma</em> ‘to stand’</td>
<td><em>ndima</em></td>
<td><em>ndiyema</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PERS-stand</td>
<td>1PERS-ASP-stand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I stand.’</td>
<td>‘I am standing.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group 2. Other monosyllabic verbs.**

| *ukutya* ‘to eat’        | *nditya*   | *ndiyatya* |
| 1PERS-eat                | 1PERS-ASP-eat |

---

11 The short form of the Present Indicative Tense is not normally seen as a stand-alone construction, but would be followed by a complement - this is not being shown to simplify the presentation of the argument.

12 The term ASP (aspect) is used here as a convenient description of the affix -pa-. However, its use suggests more features than aspect, such as definiteness, imperfect tense, etc. vide. Kosch (1998) in South African Journal of African Languages Vol 8, No. 1.
‘I eat.’ ‘I am eating.’

The next column shows the equivalent present participial form, with the affix -s(i)- appearing consistently in all three groups of the monosyllabic verb forms.

**Present participial form**

1st Person Sing. | 3rd Person Sing.
---|---
Group 1. |  
 ndisihla | esihla | ‘I, descending’ | ‘he, descending.’
Group 2. |  
 ndisifa | esifa | ‘I, dying’ | ‘he, dying.’
Group 3. |  
 ndisithi | esithi | ‘I, speaking’ | ‘she, speaking.’

A typical construction using the participial form, with a main verb in the indicative, is shown below:

(22).  
**Uyema** esiva.  
3PERS-ASP-dig AGR-PART-listen  
‘She digs while listening.’

The imperative form demonstrates that all monosyllabic verbs require the attachment of a prefix yi-, and it is argued that this comprises the latent-i vowel of the root, together with the normal and widespread semi-vowel y- to give the necessary polysyllabicity which is invariable in Xhosa words with the exception of interjections, some conjunctives and some ideophones.

It is further argued that the latent-i group, requiring the least modification, readily accepts the semi-vowel y- on account of the presence of the latent high front vowel, and, by analogy, provides a useful construction to pass on to the other monosyllabic groups, thus giving the consistent imperative form
seen throughout these, closed category, groups:

**Imperative**

*Yiwa!* ‘Steal!’

*Yiwa!* ‘Fall down.’

The Proto-Bantu and/or Meinhof forms are included for reference, but no evidence can be seen to justify any particular form of present day construction in the participial form of these verbs, which hints at the possibility that the construct is a remnant of a once more universal form.

### 5.3.9.4. The participial form in other, closely related languages.

In Sotho, there is no apparent difference between the present indicative and the present participial forms. The monosyllabic verb is preceded by *o* in both forms, as shown:

(23)  

*Kë tsamaia ke o tlwa.*  

1PERS PRES-walk 1PERS V PART-hear  

‘I walk while listening (lit. hear/feel).’

(24)  

*Kë o tlwa ke tsamaia.*  

1PERS V hear 1PERS PART-walk  

‘I listen (lit. hear/feel) while walking.’

Similarly, in the more closely related Zulu, the latent-i verb as found in Xhosa is not apparent; the Zulu equivalent is a vowel verb, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(i)ba</em></td>
<td>-eba   ‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hla</td>
<td>-ehla  ‘descend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel is compulsory and invariable, thus monosyllabic verbs cannot occur in Zulu:

*ngi + eba > ng + eba > ngeba*

(25)  

*Ngeba*       *imali*
1PERS-steal C9-money

Therefore, as no monosyllabic verb can exist in Zulu, there can be no specific equivalent to the -s(i) of Xhosa, as demonstrated here:

\[(26) \quad \text{Washiya} \quad amathole \, edla\]

3PERS.PAST-abandon C6-calf \quad 3PERS.PART-eat

‘He left the calves while they were eating.’

5.3.9.5. -s(i)-: an idiosyncratic Xhosa construction.

It has now been shown that the construction, at least among the languages of the Nguni group, and the geographically related Sotho, is unique to Xhosa, and that other languages, which have either vowel verbs or monosyllabic verbs, do not require any special device to prevent juxtaposition of vowels, or monosyllabicity. As Xhosa already uses semi-vowels extensively in other situations, and monosyllabicity is not present once a concord is attached, it is a reasonable conclusion that the construction -s(i)- has its origins elsewhere.

However, the particle -s(i)- can be shown to have derived from Proto-Bantu *-ki-, although such a starred form is not given in Guthrie’s list of specific verbal elements. (He does describe a particle *-ki- as a ‘miscellaneous element’ with the meaning of ‘what?’). There is a cognate in Swahili, which suggests that the Xhosa particle is a remnant of a more generally used participial affix. Loogman (1965:2011) says of the Swahili participial form: ‘The characteristic indicator for this form is -ki-, probably identical with the prefix of the ki-nouns. This verb-form may best be compared to the English present participle...’

Loogman continues by saying (ibid) that the form has various English equivalents, such as temporal or conditional clauses, but the usage most relevant to this discussion is that of an action contemporaneous with that of the main verb, as shown in the following example:
(27) Nilimwona simba akinyemelea banda la ng'ombe.

C1-PART-move stealthily

'I saw a lion moving stealthily toward the cow-stable.'

The Swahili usage is, of course, not restricted to any particular verb form, such as mono- or poly syllabic - it may be used with all Swahili verbs, and thus suggests that, at least among Eastern Bantu languages, a specific participial marker was common.

In the Southeastern region, at least one other language uses a cognate formative for the participial. In Venda (S11), the particle -tshi- is invariably used in the participial form of the verb:

(28) Sandani a vhudzisa a tshi khou seasea...

'Sandani asked, smiling...'

Thus, it can be suggested that, with the evidence of a Swahili particle, -ki-, and a similar affix in Venda, tshi, each with the specific function of denoting the participial form of the verb, the restricted use of -s(i)- in Xhosa for the same purpose indicates a common origin, and the possibility that even the Xhosa usage was once more widespread, but has now been reduced only to usage where otherwise an unacceptable monosyllabic situation might exist.

Clearly, there is no connection between the participial -s(i)- and the -s- found in the constructions discussed in Sections 4.3.7 & 4.3.8. The -s- particle has been shown to have followed a path of grammaticalisation from finite verb to affix, with examples of the intermediate stages still extant in the language. The -s(i)- particle, exclusive to certain verbs in the participial form, has been shown to be a remnant of a tense/aspect/modality marker which may have once been universally applied in the Xhosa language, and which has direct cognates in at least two related languages in which the particle is an
5.4 **Grammaticalisation in other auxiliaries.**

The verb *-sala* is probably the most frequently encountered finite verb, which is widely used as an auxiliary, and which, in addition, has produced a number of grammaticalised affixes. Three other auxiliaries used in the conjugation of the verb in Xhosa, which do not, perhaps, show the same variety of usage as *-sala*, are *-ba*, ‘to be’, *-za*, ‘to come’, and *-ya*, ‘to go’, will now be examined.

5.4.1. **The auxiliary verb -ba/-be, ‘to be’.**

5.4.1.1. **General usage of -ba/-be.**

The verb ‘to be’ is represented in Xhosa by *ukuba* which is the Infinitive form, and it may be conjugated in the same way as any other verb. It is, however, classified as a ‘deficient’ verb, which, as pointed out by Du Plessis and Visser (1992:246), means that it may not occur with a Noun Phrase as its complement, but must be followed by a clausal complement as demonstrated in the following example (after Du Plessis and Visser (1992:276):

(29). \[ \text{uba} \quad \text{elambil} \quad \text{xa egoduka} \]

3PERS-PRES-be 3PERS.PART-hungry-STAT

He was already hungry when he went home.

This ‘deficient’ status also confirms the reason why, in Xhosa, *ukuba* cannot be used to express the existential usage in English, ‘I am a man’; such a concept must use a copulative form of predication, as shown in (30).
(30). \textit{Ndiyindoda}

1PERS-C9.COP-C9-man

‘I am a man.’

Du Plessis and Visser (1992:226) argue that -\textit{ba} may be found in the Present tense, followed by a Noun Phrase (in fact by NP, AP, PP or S), if the meaning is inchoative, and use (31) as an example:

(31) \textit{Olu sana luba} \textit{lule}

C11-Pres.be C11.COP-beautiful

‘This baby is becoming beautiful.’

Although one would not want to deny the inchoative meaning of (31), there is little to indicate that the structure is not -\textit{ba} + Copulative form, as seen in regular conjugations of the copulative where -\textit{ba/-be} has the function of an auxiliary verb, as shown in the following examples (32), (33) and (34):

(32) \textit{Uya} \textit{kuba yinkosi}

3PERS-AUX INF-be C9.COP-C9-chief

‘He will become chief.’

(33) \textit{Waba} \textit{yinkosi}

3PERS.PAST-AUX C9.COP-C9-chief

‘He was the chief.’ (lit. ‘he became the chief.’)

(34) \textit{ukuze abe} \textit{yinkosi}

3PERS.SUBJ-be C9.COP-C9-chief

‘In order that he may become chief.’
5.4.1.2. **-ba/-be used to conjugate the continuous tenses.**

As has already been indicated above, the continuous forms of various Xhosa past and future tenses use the auxiliary *-ba/-be* in their construction (*-be* being the Perfect form); the full paradigm of tenses in Xhosa is given as Appendix 4, from which it will be seen that there are four Future tenses and six Past tenses using this auxiliary form. A discussion of the full construction of these tenses is relevant to the concept of grammaticalisation of these auxiliary verb forms as will become clear when they are examined in detail in later sections. Examples are given below of these tenses in their full form.

**The Continuous Future tenses.**

This tense is formed from the Future tense of *ukuba* followed by the complement in the participial.\(^{13}\)

The negative is formed by negating the complement:

(35)  

\[ \text{Ndiya} \quad \text{kuba} \quad \text{ndithetha} \]  

1PERS-AUX  INF-be 1PERS.PART-speak  

‘I will be speaking.’

(36)  

\[ \text{Uza} \quad \text{kuba} \quad \text{engathethi} \]  

3PERS-AUX  INF-be 3PERS.PART-NEG-speak-NEG.TERM  

‘He will not be speaking.’

---

\(^{13}\) The nomenclature of moods in Xhosa is not standardised to any extent - Pahl lists four moods (1983:104); their English equivalents are: indicative, subjunctive, participial and relative. He makes no mention of the nonfinite moods of imperative and infinitive in his general description. In this thesis, the five mood system, as used by UNISA, is followed - this system recognises indicative, subjunctive, participial, imperative and infinitive moods. See also Loogman’s comments, quoted in para 4.3.9.5. The whole section 4.3.9. deals with the participial form or "mood" and its distinctive markers, a remnant of which can still be seen in Xhosa.
The Continuous Past tenses.

These tenses in Xhosa comprise the Near Past, the Remote Past and Past Perfect tenses, which are constructed as follows:

**Near Past Continuous Tense**

Conjugation of -be (Perfect form) + participial, viz:

*ndibe ndihlala* ‘I was staying.’

**Remote Past Continuous Tense**

-be in Remote Past format (with long -á-) + participial, viz:

*ndabe ndihlala* ‘I was staying’

**Past Perfect Tense (Pluperfect)**

Conjugation of -be (Perfect form) + participial in Perfect form, viz:

*ndibe ndibonile* ‘I had seen.’

The Contingent tenses.

The Contingent Tenses are formed from the auxiliary -be either in the Near Past Tense as in example (37), or in the Remote Past form (with long -á- as in (38)), followed by the Future tense in the participial mood, thus:

(37) *Ndibe ndiza kusala.*

1PERS-PAST.be 1PERS-AUX.PART INF-remain

‘I should have stayed.’ (lit. ‘I was going to have stayed behind.’)

(38) *Wabe engayi kuthenga inkomo.*
5.4.1.3. Grammaticalisation of the auxiliary \( -ba/-be \).

The preceding sections have shown a number of constructions using the auxiliary \( -ba/-be \) in a variety of tenses and moods, but in all cases the form of the construct has been identical to that which would be expected from the finite form of the verb. This supports the earlier discussion (Para 4.3.6.) in which it was explained that grammaticalisation may comprise both semantic and morphological change - the change so far discussed has been semantic weakening by virtue of the reanalysis of the verb as an auxiliary; the presence of morphological change, showing that in most cases grammaticalisation has taken place, and new forms are used, will be discussed in detail in this section.

In Chapter 2, and again in the introductory section of this chapter it was pointed out that grammaticalisation is likely to proceed along a cline, from verb to auxiliary to affix, and from semantic item to syntax, morphophonemic, and finally, a zero morpheme. These two concepts are expressed below in the following figures:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Discourse} & \text{syntax} & \text{morphology} & \text{morphophonemics} & \text{zero} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Verb} & \text{auxiliary} & \text{clitic} & \text{affix} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
Grammaticalisation of the Continuous Past Tenses.

As mentioned in the introduction to Section 4.4.1.3., the literature shows that the Continuous Past tenses are almost invariably subjected to grammaticalisation processes, in that the auxiliary and its complement are fused in such a way that redundant aspects of the construction are deleted, and the auxiliary -be becomes a prefix to the participial complement. As the Near Continuous and Remote Continuous Past Tenses differ in their approach to this, they will be described separately.

The Near Past Continuous Tense.

Fusion takes place between the auxiliary -be and the participial portion of the construction, as described above. The resultant affixation will be in full if the complement commences with a consonant, or with the vowel -e elided if the complement is vowel-initial, in which case the subject concord vowel will remain in place before the grammaticalised prefix, thus: (ndi)be ndibona > bendibona or ib(e) ibona > ibibona. The following examples from literary texts show this usage:

(39) "Mna bendiziphindezela," utsho Ntabeni eqinisekile ukuba uZuziwe uza kumngqinela. (Peteni, 1980:43)

```
AUX.NEARPAST-IPERS.PART-REFL-revenge oneself
```

"'As for me, I was just revenging myself', said Ntabeni, expecting that Zuziwe would sympathise.'
(40) *Niza kulamba ke namhlanje kuba bendingazilungiselelanga kuniphakela, kodwa ke konke kusezandleni zikaThixo.*  

\[ \text{AUX.NEARPAST-1PERS.PART-NEG.PART-REFL-prepare-APPL-NEG.PAST.TERM} \]

‘You will starve today because I have not prepared to preach to you. But all is in the hands of God.’

The same affixation process can be seen with the Past Perfect form; the auxiliary *-be* is prefixed to the Perfect form of the participial, as in the following:

(41) *Beniphosisile nobabini.*  

\[ \text{AUX.NEARPAST-2PERS.PL.PART-mistake-CAUS-PERF.TERM} \]

‘Both of you were wrong.’

**The Remote Past Continuous Tense.**

In the case of the Remote form, the redundancy which allows the affixation to take place lies in the fact that tense is marked both in the Subject Concord, *nda*- and in the verb root, *-be*, as can be seen from the example in 5.4.1.2., repeated here:

*ndabe ndihlala*  

‘I was staying’

- thus *-be* can be deleted while it is necessary to retain both Subject Concor...
learned from *nda-* thus allowing the deletion of the morpheme. It should be noted that this complete deletion of the morpheme represents a further (and in fact, final,) stage in the grammaticalisation process as set out in the figure at the beginning of this Section. The verb, *-ba/-be* has thus been shown to have passed through the whole process from finite verb to zero morpheme, whilst simultaneously retaining all the stages in the language. The following example using a previously referred Class 9 noun, *intsimbi*, 'a bell', demonstrates the common usage:

(42)  

*Yayibiza bonke abantu belali, indoda nomfazi, igqoboka nomhedeni, njengokuba namakhwenke amadala ayebiza ngophondo ngemini yedabi.*

(Peteni, 1980:40)

*C9-PAST.CONT-C9.PART-call*

'It (the bell) was calling all the people of the village, men and women, converts and non-

converts, just as older boys are summoned by a horn on the day of a faction-fight.'  

Grammaticalisation of *-ba/-be* in the Contingent Tenses.

The construction of the full form of the Contingent tenses is discussed in Section 4.4.1.2. - either Remote or Near Past form of the auxiliary is used together with the participial form of the Future. The following examples show that the same grammaticalisation processes as applied to the basic Continuous tenses are also used in these tenses, wherein the *-be* morpheme is retained in the Near Past forms, but is deleted altogether in the Remote Past form:

(43)  

*Ukuba bendiyenzile loo nto, yandilandela, ibiza kubethwa ngawakuthi, kuthiwe ndim*

---

14 Peteni translated 'Kwazidenge' from his original English version, in which the equivalent sentence is somewhat different. The gloss is thus a paraphrase of the Xhosa version, as the original might confuse the reader unacquainted with the language. The key word is *yayibiza* - Peteni used 'called' in the English, but the Xhosa version is Continuous Tense, and glossed as such.
oyitsalele kuloo ngozi.

3PERS.C9-PAST.AUX-3PERS.PART-FUT.AUX INF-beat-PASS

'Yes, I could have done that. But if he had walked with me, he would have been attacked by our boys and people would still have blamed me for luring him into danger.'

(Peteni, 1976:53)

Lit: ‘If I had done that (thing), he would have followed me, he would have been beaten by those (boys) of ours, it would be said it is I who drew him into that danger.’

(44) Sihambe sahamba sada saya kuthi thu kwintsunguzi leya ndandiza kugetyengwa kuyo, kwintilikazi ebisaziwa ngemanga lokuba kuseMgudu.

(Mqhayi, 1929:30)

1PERS.PAST.AUX-1PERS.PART-FUT.AUX INF-fall.upon-PASS

'We travelled and travelled, suddenly we came upon the track of a wild beast - I could have been fallen upon by it - at a large plain known by the name of Mgudu.'

5.4.2. **Grammaticalisation of the auxiliaries -za/-ze and -ya/-ye.**

As mentioned in the introduction to this section (4.4.) -za/-ze and -ya/-ye are forms worthy of some study as they are auxiliaries used in the construction of the Future Tenses, as well as being verbs with the finite meanings of 'come' and 'go' respectively. This dual usage for -ya was shown in Chapter 2, example (1), repeated here in part as (45) and (46)
Likewise, the finite form of -za/ze is seen in use in the extract from Peteni (1980) in (47) while auxiliary usage is exemplified by (48):

Thus, it is clear that both formatives have a lexical and a grammatical function, as finite and auxiliary verb respectively, and it will be shown in the following section that further grammaticalisation to affixal morpheme has taken place. As the grammaticalised forms of -za/ze are more complex than those of -ya/-ye, the latter form will be discussed first.

5.4.2.1. **Grammaticalisation of the auxiliary, -ya/-ye.**

The form -ye is used in the Remote Past (Continuous) tense as an apparently interchangeable substitute
for -be, but a close examination of its usage would suggest that this auxiliary is similar to the Subjunctive mood, as it denotes a consecutive action, 'and then...', thus:

\[ \text{waye efundisa} \quad \text{‘and then she was teaching...’} \]

The following example from the literature illustrates the concept of a following action although the construction is found in the Sentence-initial position - the context of the overall text makes clear the author's intended meaning.

(49) "Hayi, Dlamini, lo mntwana akaseli. Ndaye ndingafuni nokuba abe sasela."

(Jordan, 1960:5)

1PERS.PAST-AUX.CONSEC 1PERS.PART-NEG.PART-want-NEG.TERM

‘No, Dlamini... the child doesn’t drink, and I don’t want him to.’

(Jordan, 1980:6)

The form may be used, as was the case with -be, in a contracted way in which form the auxiliary stem is, in fact, deleted. However, the problem arises that, at least in standard orthography, there will be no way to tell whether it is the -ye or the -be morpheme which has been deleted, unless the semantic content serves to indicate it.

In the following two examples, the abbreviated forms have been highlighted, and the full form shown below, in addition to the usual morphological breakdown. The examples are chosen to show that only the context determines that the meaning of the one using -be is merely Remote Past Tense, whereas the one using -ye is one situation following another:

(50) \[ \text{Yaliyngwevu, ufafa ekubonakala ukuba lwaluyinto ngemini zalo.} \]

(Jordan, 1960:6)

(Yabe iyinyevu) (lwabe layinto)
'His hair was grey, but he was tall and still carried himself well.'

(Jordan, 1980:7)

Lit: 'He was a grey one, his bearing showed that he was a product of the old days.'

(51) Ukuba wayenokuqiniseka ngoBhuqa, ngewayeluvyela usana aza kuba nalo.

(Peteni, 1980:95)

(wabe enokuqiniseka) (ngewaye eluvyela)

'If she could be assured of her future with Bhuqa, she would be delighted at the prospect of her coming motherhood.'

(Peteni, 1976:112)

At the beginning of this section it was indicated that, in normal use, the auxiliary -ya/-ye was suggesting the meaning, 'and then...', which can be considered to be a further bleaching of the original meaning, 'to go'. The constructions so far used to illustrate this have all followed the general rule for auxiliaries, namely, that the auxiliary and its complement may not be separated.

However, in Xhosa, this auxiliary may be used in certain contexts, in breach of this rule, with a subject Noun Phrase intervening between the auxiliary and its complement, as shown in example (52):

(52) Saye isicaka sisela umgombothi.

C7.PAST-AUX C7-servant C7.PART-drink C3-maizebeer

'and then the servant was drinking light beer.'

It is suggested that this demonstrates further grammaticalisation of the verb, which is taking on the role of a conjunction, although it is still required to do duty as a tense marker - there is no other tense

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15 Both this sentence and that shown in (49) show similar characteristics in that the auxiliary form seems to link the two sentences the way a conjunction would in English. It is unlikely that a tree diagram would portray anything other than a normal verbal construct of AUX + Verb. This seems to
marker in the sentence. Other verbs providing examples of this nature will be discussed at a later stage in this chapter.

It can thus be concluded from the above extracts from literature that the contracted form of all Continuous tenses is at least as common as the full form - in fact the research undertaken would indicate that the contracted form is almost invariable, and the full form used when particular emphasis is required. The verb -za/-ze, being used in the conjugation of the Future tense, and as a specific form of the Past Continuous tenses, as well as having a role as a finite verb, has undergone grammaticalisation to the point where it is seen as auxiliary, affix and finally, a deleted morpheme. A further deviation from this grammaticalisation channel seems to occur, where the auxiliary is starting to move into another syntactic category, as discussed above (Example (51)).

5.4.2.2. Grammaticalisation of the auxiliary -za/-ze.

As was seen with the auxiliary -za/-ye, the Xhosa verb, -za/-ze, ‘to come’, may be found in a finite and in an auxiliary role, as shown in examples (53) and (54). In example (53), (previously (48), the construction is the regular Future Tense form, whereas (54) shows an example of finite usage:

(53) Tata, ndiza kuzibamba njani... (Peteni, 1980:21)

1PERS.SING-AUX.FUT INF-REFL-catch

‘Father, how shall I control myself...’


1PERS.PL-come.PERF

demonstrate only that the two languages use different grammatical strategies to achieve the same semantic purpose.
The grammaticalised forms of the Future Tense.

As was seen with auxiliaries in the Continuous tenses, there is frequent contraction of the regular form in spoken Xhosa, and examples can be found in the literature. These contractions provide the modus by which the verb forms are grammaticalised as they precede the acceptance into the language of the contracted form as a standard structure. Satyo (1992:169) explains the morphemic contractions which occur in the Future tense with the example shown here, and supported by the extract (55) from Jordan (1960:22):

\[ \text{baya kutyeyiswa } > \text{b(ay)a kutyeyiswa } > \text{bakutyeyiswa}^{16} \]
\[ > \text{ba(k)utyeyiswa } > \text{ba + utyeyiswa } > \text{botyeyiswa} \]

‘They will be made rich.’

(55) \[ \text{Ndobuya ndikuxelele.} \]

1PERS-AUX.FUT-return

‘I’ll tell you later.’ \hspace{1cm} (Jordan, 1980:22)

Either of the highlighted forms may be used, as well as the full form. The contraction shows that the whole auxiliary may be grammaticalised, leaving the Subject Concord to provide concordial agreement, and the single ‘o’, the product of vowel assimilation between ‘a’ and ‘u’, to carry the Tense marker.

When the Near Future form (which uses -za as its auxiliary) is used, the ‘z’ is retained in order to differentiate between the two forms, thus:

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16 The deletion of (ay) is as shown in Satyo (1992). It is possible, however, by analogy with the deletions of -ya/-ye and -ba/-be in other constructions, that the deletion which has taken place is that of the auxiliary stem, -ya.
In this section a number of grammaticalised forms of -za/-ze will be discussed. Firstly, the usage of -za/-ze where the meaning has become removed from that of the original finite verb, followed by an examination of some Negative structures using -za/-ze in an axiomatic or emphatic way. This will be followed by examples of the auxiliary without the usual Subject Concord. The section will end with a summary of the grammaticalisation aspects which have been discussed.

**Meaning shift of the auxiliary -za/-ze.**

There are certain situations where the auxiliary -za/-ze is used in a way that indicates that the meaning has been somewhat bleached. In the following example, which was used in Section 4.3.1. as example (3), -ze is used in a sense that means, 'please', or at least, a less than peremptory form of imperative:

(56)  
\[
\text{Use u} \text{sale wena ugcine} \text{ umzi.}
\]

2PERS-AUX 2PERS-remain-SUBJ ABS.you 2PERS-care for-SUBJ C3-house

'you stay behind and look after the house.'

**Some negative constructs of -za/-ze.**

The auxiliary, -za/-ze is found in various Negative constructions, and is seen, either as a Negative form of the Remote Past tense\(^{17}\), or as a Negative construct where there is an emphatic meaning. It should be noted that the example in (57), which uses the Negative Indicative formative, aka-, indicates that the

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\(^{17}\) Some grammaticians say that the Remote form of the Past tense (negative) is the same as that of the Perfect (negative), viz: -anga as a Negative termination; this allows for the use of zange in a purely emphatic or axiomatic role, which seems to be preferred.
latent -i, normally associated with the finite form of this verb, is obviously no longer present - there is no vowel assimilation between the ‘a’ and ‘o’ as would be expected if this were still in place. In both cases, the complements are in the Subjunctive mood:

(57) \[ Akaze \textit{abuye} \]

3PERS.NEG-AUX 3PERS.SUBJ-return-SUBJ.TERM

‘S/he never comes back.’

(58) \[ Zange \textit{athande loo ntombi}. \]

AUX.NEG.PERF-NEG.TERM

‘Never did he love that girl.’

\textbf{Some constructs without Subject Concord.}

The auxiliary, -za/-ze is found in sentences without its Subject Concord, although it is generally considered an inviolable rule in Xhosa that an auxiliary must concordially agree with its complement.\(^\text{18}\) This would indicate a further step in the process of grammaticalisation, showing that the original verb was further losing its lexicality and becoming a grammatical particle:

(59) \[ UFikile \textit{uye ethekwini ze afumane utywala}. \]

‘Fikile went to the party in order that he might obtain beer.’

\(^{18}\) If the complement is in a finite mood, that is to say indicative, participle or subjunctive - the other two are considered non-finite. See the earlier footnote about Xhosa moods.
The next step in the grammaticalisation process would be the incorporation of the particle -ze as a clitic into the subjunctive construction following it, and the next example (60) from Jordan (1960:95) would indicate that this has, in fact, occurred:

(60) ... Yathi ngaphandle kokuba ube nokulandwa umkhondo waba bantu ayizi kuyenza into yokumka Komkhulu, zehafike bevela apho ingaziyo, benze ukuthanda kwabo emzini wayo.

AUX.SUBJ-C2-arrive.SUBJ

'(The Chief argued that,) until he had got on the trail of the conspirators and found out where they had gone, he would not leave the Great Place. They might come from some unexpected quarter and seize his home.'

(Jordan, 1980:101)

Conclusions about -za/-ze.

In the foregoing sections, it has been shown that the finite verb, -za, 'to come', has a number of usages in addition to that of providing the regular auxiliary form for the Future tenses. These usages show a number of features which characterise the grammaticalisation process, namely, the phonological contractions which lead to the development of a cliticised form of the Future construction, the specific emphatic meaning attached to the construct in the Past Tenses, and the changes of meaning which are seen in the non-conjugation uses of the verb form. These latter allow the use of an independent clitic-like particle, and also the affixation of a simple clitic as shown in the last example (60) above.

5.4.3. Other auxiliary forms of Xhosa verbs.
In the preceding sections, a detailed study has been made of those auxiliaries most commonly used in the conjugation of the verb in Xhosa. Certain aspects of the grammaticalisation of these verbs, such as the use of their infinitive forms as conjunctives, will be discussed in later chapters. A reference to the list of Auxiliary verbs in Appendix 2 will show that two other groups remain to be discussed, viz. those which have no active finite counterpart, and those whose finite counterpart is in widespread and general use. In the next subsection, two examples from the first category will be discussed, while a further group will be examined in the subsequent section.

5.4.3.1. The auxiliaries, -kha/-khe and -tyapha/e.

It is now clear that any verb used as an auxiliary in Xhosa has been grammaticalised to some degree. The verbs discussed in this section, which are those which have no active finite counterpart, are no exception to this; further it must be concluded that their origin is that of a finite form if the theory behind the Hopper and Traugott cline is to be upheld.

**Grammaticalised forms of -tyapha.**

In the introductory remarks above, it was pointed out that, if the concept of a regular cline was to be preserved, it would be necessary to show that the auxiliary had a finite verb as its origin. The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa lists examples of this auxiliary, two of which are given below in examples (61) and (62), from which it can be deduced that -tyapha can exist independently, because there is no concordial agreement between the verb and its complement:

(61) *Kwayapha izinja ezi zingakwazi ukukhwele emithini.*

C15.PAST-be lucky C10-NEG.PART-know-NEG.TERM
'How fortunate it is that dogs are unable to climb trees.'

(62) Zityaphile izinja zingakuboni!

C10-AUX.be-lucky-PERF C10-dog C10-NEG.PART-2PERS.SING-see-NEG.TERM

'It was lucky for you that the dogs did not see you!'

In the previous examples, -tyapha is shown as a finite, and as a conjugable auxiliary verb. From the same source, it is also seen without any prefix, being, as discussed earlier, a further stage of grammaticalisation. In this case, the apostrophe indicating the loss of the terminal vowel could be construed as an early sign of eventual cliticisation:

(63) Tyaph'ufike!

'What a blessing you came!'

**Grammaticalisation of -kha/khe.**

In the preceding section, -tyapha/e was shown to be used in the language as a finite verb, as a normal auxiliary with concordial agreement with its complement, and finally, as a word form that may be beginning to become cliticised. The Xhosa verb -kha/khe has a variety of meanings as an auxiliary - McLaren's (1963) dictionary gives, 'do sometimes, ever, a little, at all, just.' The regular finite verb, -kha has two unrelated meanings, viz. 'to draw water; to cull or pick (flowers etc.); thus the auxiliary is unlikely to be a derivative of either, and no other finite form can be found in the literature.

Two examples are given; the first, example (64), uses -kha/-khe as an auxiliary with concordial
agreement with the complement, whereas example (65) shows the verb has become a simple clitic and is prefixed to the verb in the Subjunctive as a less peremptory form of Imperative. It thus has a similar meaning to the auxiliary, -ze in example (56):

(64) **Ukub' ukhe wawawel' amanz' eNxa loo Zwelinzima, amathamb' uya kwaphatha ngezandla.**

(Jordan, 1960:88)

3PERS-AUX.SUBJ 3PERS.PAST-C6-fall-APPL

‘If the so-called Zwelinzima crossed the Nxa river, he would carry his insides in his hands.’

(Jordan, 1980:93)

(65) **Khawuphulaphule, mnwan' asekhaya. Isende le nto.**

(Jordan, 1960:17)

just-2PERS-listen-SUBJ.TERM

‘Please be patient, child-of-home. There’s still quite a lot to tell.’

(Jordan, 1980:18)

**Conclusions about the auxiliaries, -kha/-khe and -tyapha/e.**

The two auxiliaries examined in this section were selected from the group of auxiliaries whose finite forms are not extant in the language, or which act as finite verbs only if the neuter form ku- is used, as was seen in example (61) above. It can be concluded that the verb forms shown have proceeded along the cline of grammaticalisation to the degree that their finite forms are becoming lost - others in the same group exhibit the same characteristics, as shown below where the auxiliary -da/ide has almost an adverbial function:

(66) **Kwada ngelikade kwangenwa endlwini ebanzi ebezifudula zingenela kuyo**
imbizo zamaqumrwana anje ngeli.

(Jordan, 1960:87)

C15.PAST-AUX

'At last the men were invited to a big hut where private councils of this nature were usually held.'

(Jordan, 1980:89)

In addition, both -kha-/khe and -tyapha/e show signs of becoming criticised - the one (example 65) already being commonly used in an affixal role, while the other (example 63) may be used without agreement concord, and has its final vowel elided.

5.4.3.2. Verbs with a finite counterpart in regular use.

The third section of the list of auxiliaries shown in Appendix 2, presents a number of verbs whose regular usage is extremely common, yet they may be seen to adopt an auxiliary role in some constructions. The fact that the group is comparatively large can itself be construed to indicate that the process of grammaticalisation may not be very well defined. In the following example (67), the finite verb, -funa, 'to want', (also -thanda), is shown in a sentence followed by the Infinitive. It is said in Xhosa - Study Guide 2 for XSA102-E (1994:203) that it is doubtful whether these verbs can be considered to be auxiliaries because the meaning is still so close. Subsequent examples of -buya and -phinda ((68) & (69)) show that the grammaticalisation process is only just beginning for these verbs, as the difference between finite and auxiliary forms may only be determined by context, or, at best, by tonal difference, which is not normally visible from the conventional orthography.

(67) Umlambo nfuna ukuphuphuma.

(Xhosa: Study Guide for XSA102-E)
C3-river C3AGR-want C15-overflow

'The river is about to overflow.'

(68) \textit{Bayëva úkúbá ndibuyé ndiyitshisé ingcá éyomiléyo.}\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{IPERS-SUBJ-return}
\end{itemize}

'They hear that I returned and burnt the dry grass.'

(69) \textit{Índoda iphinde ibophéletšúcingo olújikelezá indlu yayó.}\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{C9-AUX}
\end{itemize}

'The man tightens the fence around his house yet another time.'

5.4.4. \textbf{Summary of conclusions about the Xhosa auxiliary verb.}

In the above sections, three categories of auxiliary verbs were discussed, all of which show similar characteristics to a greater or lesser degree. Those which are used in the conjugation of the verb, such as \textit{-ba/-be} and \textit{-za/-ze} were seen to have developed from a finite usage to a cliticised form, which in the case of the Remote Past (Cont) tense, is deleted altogether. Those auxiliaries whose finite origins are not clearly defined exhibit the same traits. They are seen in conjugable form and are showing tendencies towards cliticization. The third group, which includes a large number of verbs which are, in general, finite, usually do not exhibit nearly such well defined signs of grammaticalisation as the other categories. The overall findings can be tabulated as follows:

1. The Xhosa finite verb is selectively grammaticalised.
2. Auxiliaries used in the conjugation of the verb are those which show the greatest degree of grammaticalisation, of these, the verb, -sala/sele in its various auxiliary forms shows the greatest degree.

3. The degree of grammaticalisation can be shown to follow closely the concept of a cline, as proposed by Hopper and Traugott (1993:108).

4. There are signs of a tendency towards reanalysis, as evidenced by the adverbial or conjunctive function of some constructs, such as the following:

(70) (umthunzini), ephumelela ngamanye amaxesha, maxa wambi angafumani thuba, zide iincwadi zigqithisele kwimbizo yamaFela-ndawo-nye engazibonanga.

(Jordan, 1960:90)

C10-AUX C10-letter C10.AGR-pass-CAUS.PASS

'Sometimes he was successful, but sometimes he failed and the letters were passed on before he read them.'

(Jordan, 1980:94)
Chapter 6. Re-analysis.

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, a study will be made of the role of reanalysis as a part of the grammaticalisation process. The study will focus on three aspects, namely, reanalysis of nouns, the apparent fossilisation of old locative classes and the development of complementisers from verbs.

In Chapter 2, Cowie's argument (1995:184) that the French word *pas* (a step) has provided the negative particle of the modern language, was supported by the statement that the changes, that is, the uses to which such words are put, are dictated by the original category of the word. It will be shown (in respect of Bantu languages) that some nouns which originally related to parts of the body, have provided a means of denoting position and thus have grammaticalised into what the conventional grammar calls adverbial forms. It will also be shown that a wider ranging group of nouns in the respective languages under study may, subject only to semantic restrictions, reanalyse into a locative role.

It is inevitable that there will be some degree of overlap between the first two aspects of reanalysis mentioned above, because it will be apparent that, for the word for a body part to become reanalyzed, it has to be conceived as having an element of location, for it is this feature that allows it to assume such a role whilst retaining its original usage in some cases, but not invariably, as will be shown in later examples.

The question is often posed whether reanalysis is indeed a form of grammaticalisation, or should be considered a separate process. Discussing this problem, Heine and Reh (1984:95) say, "...we wish to distinguish between the evolution of lexical or grammatical morphemes on the one hand and that of syntactic or pragmatic structures on the other." The label "reanalysis"
they reserve for the latter phenomenon and indicate that an important difference between this and grammaticalisation is that reanalysis is not necessarily unidirectional. Expanding on this definition in a later paper (Heine et al. in Traugott and Heine 1991:149f), it is made clear that where syntactic reanalysis involves a distinct transfer from one category to another (such as the English noun "back" being reanalyzed as a preposition as in "back of/behind the house"), this represents a grammaticalisation process, whereas the concept of, say, two conjoined clauses becoming reanalyzed as a main and a subordinate clause would not, because no categorial change had occurred.

Supporting this argument in a later work, Hopper and Traugott (1993:48) give two good examples of processes where there is no grammaticalisation or where there is in fact a reversal of direction from grammatical to lexical item. Their example of the first process is that of compounding and they point out that not all English noun compounds produce grammatical affixes which may be used in other compounds - boatswain (bosun), fishwife and sweetmeat are some of their examples.

Both Xhosa and Swahili have examples of compounding which support this; in fact such forms are the norm for those languages and even if words from different categories are fused into one compound, they remain lexical items with no consequent grammatical role, neither is any part of the compound likely to develop into an affix:

(1). Swahili  
*mwanafunzi*  <  *mwana* + *funza*  
'student, learner'  
'child'  
'to instruct'

(2). Xhosa  
*amaFelandawonye*  <  *uku-fela* + *indawo* + *enyeye*  
lit: 'those who would'  
'to die for'  
'place' (n)  
'one'

die for a cause'

---

1 _funza_ and _funza_ are variants both with the meaning 'to instruct' - the former is usually used in connection with teaching of a religious nature and the latter appears in the reflexive *ku-jifunza,* 'to learn'.
The second example of non-grammatical reanalysis (ibid:49) is that some structures take on new lexical roles - for example, words such as 'up' in expressions like 'up the ante' - the preposition now has the role of a verb. This could loosely equate to the Swahili example quoted elsewhere - the English expression on a road sign 'keep left' is reanalyzed as a Class 7 noun 'kiplefl', complete with Class 8 plural form 'viplefi'.

As discussed in Chapter 2, therefore, the content of this chapter will focus on such reanalysis processes as appear to be unidirectional processes where lexical items become more grammaticalised, following the broad divisions mentioned in the opening paragraph above.

6.2. **The Locative noun in Bantu languages.**

Before speculating on the origin of some of the descriptive (adverbial) forms in the two target languages, it will be of some interest to study the role of the Locative noun, and its place in the grammar, so that a clear understanding may be reached of its synchronic and its diachronic position in the Bantu noun class system. Both languages have a similar strategy for forming a locative from a noun by the addition of affixes, though there are exclusions, such as place names. In the next section the morphology of the locative in both languages will be examined, and a later section will cover the apparent development of locative nouns into other categories.

6.2.1. **Morphology of locative nouns.**

In Swahili, the noun to be used in a locative role is most usually formed by the addition of a suffix, '-ni', thus:

(3) \[ nyumba \quad \rightarrow \quad nyumbani \]

'house' \quad \quad 'at/in the house'
(4). \textit{moto} > \textit{motoni}

‘fire’ > ‘in/on the fire’

However, proper nouns such as place names have no inflection:

(5). \textit{Nairobi} > \textit{Nairobi}

‘Nairobi’ > ‘in/at Nairobi’

It will be shown later however, that even proper nouns in Swahili are covertly marked for locative, when such a role is appropriate.

The Xhosa equivalent is, however, somewhat more complex - firstly, the common form uses a prefix \textit{e-} and a suffix \textit{-ini}. There may be variants of the suffix because of vowel coalescence, or palatation may occur if there is a bilabial in the last syllable of the stem:

(6). \textit{umthi} > \textit{emthimi}

‘tree’ > ‘in/on/at the tree’

(7). \textit{intaba} > \textit{entabeni}

‘mountain’ > at/on/up a mountain

(8). \textit{umlambo} > \textit{emlanjeni}

‘river’ > ‘at/in/on the river’

In addition, truncated class prefixes (e.g. Class 5 \textit{ili-} > \textit{i-}, Class 10 \textit{izin-} > \textit{iin-}, Class 11 \textit{ulu-} > \textit{u-}) are expressed in full in the presence of the locative prefix:

(9). \textit{udonga} > \textit{eludongeni}

‘wall’ > ‘on/at the wall’

(10). \textit{iinkomo} > \textit{ezinkomeni}

‘cattle’ > ‘at/on the cattle’

Other variants - the second largest group (place names and points of the compass in particular)
only use the prefix e-, while a further group use a derivative of ku- (a locative class prefix - see below), namely kwa-, used particularly for places called after people:

(11).  
\[ \text{ikhaya} \]  \[ \rightarrow \]  \[ \text{ekhaya} \]  
'house/home'  \[ \rightarrow \]  'at home'

(12).  
\[ \text{impumalanga} \]  \[ \rightarrow \]  \[ \text{empumalanga} \]  
'the east (place of sunrise)'  \[ \rightarrow \]  'in the east'

(13).  
\[ \text{uKomani} \]  \[ \rightarrow \]  \[ \text{kwaKomani} \]  
'Queenstown'  \[ \rightarrow \]  'at/in Queenstown'

Finally, the formative ku-, which will later be argued as being the Locative Class concord, is used in certain constructions such as 'to' or 'towards' as in:

(14).  
\[ \text{umalume} \]  \[ \rightarrow \]  \[ \text{kumalume} \]  
'uncle'  \[ \rightarrow \]  'to my uncle'

(15).  
\[ \text{abantu} \]  \[ \rightarrow \]  \[ \text{kabantu} \]  
'people'  \[ \rightarrow \]  'to the people'

6.2.2. The Bantu locative form - descriptive or nominal?

The previous paragraphs have shown that Bantu nouns, regardless of their class, almost invariably take on a different shape when used in a locative construct. Amidu (1980:3) makes the claim for Swahili that there is a difference between entity-denoting nouns and those which are marked for locativity, and later (ibid:4) proposes that there is one locative class, of which all nouns with the suffix -ni, together with those which have been shown above to have zero marking, are members. The justification for this argument is that -ni affixed nouns take concordial agreement from one of the locative classes 16, 17 and 18\(^2\), but because no noun in Swahili in its locative form has a prefix corresponding to the three locative classes, Amidu (ibid:5ff) states that it cannot be correct to identify locative nouns with membership of these

\(^2\) See Appendix 5 for a full list of the noun classes according to Meinhof. Traditional Swahili grammars have avoided the use of the class numbering system but where difficulty might arise, this thesis indicates the appropriate class number.
classes. Whilst no noun may have an overt class marking, other than that of its original entity-denoting class, any locative noun may dictate an agreement concord for qualifiers or predicates, depending on the precision of locativity. Examples (16), (17), (19) and (20) below demonstrate this. All that can be clearly stated is that Swahili nouns are not overtly marked for the appropriate class, thus Amidu’s argument may be flawed, particularly as it has already been shown that some nouns are not marked at all - the names of cities like ’Nairobi’ for example.

The suggestion that this argument might be flawed can be strengthened by the fact that Amidu gives no recognition to the Swahili rule that nouns describing any living thing take the concordial agreement of Classes 1 and 2 - the people classes - and there is no suggestion that such nouns should form a separate class. Thus there is a precedent in Swahili for nouns of a particular class to be used in accordance with the rules of another, as is demonstrated by the following sentences involving the Class 9 noun simba, ’a lion’, where it will be seen that it is the shift of focus or topicalisation that has dictated the use of the particular concord:

(16). simba amekufa pale

C9-lion C1.AGR-PERF-die C16-yonder

’A lion has died over there’

(17) Pale pamekufa simba

C16-yonder C16.AGR-PERF-die C9-lion

’Over there (is the place where) a lion died’.

Both target languages, Swahili and Xhosa, exhibit the same strategies when differentiating between entity-denoting and locative-denoting nouns, in particular the adoption of agreement

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3 Simba, ’lion’ has no overt marking of its Class 9 membership, as is the case with the names of many animals, e.g. fisi ’hyena’, suara, ’antelope’, twiga, ’giraffe’ etc. mbogo, ’buffalo’ is so marked, but the syntax of the two examples would be the same.
concepts of following structures, as is demonstrated by the following set of contrived
events, where topicalisation of the locative phrase as the semantic subject dictates a change
of agreement prefix:

(18) (a) (Sw)  
_Watu  wengi  walikuwa  hapo  nyumbani._

C2-person C2.AGR-many C2.AGR-PAST-to be 2POS.DEM C9-house-LOC

Many people were at the house.

(b)  
_Hapo  nyumbani  palikuwa  watu  wengi._

2POS.DEM C9-house-LOC C16.AGR-PAST-to be C2-person C2.AGR-many

'There at the house there were many people.'

(c) (Xh)  
_Abantu  abaninzi  babekhona  apho  endlwini._

C2-person C2.AGR-many C2.AGR-PAST-to be 2POS.DEM C9-house-LOC

'Many people were at the house.'

(d)  
_Apho  endlwini  kwakukho  abantu  abaninzi._

2POS.DEM C9-house-LOC C17.AGR-PAST-C15-be C2-person C2.AGR-many

'There at the house there were many people.'

The syntactic analyses of these sentences show that the only difference between the two
languages is that Swahili may choose concordial agreement from three classes, as mentioned
at the beginning of this section, whereas Xhosa is limited to the use of one - Class 17. Later
examples will expand on this difference.

The examples also demonstrate that, had Amidu carried out a more extensive check into the
occurrence of the locative classes in other related languages he would have found that their
presence and usage is more widespread than he supposed, as will be further illustrated by the
following table of examples which confirm that both Swahili and Xhosa show a close
correspondence in locative strategies. These examples, all of which have, as their English equivalents, words of the category "preposition", and their English glosses in phrases such as "up the mountain" would be considered adverbial. It will be shown in the following discussions that this is not necessarily an acceptable description of this aspect of Bantu language syntax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swahili correspondence</th>
<th>Xhosa correspondence</th>
<th>IE adverbial concept (English)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>juu</td>
<td>phezulu</td>
<td>up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chini</td>
<td>phantsi</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kati / ndani</td>
<td>phakathi</td>
<td>inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nje (nde)</td>
<td>phandle</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbele</td>
<td>phambili</td>
<td>in front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyuma</td>
<td>emvwa⁴</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Locative nouns used as Adverbials.

The sentence in example (17) shows that in Swahili, concordial agreement must occur between the locative noun and its predicate when the noun is topicalised as the semantic subject.

Additionally, any qualifiers to the locative noun will also show concordial agreement:

(19) *Nyumbani kwangu kuna vyumba vingi.*  
C9-house-LOC C17-my.C17.AGR-has C8-room C8.AGR-many

'In my house there are many rooms'

(20) *Na kabisa usiwe miongooni mwa wale wanao zikanusha Ishara za Mwenyezi Mungu, usije kwa katika waliyo khasiri.*  
Holy Qur'an, Surat 10, Surat Yunus.

2Pers-NEG-SUBJ.be C4-number-LOC C18.AGR-POSS C2-3POS.DEM

'...do not be counted amongst those...'

Together with sentence (17) above, these examples show that all three of the locative classes

---

⁴ It should be recalled that the 'm' in *emvwa* has a latent 'u' behind it, which renders it syllabic and makes the correspondence even closer.
are in use when the noun is marked locative - the *ku-* class (C17) is the most general, *pa-* (C16) shows more precise location, whereas *mu-* (C18) denotes 'withinness'.

In Xhosa, whilst the Class 16 prefix is apparent in the case of some of the locative nouns, only *ku-* is seen as a concordial agreement marker, regardless of whether the noun should follow one of the other locative class rules:

(21). \[ Apho ngezansi kukho amagama aphuma kwisintu ngqangi... \]

D.S.Gxilishe (s.a.) *Ulwimi nengqulelo*

LOC-2POS.DEM ADV-down C17AGR-LOC C6-word C6.AGR-rise

'here below there are words which have come from Proto Bantu...'

(22). \[ ...ndeva emva kwam kufuphi -fu-fu-fu-fu! \]

Mqhayi, S.E.K. 1929. *UDon Jada*

LOC-rear C17AGR-1PERS.POSS C17-short

'I heard "fu-fu-fu-fu!" a short distance behind me.'

(23). \[ Kumzekelo 86 kukho amalungu amabini... \]

LOC-example 86 C17-is C6-member C6AGR-two

'In Example 86 there are two components...'

The preceding examples have shown that, in Xhosa, as in Swahili, a locative phrase as the topic of the sentence will command concordial agreement from a locative class - in the case of Xhosa only Class 17 concords are seen, whereas in Swahili, all three locative classes may be found. Nevertheless, it has been shown that all three locative classes are still in use in Xhosa, as can be seen from the arguments, *apha ngezansi*, *emva kwam* and *kumzekelo*, and, in each case, there is an entity- denoting noun equivalent in a "regular" class.\(^5\)

\(^5\) *izantsi*, C5, 'lower part', *umva*, C18, now C3, back, rear, and *umzekelo*, C3, 'an example'.
It becomes even clearer that the existence of an element of locativity has a strong influence on the grammar, when the following examples, showing the use of adjectives in a predicative role, are studied - both languages are represented, and appear to have the same strategy, namely, that locative class agreement must occur:

(24). (SW) \textit{Hapa pazuri.}
here C16-nice
'This place is beautiful.' (lit. 'here is nice')

(25). (Xh) \textit{Kumandi apha.}
C17-nice here
'This place is beautiful.' (lit. 'it’s nice here')

The subject concord \textit{ku-} (C17) in Xhosa is often treated in traditional grammar books as the "indefinite subject concord" or "dummy subject", and its role as a locative class marker is consequently lost, or not appreciated. Pahl (1985:74) identifies two "indefinite" subject concords, but has recognised the Class 17 origin of \textit{ku-} when he says "\textit{u-ku- owakhiwe kwisisekelo sehlelo 17...}'' (\textit{ku-} is formed from the prefix for class 17). He uses the example quoted here:

(26). \textit{Namhlanje kufike iinkosi zaseLusuthu ekhay' apha.}
today C17-arrive-PERF chiefs of Lusuthu LOC-home here.C16
'Today some Lusuthu chiefs arrived here at the homestead.'

It is argued, therefore, that the name "indefinite" is incorrectly applied, and that the usage is dictated by the locative component of the sentence, 'ekhay'apha'. Other strategies exist to denote definiteness or otherwise - the presence of the object concord is one such way. This would confirm the remarks made earlier, and those of Amidu, quoted above, that there are two distinct types of noun phrase in the Bantu languages, entity-denoting and locative-
denoting. Many, but not all, entity-denoting nouns have locative equivalents, and when these latter nouns are the subjects of their sentences, the concordial agreement pattern will be that of one of the locative classes.

Both languages show retention of locative marking, both by the presence of the concordial agreements discussed above, and by retention of vestiges of the Class prefixes, as shown by the Xhosa locative nouns such as phezulu (< izulu, 'the sky, heavens'). In fact, it is not improbable that the locative prefix e- is a contraction of the Class 16 prefix pha- which has undergone consonant loss and coalescence where phonologically necessary, an argument which is supported by the continued presence of the prefix in those locatives listed in Table 1 above.

It may further be incorrect to describe certain of the locative nouns or noun phrases as "adverbial" - this may be indicative of too heavy a reliance on the grammar of the language of the gloss than a proper interpretation of the target languages. In the next section, the concept of the Locative phrase will be examined, and its relationship to an IE (English) prepositional phrase will be studied.

6.2.3. The Locative phrase - nominal or adverbial?

Up to this point, the type of locative which has been considered has been that of a noun which has reanalysed from an entity-denoting type to one denoting locativity. In this section the locative phrase will be considered, the construction of which comprises NP POSS NP. In the previous section, it was established that both target languages use the same form for the construct NP Poss.Pronoun, as in (19) repeated as (27):

(27)    Nyumbani    kwangu    kuna    vyumba    vungi.

C9-house-LOC C17-my C17.AGR-has C8-room C8.AGR-many

'In my house there are many rooms'
The same form was seen in Xhosa, exemplified by (22), repeated as (28):

(28)  

\[ ...\text{n}d\text{e}v\text{a em}v\text{a kw}a\text{m ku}fuphi -fu-fu-fu! ...]  

Mqhayi, S.E.K. 1929. **UDon Jada**  
LOC-rear C17AGR-1PERS.POSS C17-short  
'I heard 'fu-fu-fu-fu!' a short distance behind me.'

It is accordingly unremarkable to note that, if the form NP Poss Pronoun is part of the grammar, there should be a corresponding form N Poss N when the noun is overtly part of the construct:

(29). (Xh)  

\[ \text{ewe em}v\text{a k}o\text{k}wenzakala kwabantu bewiswa ngamahashe, em}v\text{a kwemililo nokurhawuka nokutsha kwabantu nezindlu neentlanti, kuye kusithi bembe, kwada kwakh o}kuzola okukhulu. ...]  

Mqhayi, S.E.K. 1929. **UDon Jada**  
LOC-rear C17-POSS-C4-fire  
'Well, after the people were injured as a result of falling from their horses, after the fires\(^6\) had scorched and burned people, their homes and their kraals, when everything had subsided, there descended a great calm.'

(30). (Sw)  

\[ ...\text{ali}p\text{o fikilia utu}u\text{zima nyumbani kwa M}h\text{eshimiwa.} ...]  

Holy Qur'an, Surat 12, Surat Yusuf:  
C9-house-LOC C17-POSS C1-honour-PASS  
'...when he will have attained the age of discretion in the House of the Most High.'

It has already been established that the nouns which represent positions with reference to the

---

\(^6\) This example has a dimension of time, rather than place, but it serves to demonstrate the usage of the appropriate construction NP POSS NP.
speaker have their entity-denoting counterparts, from which they originated. The following
two examples from the Oxford Swahili/English dictionary (1939) illustrate usage of mbele and
nyuma as entity denoting nouns:7

(31) Huna mbele wala nyuma.
NEG.2Pers-POSS-have C9-front nor C9-back
'You have neither future nor past'. (You have no prospects or
resources)

(32) Akiba ya mbeleni
C9-reserve C9AGR-POSS C9-front-LOC
'A provision for the future'.

In the foregoing example (32), it is interesting to note the locative form of mbele, further
proof of its nominality and its role as an entity-denoting noun. Xhosa shows a similar variant
to the word umva/emva, wherein emveni is used to denote a position backward in time.
Likewise the noun indle, the entity-denoting form of phandle, may also be expressed in a
locative form, endle, to mean 'open ground' or, by extension, 'away from home'.

The behaviour of this group of positional nouns is thus seen to be similar in both languages;
they both have sets of corresponding entity-denoting nouns matched by locative counterparts,
they may have variants in use also with locative marking, as in the preceding paragraph, or the
entity-denoting variant may have a fused locative marker, as in (Sw) chini ('ground') and ndani
('inside'). It is thus argued that the term, 'adverbial' although it may represent a convenient
comparison with the syntax of the language of a gloss like English, is a misnomer, as the
phrase so described is nominal in its nature and clearly has as its head a locative noun. A more
accurate phrase structure rule than the conventional approach, S → NP V ADVP, traditionally
used in grammars of both languages, could be:

7 It is interesting to note that Kamusi, the Swahili monolingual dictionary published in 1981 and reprinted in
1996 continues to show mbele as a noun - the definition, translated, is: 'a place that the face is pointed to'.
S → NP V NP_{LOC}

where

NP_{LOC} → N_{LOC} (POSS N)

The next few examples will be selected for the purpose of examining the traditional Adverbials. It is of interest to note that the latest Swahili monolingual dictionary, *Kamusi*, first published in 1983 and subsequently reprinted more than twenty-four times by 1996 shows all of what were previously called Adverbials as nouns, lending more support to the notion of their nominal role in the grammar.

6.2.4. **Locative noun phrases with -a of relationship.**

The previous section offered a proposal for a phrase structure rule for Bantu languages of the form, NP_{LOC} → N_{LOC} (POSS N). This section will examine examples of this type with bracketing removed, i.e. the possessive formative and following noun will not be considered as optional. Examples to date have used locative forms of entity-denoting nouns which usually have features such as [+ concrete] - in this section, nouns selected from Table 1, although often derived from concrete nouns, are generally used to denote the position of something in space relative to the observer. In some cases, this concept also reanalyses into a time-governed relationship, but this will be discussed separately.

It has already been shown that both Swahili and Xhosa have similar strategies and these can be adequately expressed by the rule: NP_{LOC} → N_{LOC} POSS N. However, it is interesting to note that the two languages differ in their choice of prefix to the possessive formative, which for all Bantu languages is the -a of relationship:

(33) (Sw) chini ya meza

N_{LOC}-down C9-POSS table⁸

---

⁸ The locative form, *mbeleni* is often used to denote the human genitals - a similar strategy is seen in Xhosa with the use of *amaphambili* as a Class 6 noun.

⁹ The Class for 'meza', 'table' is Class 9 - the class of the Possessor noun is not relevant and thus omitted.
Swahili, it has thus been shown, continues to treat such nouns as Class 9 nouns, as can be seen from the agreement concord for the class: \( i > y / \_ V_{low} \) (\( i \) becomes 'y' when occurring in front of the low vowel, '-a' which is the possessive formative). Xhosa, on the other hand, uses the concord associated with Class 17, which has already been shown as the only choice of locative concord for this language. In the example shown, coalescence has taken place between the possessive formative \( kwɛ- (ku- + -a) \) and the Class 9 prefix of the noun \( itafili \).

It should be noted that in both cases, as has been demonstrated by examples (18(b) and (d)), concordial agreement will occur between the Locative noun phrase and any subsequent predicate of which it is the subject:

(35) \( (Sw) \) \[Chini ya mea/] palikuwa watoto wawili].

\[LOC.P \quad \text{[VP]} \]

'Underneath the table were two children.'

(36) \( (Xh) \) [Phantsi \( kwɛafile \)][kwakukho abantwana ababini].

\[LOC.P \quad \text{[VP]} \]

'Underneath the table were two children.'

As this grammatical strategy would pertain for any of the closed category of positional relationships in Table 1, it will be clear that the Bantu languages treat such structures as nouns, by virtue of the evidence of the class concordial agreement required, both for qualifiers such as the possessive forms and for any predicates to which the structures are seen as subjects.
In contrast to the above strategy which is common to both target languages, there are two more position relationship constructs which in each language represent the same English concept - mbali and karibu in Swahili, and kude and kufuphi in Xhosa, meaning 'far' and 'near' respectively. In neither language do these constructs use a possessive formative in relationship with a following noun - both languages use the same connective na:

\[(37) \quad \text{(Sw)} \quad \ldots \text{alipokuwa ameketi peke yake karibu na dirisha la chumba chake...} \]

'near the window'

From: ALFU LEI U LLELA (1001 nights).

\[(38) \quad \text{(Xh)} \quad \text{loo ndlu ibe kude nendela yeemoto} \]

far from the road (for motor vehicles).

Dikeni, C. (s.a.) Umfo waseLusuthu

A search of available corpora in Xhosa and Swahili failed to show any examples of these constructs in a subject role, which might have indicated the necessity for the following predicate to show concordial agreement. The conclusion therefore may be that these constructs are not treated as locative nouns in either language, as they do not show any correspondence with the various rules exemplified in this section, they may be in that case considered to be adverbial phrases by virtue of these differences.

It may be concluded then that Swahili and Xhosa both use a strategy of forming locative structures from nouns, some of which are of a locative nature even in their entity -denoting state, (e.g. (Sw) chini, (Xh) phantsi). Even when the limited category of locative nouns, which have been described here as positional relationships, are used in roles which equate with that of prepositional phrases in English, these nouns continue to exhibit the characteristics of the category, demanding agreement from both qualifiers and predicates, and thus would be better described in terms of the structure rule discussed above, \( NP_{\text{LOC}} \rightarrow N_{\text{LOC}} \text{ POSS N.} \)
The next section will examine how some of these locative nouns may have evolved from the names of body parts to denote positional relationships with the observer.

6.3. **Body parts as a source of Locative nouns.**

The Locative nouns listed in Table 1 are all clearly designed to convey the relationship between the observer (speaker) and some other location. Therefore it is not surprising that some of these emanate from parts of the body which offer a convenient reference in both azimuth and altitude. Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991:181) propose two models which they call the landmark model and the body-part model respectively. The former is concerned with those structures which are seen to have their origins in names of geographical concepts, of which they cite the Swahili *chini*, 'bottom' as an example based on the Proto Bantu *ci*, 'ground, earth'. They also equate concepts such as 'sky' or 'heavens' as being the likely origin of words signifying 'up'.

Indeed, both Swahili and Xhosa have followed this model, as both *juu* (Sw), and *pezulu* (Xh) have their origins in the Proto Bantu *gudu*, 'sky, top', and Xhosa has *izulu*, (C9), 'sky' as a modern entity-denoting noun. In an earlier chapter of this thesis, there is a reference to the voyages of Al-Mas'udi who had recorded the Swahili words *mukulu julu*, which is given the interpretation of 'the Great One Above'. Here is early evidence that the word *ju(l)u* was in use in the tenth century, and that its consonant loss, now evident in the modern language, must have taken place some time later. Interestingly, its Xhosa correspondence, *izulu, pezulu*, has not suffered the same loss - more evidence that the separation of the two languages had taken place by this time.
6.3.1.  \textit{mbele and phambili - a common origin?}

The body-part model proposed by Heine et al. (ibid.) designates 'back' and 'front' as being likely candidates for reanalysis into grammatical items, and proposes that the word for 'breast' is the origin of (Sw) \textit{mbele}, 'front', 'in front of', while (Sw) \textit{nyuma} has its origins in the Proto Bantu word *\textit{numa}, 'the human back'. In Table 1 above, the Xhosa equivalents, \textit{phambili} and \textit{umva} are sufficiently close correspondences with the Swahili counterparts to allow the discussion to focus on Swahili for the moment. In the table of Swahili and Xhosa reflexes in Appendix 6, Items 9 and 127 show the Common and Eastern Bantu words for 'breast' and 'front' respectively - in fact Guthrie (1970) gives three starred forms of identical shape, namely, *\textit{béédé} with meanings of 'breast', 'udder' and 'milk', depending on the geographic distribution. The C.S. form with the most general distribution and highest dispersion according to Guthrie's tables is that form which corresponds to English 'breast', whereas that form which is shown as a SE Bantu group variant is that meaning 'milk', which would return the Xhosa reflex \textit{ubisi} ('milk').

Heine et al. (ibid:200) list both *\textit{béédé} and *\textit{bédé} ('front') as the starred forms which produced \textit{mbele} in Swahili, whereas in Appendix 6 (127) it has been shown as the reflex of *\textit{bédé} alone. This corresponds with Guthrie's gloss for the entry (C.S.69) which he gives as 'front'. He also lists *\textit{bédé} as a Class 9 noun, which is a little problematical because of the bilabial nasal, which would indicate a plural form (Class10) and one which probably has its singular form in Class 11, thus Swahili \textit{mbele} would be the plural form of \textit{ubele} which is listed in most dictionaries with a gloss of 'breast' and an alternative reflex of \textit{uwele}\footnote{\textit{uwele} has a useful correspondence with Xhosa - \textit{iwele} (Class 5, 'a twin'), and \textit{ibele}, 'breast or udder', a direct correspondence with Swahili \textit{ubele}, the singular form of \textit{mbele}. See the accompanying table for} which occurs in some dialects.

The apparent confusion may be explained by Heine et al. (ibid) who have pointed out that the
two Proto Bantu terms have both arisen from an earlier Proto Niger form proposed by Mukarovsky (1976) who suggests that the Proto form *bil- (gloss: 'female breast, milk') is the origin of the Swahili reflex mbele, and that this Proto form would have referred to a concrete, or entity-denoting noun. The reanalysis to a locative form, they claim, would have taken place later, at the stage of Proto Bantu. The following table summarises both Guthrie's C.S. entries for the reflexes under consideration and the proposals of Heine et al. Note that Guthrie allocated one of six regions to his Comparative Series; only those of the broad grouping 'Eastern' are shown here - EE or East represents distribution in all three Eastern regions, namely, NE, CE and SE. Table 2. Suggested reconstruction of mbele and phambili.

An alternative pre-Proto Bantu is proposed here, *bid, which seems more in keeping with the

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11 According to Guthrie (1970), the Swahili language is number G42, falling in the Central Eastern region, (CE), while Xhosa is numbered S41 in the South Eastern region (SE).
cognates for Proto Bantu; in essence one single pre Proto form is proposed.

The table shows that fairly considerable semantic broadening has taken place, with a number of reflexes arising from what is essentially one pre-Proto Bantu reconstruction. It is possible that some broadening took place even earlier than Proto Bantu, thus explaining the two different Proto Niger cognates suggested. It would also suggest that the reanalysis between the entity-denoting reflexes for 'breast' and 'front' in Xhosa had taken place before, or at least during the Proto Bantu phase, which would account for the apparently different origin of the reflexes ibele and phambili.

The reflexes shown in the last column of Table 2 seem to be the total number of reflexes in use in the present day languages, and it is of course only speculation to postulate when a particular word may have fallen from use. Swahili no longer appears to use mbele in an entity-denoting form in any sense other than the euphemistic rendering of the human genitals mentioned in an earlier footnote (footnote 8) in this chapter. However, there appears to be evidence that the word was in use as late as the 17th. century (CE) with the meaning of 'breast' as shown in one of the Proto Bantu cognates in Table 2. The following box shows an excerpt from a poem from that era, reproduced in Knappert (1979:4) which has the line ncha bele kanga for which the suggested translation reads 'the arrows are tipped with the feathers from the breast of a guinea fowl.' Such a lengthy gloss for what is effectively a string of uninflected nouns might seem improbable, but it has to be recognised that Swahili poetry was, and is, highly stylised, would have been written in Arabic with all the limitations outlined in an earlier chapter. Furthermore Knappert is a recognised expert in the field and his translation is thus unchallenged, particularly as the three nouns are, respectively, ncha, 'tip, extremity, mbele, 'breast', kanga, 'guinea fowl', which are the most salient units of the translated phrase. In any event, it would be an unlikely gloss to suggest 'feathers from the front of the guinea fowl', thus the passage may reasonably be accepted as an

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12 In Proto-Bantu, Guthrie does not recognise *l as a primary voiced fricative, but Meinhold does, thus PB *bi8 and B *b1 are in fact correspondences.
example of entity-denoting usage of the noun *mbele*.  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Uwutja mbwa munga</em></td>
<td>The bow is made of acacia wood; the strings are made of sanseveria fibre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngwe nda mkongwa</em></td>
<td>The arrows are tipped with the feathers from the <em>breast</em> of the guinea fowl;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ncha bele kanga</em></td>
<td>you will leave the arrow in the head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mwaeka kitwani</em></td>
<td>The war belongs to the hyena;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vita nda kichayi</em></td>
<td>the vulture will leave behind its feathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>milele ya tayi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is argued then that these two locative forms, *mbele* (Sw) and *phambili* (Xh) both have their origins in the name of a body part, but it can be conjectured that reanalysis had taken place at an early stage in the history of the languages, perhaps earlier than the Proto Bantu stage. A process of polysemy has occurred at an early stage, resulting in the reconstructions shown having a number of reflexes in the present languages, in addition to the locative variants discussed.

6.3.2. **The origin of *nyuma* and *umva***

Logically, the next body-part model to be discussed is the word denoting the opposite of 'front', namely 'back', which is shown in Table 1 as having Swahili and Xhosa reflexes of *nyuma* and *umva* respectively. Heine et al. (1991: 199) again list a cognate from Mukarovsky, who posited *-*uma as 'back' or 'spine' in Proto-Western-Niger. However, Guthrie (1970) does not enter the reconstructions of *nyuma* with a body-part gloss - all variants are glossed as 'rear' or 'back', possibly indication that, again, the reanalysis to a locative-denoting usage had occurred earlier than the Proto-Bantu era. In the following table, which will follow the same pattern as Table 2,

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13 It has been previously pointed out that *mbele* is most likely to be the plural (C10) form of *ubele*, and this seems to be the appropriate class for this example - prefixes are frequently not evident in Swahili poetry - they cause problems with the metre!
a suggested reconstruction for both languages reflexes will be shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Proto-Bantu</th>
<th>Proto Bantu</th>
<th>C.S. No.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>Reflexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-uma</td>
<td>*nyumá</td>
<td>C.S. 2182</td>
<td>'back'</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Xh. umva 'rear', emva, 'rear (Loc)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto Niger</td>
<td>*númá</td>
<td>C.S. 1381</td>
<td>'back'</td>
<td>CE</td>
<td>Sw. nyuma, 'rear'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 'back, spine'   | *-uma       | C.S. 2182| 'rear' |              |                     |

Table 3. Reconstruction of nyuma and umva

The reflex for Swahili is shown as emanating from the variant *nuuma on the basis of the distribution of Central Eastern, shown by Guthrie (1970) - the alternative would also be possible because of the general distribution, 'Eastern', but the choice of the specific overrules the more general possibility. Both reflexes, (Sw) nyuma and (Xh) umva are extant in the entity-denoting form in their respective languages, as shown in the following example:

(38)  

umva wale moto uphantse wafana nonphambili wayo.  

Greater Dictionary of Xhosa (1989:482)

'The back of this car looks almost like the front'

6.3.3.  ndani, kati and phakathi - two options for 'inside'.

The last body-part concept to be examined is that which has the English gloss 'inside' or 'middle'. It will be shown that two options exist for this locative concept, while Heine et al. (1991:200) only discuss one; that which has the body-part construct *-da, meaning 'intestines'.

Table 4 shows the various cognates and synchronic reflexes:

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14 The tone on the super-high vowel /u/ is low in all three instances - it was felt preferable to indicate the vowel status of 'super-high'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Proto-Bantu</th>
<th>Proto Bantu</th>
<th>C.S. No.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>Reflexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-da</td>
<td>C.S. 442</td>
<td>'intestine'</td>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>Xh. <em>umda</em> 'line', 'stripe'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-da</td>
<td>C.S. 443</td>
<td>(i) 'abdomen'</td>
<td>CE</td>
<td>Sw. <em>ndani</em> 'inside'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-kati</td>
<td>C.S. 1018</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>Sw. <em>kati</em> 'middle'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pa-kati</td>
<td>C.S. 1018a</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Xh. <em>phakathi</em> 'inside'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mu-kati</td>
<td>C.S. 1018b</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
<td>CE, SE</td>
<td>No reflex in target languages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4. Reconstruction of *ndani, kati and phakathi*.**

This table makes interesting reading as it shows two alternative sources - one, a body-part which has returned the Swahili reflex *ndani*, 'inside', and the other, a landmark model cognate, has given both Xhosa and Swahili a reflex for 'inside' or 'in the middle'. It is but conjecture, but not without reason, that *kati* is the older construct, which has undergone the process already discussed here, of broadening or reanalysing to a locative-denoting noun, prior to the Proto Bantu stage, and being accordingly prefixed with the appropriate Class marker. Neither language uses *-da* in an entity-denoting way in the original sense of 'abdomen', but Swahili has retained *ndani* with the meaning 'secret' or 'held in the heart', and Doke and Vilakazi in their Zulu Dictionary (1990) offer *isideni* as a *hlonipha* term for 'stomach'. In all other usages, Swahili *ndani* is used in a locative role:

\[(39)\]  
* SATA *ndani ya msitu mna giza.  
'in so far as it was quite dark in the forest.'

---

15 This is not as speculative as it seems, because, although Xhosa has a verb *ukuda*, 'to be long, to do at length', nevertheless there are examples of metaphorical extensions of this type, for example, babies are classified as long, thin things and put into Class 11. Although there is a Proto-Bantu root *-da* with a gloss of 'long' or 'length', it should be realised that true homonymy is rare, and the most likely explanation for the existence of this pair is that the word for 'intestines', which will undoubtedly be the older, has produced a polysemous cognate meaning 'length', from which the modern reflexes have arisen.

16 *isideni* is a regular Nguni locative form of a root *-da* - this meaning provides the link between the modern
The greatest use of *kati* is to represent a concept of 'in the middle' but it is still possible to find texts which use it as an entity-denoting noun meaning 'middle':

(40) *hawa farasi wote wanajitokea baada ya kati ya wiki* (*yaani baada ya msu ya saba*).  
*SAA YA GIZA KUU YAJA*  
(an appreciation of the Book of Revelation)

...all those horses reveal themselves after **the middle of the week** (that is to say after half of seven).

The use of *phakathi* in Xhosa is similar, as can be seen in this example in which the construct is followed by a noun in the locative, thus imparting the meaning of a nominal 'inside':

(41) **Loo nto yayibonakala kakuhle wakungena phakathi endlwini leyo.**  
Dikeni, C. (s.a.) **Molo mama**

'That was completely visible upon entering into the inside of that house.'

The reflexes *phakati* and *kati* are clearly cognates which emanate from one source, whereas *ndani* comes from an entirely different one. All three modern reflexes, however, show that they had evolved into separate paths of reanalysis at a very early stage, probably pre-Proto-Bantu.

6.3.4. **Reanalysis from spatial to time domains.**

Up to now, the discussion has centred on the reanalysis of the various nominal constructs to roles in one of the well documented Bantu locative classes. In this section, evidence will be presented to show that there is a further stage by which the same nominals, while retaining, where appropriate, both their entity-denoting, and their locative-denoting status, may move from a spatial dimension to one which is more related to concept of time.
In example (29), repeated here for convenience as (42), it will be recalled that the footnote
drew attention to the fact that there was an element of time in the use of emva, particularly in
the highlighted phrase 'after the fires had scorched...'. The example following (42) now shows
that the language allows the co-existence of both spatial and temporal locatives with the same
form:

(42) (Xh)  

\textit{ewe emva kokwenzakala kwabantu bewiswa ngamahashe, emva}
\textit{kwemililo nokurhawuka nokutsha kwabantu nezindlu neentlanti,-kaye}
\textit{kusithi bembe, kwada kwakho ukuzola okukhuulu.}

Mqhayi, S.E.K. 1929. \textit{UDon Jady}  

LOC-rear C17-POSS-C4-fire

'Well, after the people were injured as a result of falling from their
horses, after the fires had scorched and burned people, their homes
and their kraals, when everything had subsided, there descended a
great calm.'

(43)  

\textit{Lqonda ukuba makube ukhona undonakele emva ekhaya}

...visible behind the house.

Dikeni, C. (s.a.) \textit{AmaKaringa}

Such usage is not restricted to any particular form of locative noun, although there are
semantic restrictions. The following selection of examples demonstrates something of the
scope of this reanalysis:

(44) (Xh.) \textit{Phakathi kwisithuba seminyaka emihlanu ukuya kwesixhenxe...}

'During a period of between five and seven years...'

Gxilishe, D.S. (s.a.) \textit{Ukuncancwa kolwimi}
(45) (Sw). ...kazi za umishonari kati ya mwaka wa 1750 na 1900.

'...work of the missionaries between the years 1750 and 1900.'

SAA YA GIZA KUU YAJA
(an appreciation of the Book of Revelation)

(47) (Xh). Imbizo eyayihanjelwe kwaBhaca yaba mnandi kakhulu kumphuthumi, wabuya eziva ehlaziyekile nasekudinweni ziimviwo awaye ezibhalile phambi

kweKilisimise.


'The meeting of Transkei chiefs was a profitable experience for Mphuthumi.
He felt himself refreshed and ready for his final year at Lovedale.'

Jordan, P. (1980). The wrath of the ancestors.'

(48) (Sw). ...kila watapo pewa matunda humo, watasema: Haya ndiyo kama tuliyo pewa mbele.

Holy Qur'an, Surat 2, Sura al - Baqara.

'...all who shall have been given fruit from them (gardens), will say: These are as we were given before.'

Lastly, the following two examples show that the locative forms juu (Sw) and phezulu, (Xh) may be used to express the concept 'about' and 'more than' respectively:

(49). (Sw). Nitafurahi kupata mawasiliano yako juu ya maoni yangu haya.

'I will be pleased to correspond with you about those opinions of mine'

Mohamed Yusuf, correspondence on Swahili Net.

---

17 In keeping with the previous use of Jordan's novel for examples of Xhosa, the translation by his wife, Priscilla P. Jordan, has been given. It is not too literal, however, and the second part of the quotation could be better translated '...he returned refreshed and ready to face the examinations which had to be written before Christmas.'
(50) (Xh) \textit{Isithuba phakathi kwedolophu leyo nomzi lowo wayo sasiziimayale ezikumashumi amathathu nangaphezulwana kuhle.}

Mqhayi, S.E.K. (1929) \textit{UDom Jadu}

'The distance between the town and that homestead was a little more than thirty miles.'

6.3.5. **Conclusions about the reanalysis of body parts to locatives.**

The foregoing discussions have revealed that the reanalysis of entity-denoting nouns as locative-denoting nouns follows a very similar path in both languages. It has been shown that most of the spatial-concept nouns have a common origin, and that in some instances, the evidence points to a semantic broadening process that may have occurred in the pre-Proto-Bantu era.

In particular, the spatial-concept nouns may have developed into a temporal-concept form, but this appears quite selective - not all the nouns in the category exhibit this characteristic because of semantic restrictions. A frequent syntactic form for these nouns has been shown to be a noun phrase with a possessive formative and possessor-noun of the form, \( \text{NP}_{\text{Loc}} \rightarrow \text{N}_{\text{Loc}} \) \text{POSS}\ N. and it is argued that this syntactic form is a more appropriate explanation than traditional grammars have previously indicated.

6.4. **Complementisers in Xhosa and Swahili.**

The manner in which languages form their complementisers and other connectives is both diverse and similar, ranging from the arguably demonstrative source of the English 'that', to a variety of forms derived from variants of verbs meaning 'say', 'talk' or even 'be'. Hopper and
Traugott (1993:14) point out that, although seemingly exotic, the latter form is not unheard of in English:

(51) 'If the deal falls through, what alternative do you have?'

It will be shown that such a form is used by both Swahili and Xhosa as a complementiser, although in Xhosa at least it will be shown that it is not the most commonly used. In Swahili, it will be presented as the most common of the clausal connectives, and that a similar, if not directly derived, form has provided a convenient way of expressing relative subordinate clauses. In Xhosa, a comparison will be made between a form grammaticalised from the extant verb meaning 'to say', and the more general form which is a derivative of the infinitive form of the Xhosa expression 'for to be'. There are, of course, as in many languages, a number of forms used as complementisers, but in this thesis the focus will be on only the most common forms.

6.4.1. The Xhosa verb ukuthi and its evolution as a complementiser.

Subordinate clauses in Xhosa may be introduced in a number of ways, the most common of which is by using ukuba, derived from the infinitive form of the verb 'to be', which is seen to fulfil a role of purposive, conditional or mere introduction as will be demonstrated later. The grammaticalised form of the verb ukuthi, 'to say /speak', on the other hand appears to be more specific and may only be used following verbs with certain common properties, as shown in the table below. The verb ukuthi has three roles in Xhosa syntax; it is in use as a finite verb reflecting the act of speaking, it acts in auxiliary role to allow the conjugation of ideophonic phrases, and it provides an introductory connective following verbs of cognition, particularly those with a function of speaking:

(52) EsiXhoseni kukho intetho ethi: "ilizwi lomntu omdala alidiwa nja".

Satyo et al (1997:29)
In Xhosa there is a adage which says: "the word of an old man is not consumed by a dog".

(53)  
*Siyaphuma isikhova Ebusuku sizingele;*  
*Ungasiva sesikhwaza, Bonke bethe cwaka, zole.*  

The owl is about - hunting by night;  
You can hear its loud cry - everybody lay quiet, silent.\(^\text{18}\)

(54)  
*Loo nto ithethe ukuthi abantu abazi ilwimi ezininzi bayakwazi ukayixuba intetho yabo ngokufanele kileyo.*  

Gxilishe, D.S. (s.a.) *Sociology.*  
'This says that people don't know many languages; they know how to mix up their speech as necessary.'\(^\text{19}\)

The example shown in (54) uses *ukuthi* as a complementiser, and it will be argued that the choice of this form is dictated by the preceding verb *ukuthetha,* 'to speak/say', and it will also be shown later that this is not the only form of matrix verb with similar semantic import to be used in this way. Examination of a corpus\(^\text{20}\) of about 150,000 Xhosa words in prose form produced a usage of the word *ukuthi* in sixty-two instances, or approximately one in two thousand three hundred.\(^\text{21}\) Table 5 shows the distribution of preceding verbs which confirm precisely the comments of Hopper and Traugott (1993:180) who point out the relationship between such mental processes as want, fear, desire and wonder and the resultant discourse by which a speaker interacts by airing his or her cognitive state.

---

\(^{18}\) The concept of lying quietly, silent, is in the ideophones - the verb *bethe* serves only to convey number, agreeing with *bonke,* 'all,' and tense, past.

\(^{19}\) i.e. they know how to code-switch.

\(^{20}\) Appendix 8 outlines the methodology of concordancing used in achieving these frequency of occurrence figures. In this particular example, any instance of *ukuthi* preceding an ideophone was removed so that the result presented a clearer picture of the structure as a complementiser.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive form of verb</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Frequency count</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukutsho</td>
<td>'to say so'</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>discursive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuthetha</td>
<td>'to speak, say'</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>discursive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukucinga</td>
<td>'to think'</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuthi</td>
<td>'to say'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>discursive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukufuna</td>
<td>'to want'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>purposive/volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukufumana</td>
<td>'to get'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuthemba</td>
<td>'to hope'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukwazi</td>
<td>'to know'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuthanda</td>
<td>'to love, like'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukucamanga (Z)</td>
<td>'to think'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukukhuluma (Z)</td>
<td>'to speak'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>discursive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukuyaleza</td>
<td>'to order to'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukufunqa</td>
<td>'to swear by'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>locutionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukumangala</td>
<td>'to wonder, be surprised'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukunyanisa</td>
<td>'to speak the truth'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>discursive, locutionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total out of 62</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. **List of matrix verbs used in clauses preceding ukuthi.**

Nearly eighty percent of the matrix verbs of the sample corpus fall into the expected category - the remainder are of a general nature, reflecting the regular use of the verb infinitive form:

(55)  

_Ukuthi 'mfama' kukuthi nto mntu ongaboniyo._

Satyo, S.C. (s.a.) Unpublished grammar notes.

To say 'mfama' is to talk about a person who does not see'.

---

21 This compares with a figure of more than 1500 instances of _ukuba_, which is clearly the most general form of complementiser, or about one in every 100 words measured in the same corpus.

22 _mfama_, 'blind person'.
The matrix returning the largest number of occurrences is the verb *uktsho*, a derivative of *ukuthi* but one which has a more emphatic import - that of 'to say so' - a form used when the Xhosa speaker wants to make the point that thoughts are being expressed more forcibly than usual:

(56) \[\text{Singatsho uktuthi amagama amaninzi asetyenziswa esiXhosa asuka kwisiQhakancu.}\]

Gxilishe, D.S. (s.a.) *Ulwimi nengqulelo*

'We can clearly state that many names used in Xhosa come from the Khoi language'.

Thus, the evidence presented would seem to support the hypothesis of Frajzyngier (in Traugott and Heine (1991) Volume 1:225) who indicated that the choice of such complementisers was dictated by their membership of what he defined as the domain of *de dicto*, or the domain of speech. More to the point within the scope of this thesis, clearly the choice of verb for the reanalysis which has taken place is determined by its intended role in the grammar, the original having become grammaticalised without modification of its shape - a concept reflected in all complementisers in Xhosa. This is exactly the premise expressed by Lord (1976)(in Steever et al. (1976:179), who discussed the reanalysis of 'to say' type verbs into complementisers after verbs of saying or mental action\(^\text{23}\). A similar circumstance will be shown to have prevailed in a few of the other connectives, whose path has been influenced by identical factors, with a brief mention of the most common form, *uktuba*, whose usage is however so general to render it of little interest in this discussion.

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\(^{23}\) Lord's list of matrix verbs (ibid.180) which impart this quality to following complementisers is remarkably similar to that of Table 5 - she lists (English gloss only of Ewe verbs) say, see, hear, perceive, think, believe, know, make sure, fear, be afraid, to name but a few.
6.4.2. **Other Xhosa complementisers.**

The original meaning of a verb which is grammaticalised and reanalysed as a complementiser dictates the usage of the structure in its new role, as was shown in the previous section where *ukuthi* was used to coordinate clauses which presented outward manifestations of cognitive processes. The complementiser, *ukuze*, has its origin in *ukuza*, 'to come', and in this reanalysed role, it imparts the meaning of 'so that' where the outcome is a direct consequence of the action of the matrix verb, because the notion of motion in the finite verb is reinterpreted as meaning that such action will result in the 'coming about' of the intended consequence. In the following example (57) from Sinxo (1980:22), it will be seen that the action of speaking to Nomsa by one suitor is expected to lead to some more positive action by the other, more favoured, Themba:

(57) ...

...*kuba ebekade efuna ukuba uVelesazi athethe kuNomsa, ukuze kushiyiselwe uThemba lo acinga okokuba unento naye, ahi ke uThemba abuye amzuze.*

Sinxo, G.B. *UNomsa.*

'For a long time she had wanted Velesazi to speak to Nomsa, so that by thinking himself out-bid, Themba might be forced to return to claim her hand.'

It will also be noticed that this complementiser, by reason of its imparting of consequence, requires that the subordinate verb be in the subjunctive:

(58) ...

...*kuvula amehlo ukuze kubonwe imeko...*

Gxilishe, D.S. (s.a.) Sociology

'...eyes are opened in order that quality may be perceived.'
Similar semantic restrictions are seen on other complementisers - the following example uses *ukude* which, like the previous example, imparts consequence, but with the difference that the result will only materialise after the lapse of some time. This restriction is derived from the original verb meaning 'to be long':

(59) \[ \text{into ebangele } \text{ukude afikilele kwesi sigqibo kukudinwa yintswelo-mbeko} \]
\[ \text{onayo.} \]


(Lit. 'the thing which caused that he should arrive at such a decision...')

'the reason he finally came to such a decision is your rudeness.'

The complementiser, *ukunga*, is one which is used with verbs of wishing - the origin is -nga, 'can, be able', and this is interpreted in the choice when the matrix verb shows a wish for something to be done:

(60) \[ -sada sanqwenela ukunga zingaqhutyelwa phambili ezi zinto... \]

Mqhayi, S.E. K. (1929:35) *UDon Jadu*

'Eventually we had a strong desire that these things could be taken forward'

The most common form of all the Xhosa complementisers is *ukuba*, derived from the infinitive form of the verb 'to be'. It is the most general, with the least restrictions on its usage, and it is to be found in such roles as introductory, conditional or purposive. The following examples are selected with a view to demonstrating one of each type - it will be noted that the purposive form (example 63) requires the subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause:

(61) \[ Emva koko, nabani na uya kwazi ukuba abana namhla bangamadoda. \]

Mqhayi, S.E. K. (1929:72) *Don Jadu*
'After that everyone will know that they have reached their manhood.'

(62) *Ndibuze ukuba akafundi na?*

Mqhayi, S.E. K. (1929:72) *Don Jadi*

'I asked if they (boys) did not learn?'

(63) *Nabo wabacebisa ukuba bagoduke baye kwenza uxolo nabazali babo.*

Sinxo, G.B. (1980:39) *Unomsa*

'And they were advised that they should go home and make peace with their parents.'

In the foregoing sections (6.4.1. and 6.4.2.) on the complementiser in Xhosa, it has been shown that a number of forms prevail, all recruited from extant finite verbs, whose meaning has dictated the use to which the particular complementiser form may be put. As well as a number of very specific forms, Xhosa has a general purpose complementiser form whose usage outnumbers that of the specific forms by about fifteen times. A comparison between the forms shown above and the auxiliary tables in Appendix 2 will reveal that they all are also used in an auxiliary role, in addition to their function as complementisers, which would perhaps indicate a certain proneness to a process of grammaticalisation and reanalysis, a premise not in conflict with the views given in an earlier part of this thesis, where it was stated that semantic considerations are a prerequisite for these processes.

The following section, which will conclude the chapter on reanalysis, will address the question of the complementiser in the Swahili language, and make reference to the extension of these forms to become connectives for relative clauses.

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24 The list of complementisers which have been examined is by no means exhaustive - connectives like *kuba*, 'because', *kanti*, 'on the other hand', *kodwa*, 'however, but' and many others, together with most usages of the relative construction have not been examined as the focus has been on the reanalysis of certain classes of verb into the role of complementiser.
6.4.3. **The complementiser in Swahili.**

As has been shown in respect of the Xhosa language, a number of forms of connective exist in Swahili which fulfil the role of complementiser. Ashton (1947:197) only allocates the connective *na*, ('and'), to the category of conjunctive, pointing out that Swahili has adopted a number of strategies to achieve the necessary inventory of words used for joining phrases and sentences. She lists the use of phrases preceded by *kwa*, borrowings from Arabic, and the use of some tense affixes such as -*ki-* and -*japo-*25, and suggests two broad groups of conjunctive, namely, coordinating, such as *na*, and subordinating, for linking dependent clauses.

However, her list would have been more complete with the inclusion of an additional strategy - that of deriving complementisers from verbs, a method which is used widely in the language, based on the grammaticalisation of *kuwa*, ('to be'), and of *amba*, ('say, tell').26 In Table 6 below, a number of Swahili connective forms are shown, with an indication of their function. An indication is also given as to the probable derivation of the construct where its origin is clearly Bantu. It will be noted that, with one exception, all derivations are verbal, coming from three verbs, *kuwa*, ('to be'), *ku-amba*, ('to tell, say'), and *kwisha*, ('to finish'). All three verbs have already been pinpointed in earlier chapters as being prone to a process of grammaticalisation, thus the processes described in this section agree with well defined precepts.

The choice of complementiser seems in most instances to be rather arbitrary, with little preference for either a word of Bantu or of Arabic origin. Analysis of the Swahili corpus shows that one of the most commonly used complementisers equating to the English 'that' is *kwamba*, which is of Bantu origin, whereas the preferred word for the contrastive forms is *lakini*, ('nevertheless, but') which derives from Arabic.27

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25 of verb into the role of complementiser.

26 The use of such affixes is discussed in Chapter 4.

27 Correctly, it is the Applied or Prepositional form of this verb which carries this meaning – further discussion will centre on this structure later.

27 The Swahili corpus used for establishing frequency of occurrences comprises some 393 045 words, broadly divided into Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic texts. Whilst *ila*, for example, appears almost five times more frequently in the Qur'an than it does in non-Qur'anic texts, little significance can be attached to this as other, Bantu, connectives such as *kuwa* have approximately a fifty-fifty distribution between the two
Table 6.  
List (not exhaustive) of Swahili complementiser forms.

As this thesis is concerned with processes which affect the Bantu languages, the Arabic derivatives in this category are only of passing interest, and the examination will concentrate on those forms whose origins lie within the realm of the Bantu language group. More comment will be offered as to reasons for the frequency of usage of Swahili Arabic constructs in the concluding chapter.

6.4.3.1. The complementiser kwamba.

The relationship between the words used as complementisers and their matrix verbs was covered in detail in section 6.4.1 of this chapter, as was the concept that there exists a semantic relationship between matrix verbs and the source of the reanalysed component. In the
following examples, a number of these relationships will be demonstrated - each function type will be indicated in the example margin:

(64) (13) Basi, Pilato akaitisha mkutano wa makuhani wakuu, viongozi na watu,

(14) akawaambia, "Mmemleta mtu huyu kwangu mkisema kwamba alikawa anawapotoshwa watu..."

Introduction

'(13) And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people,

(14) Said unto them, ye have brought this man unto thee as one that perverteth the people:'

Translation from King James' Version

(65) Siyo kwamba sielew i madhara na maradhi ya kukaa bondeni, katu!

Conditional

"Kiti cha Bosi" (s.a.) Internet.

'It's not as if I don't understand misfortunes and the blessings attendant upon living down in the valley, certainly not!'

(66) Kwa kweli, kwa kuoncezea wongofu wa wenyewe dhambi, na wokovu wetu sisi wenyewe wa milele, Mama Yetu ametaka kwamba Komunio ya Malipizi ya dhambi iungenishwe na ahadi nyingine kubwa: zawadi ya amani.

Purposive

"Jumamosi Tano Za Kwanza", The Fatima Centre Web Page.

'Our Lady wanted that the Forgiveness of Sins should be linked with another great promise: the gift of peace.'
Example (64) uses a matrix verb reflecting speaking or saying and demonstrates a very common usage of *kwamba* - that of introduction or presentation of the speaker's mental processes. The King James' translation 'as one...' is reflected in Swahili by *mkisema*, 'you (pl) saying'. The function of (65) is condition - introduced by the negative copula *siyo*, 'it is not so', while in (66) the matrix verb *taka*, 'to want', expresses purpose and volition that the following concept should be invoked.

The origin of *kwamba* needs some examination - it has been stated that it has its origin in a verb meaning 'say' or 'tell', but it has been mentioned in a footnote that that meaning is only preserved synchronically in the Applied form. The uninflected form, and the passive have the meaning 'to slander, abuse or speak against', and a homonym *amba* has the meaning of 'adhere' or 'stick to', but this is not found in the direct form either, the most usual being the Tenacious form *ambata*, 'to be attached to'. As the structure has the form of the uninflected infinitive, it is reasonable conjecture that the complementiser arose directly from the proto-form which must have given rise to both the modern forms, *amba*, 'to slander' and *ambia*, 'to tell'.

Guthrie, in his indices to *Comparative Bantu* (1970) gives the starred form (C.S. 770) *-gamb-*28 'speak' but 'slander in NE', otherwise the distribution is general. Also listed is C.S.1912, *-yamb-* with a gloss of 'speak' and a widespread distribution, and a homonymic form *-yamb-* (C.S.1913), with a gloss of 'slander' and distribution general in the Eastern region. All these forms lend support to the hypothesis that the separation of *amba*, 'to tell', and *amba*, 'to slander' took place during or before the Proto Bantu stage, and that the complementiser, *kwamba* must have evolved during that period.

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28 This form with its initial consonant is reflected in nominal forms *mgambo* and *kigambo*, 'case' or 'proclamation' and the reflexive verb form *-jigamb-* which has as one of its reflexes the almost internationally known *jambo!*, a greeting which is more correctly conjugated : *sijambo*, *hujambo*, *hajambo*, etc. meaning 'is/there/is nothing the matter with me/you/ him/her', etc.
Again, it has been demonstrated that Swahili uses a grammaticalised form of a verb, reanalysed as a complementiser, while retaining various forms of the original verb, as well as other derived categories, such as nominals, and that this form has evolved from an earlier form which existed before or at best synchronically with a number of polysemic variants. That the complementiser form has evolved from the earlier (perhaps pre-Proto-Bantu) form is supported by the theory that suggests the use of 'saying' verbs to provide such structures.

6.4.3.2. The complementiser kuwa.

Derived from the infinitive form of the verb 'to be' as was the case with the most common complementiser form in Xhosa, kuwa is one of the most generally used connectives. As would be expected it is to be found linking subordinate clauses with a wide range of matrix verbs, but particularly those reflecting speech, thought and other cognitive processes:

(67) Na Mola wako Mlezi ameamrisha kwakwamabudu yeyote ila Yeeye tu, na wazazi wawili mwatendee wema.
    Holy Qur'an. 17 Surat (sura al israai), 23.
    'And Lord God your Tutor has ordered that you should not worship any other than Him, and act favorably towards your two parents.'

(68) waalionelea kuwa lafdhi ya ki-Unguja ni rahisi zaidi, na ndiyo wao (sio Waswahili) wakaamua kuwa ki-Unguja kiwe "Standard Swahili."

Mohamed Yusuf, discussion on "Swahili Net".

'...they formed the impression that the Unguja dialect is easier to use, and it was they (who were not Swahilis) who judged that ki-Unguja should become "Standard Swahili".

Variants of kuwa are found, such as kwa kuwa, ya kuwa, as shown in Table 6, the latter having exactly the same meaning as kuwa but with very low incidence - one in 5000 in the corpus
examined. It is of interest to note that Ashton (1947) makes no mention of *kuwa as a stand-alone conjunctive, but lists *ya kuwa with *kwamba and *kama as the general introducer.29

6.4.3.3. **The complementiser kisha.**

Derivatives and grammaticalisation processes applying to the verb *kwisha, 'to finish' have been discussed in detail in Chapter 4 where example (20) shows the construct introducing clauses which are additional to the concept of the main clause. The following extract from a modern poem shows the same usage:

(69)  

*Ndani wakaja muweka, kwa furaha na kucheka,*  
*Wakatandika mikeka, kumkariibisha nyoka,*  
*Kisha akafukuzwa paka, aondoke kwa haraka,*  
*Wazee kufuga nyoka, nyoka si wa kufugika.*  

S.M. Saidi Linze, *Nyoka mleleka*  

'They brought it inside, joyfully laughing,  
They laid down mats, to welcome the snake,  
Moreover the cat was chased away, fleeing in haste,  
People who train snakes, discover they won't be trained.

6.4.3.4. **amba as a relative formative.**

A study of the reanalysis processes which have been applied to the Proto verb root *ymb would not be complete without a mention of the adoption of the construct into the formative for relative clauses. The traditional approach to this facet of Swahili grammar has

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29 *ya kuwa* has the same ratio of distribution between Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic literature of slightly more than 50/50, as was found with *kuwa*. Its usage seems to be that of an optional variant perhaps more popular in Ashton's day!
differentiated between the use of a relative particle -o- as an affix marking the introduction of a small clause, with the expected variants according to the class of noun being qualified, and a fully overt relative construct similar to a relative pronoun in English:

(70)  

\[ \text{Mtu anayesoma} \quad \text{A person who is reading.} \]

\[ \text{Kitu kilichovunjika} \quad \text{A thing which was broken.} \]

The relationship between such constructs and a complementiser like \textit{kwamba} will be clear, although, as Radford (1988:482ff) points out, there are differences in English between the two such as the restriction that 'that' cannot introduce an infinitive clause, or that relative pronouns sometimes mark for genitive case. However such a concern does not apply in Swahili where no complementiser has the same shape as a relative construct. The fact that the language uses an affix to denote the relative construction means that there is overt and invariable marking, as incidentally is the case with Xhosa as well:

(71)  

\[ \text{(Sw)} \quad \text{mtu asomaye} \quad \text{‘a person who reads’} \]

\[ \text{(Xh)} \quad \text{umntu ofundayo} \quad \text{‘a person who reads’} \]

The conventional approach to the use of the above constructs, where the affix is embedded pre-verbally when tense is marked, as in the above example (70), or as a suffix in tenseless constructs as in (71), has been that this form is only used when the basic tenses are being employed (including the above no-time implication). In all other cases, a relative construction comprising the morpheme \textit{amba}- and a suffix which will vary according to the gender class of the antecedent noun, has to be employed. The grammar allows for both direct relative forms (where the antecedent and complement subject are the same) and for those where the subject of the embedded sentence is different from the antecedent:

(72)  

\[ \text{Bwana Mandela anachukua nafasi ya rais wa kwanza wa Tanzania} \]

\[ \text{Mwalimu Julius Nyerere ambaye alifariki dunia mwezi Oktoba baada} \]
'Mr Mandela took over the responsibility of the first President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, who departed this world in the month of October having tried for more than a year without success to bring peace to this Central African country.'

(73)  

30 Na watu wawili wakaonekana wakizungumza naye; nao ni Mose na Eliya,  
31 ambao walioteka wakiwa wenyewe utukufu, wakazungumza naye juu ya kifo chake ambacho angekikamilisha huko Jerusalemu.  


'30 And, behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elias:  
31 Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.'  

Translation from: King James' Version.

In the first example above, 'Mwalimu Julius Nyerere' is the subject NP of the subordinate clause, represented by the relative clause ambaye, 'who', but part of the qualificative chain in the main clause, qualifying the object nafasi, translated here as 'responsibility'. In the second example, the subject of the sentence is watu wawili, 'two men', and the relative ambao refers directly to them. There is a third usage of the construct in this sentence; the word ambacho introduces a clause of which the subject is the personal pronoun 'he', represented by the
subject concord *a*- and the antecedent *kifo* is represented by the suffix *-cho* and the agreement concord *-ki-* in the verb phrase. The syntax is analysed below:

\[
\text{kifo \; chake \; ambacho \; angekikamilisha}
\]

\[
\text{C7-death \; C7-3PERS.POSS \; tell-C7-REL \; 3SING-COND-C7.AGR-complete-CAUS}
\]

In this section, the study of the complementiser in both languages, it has been shown that both languages adopt a similar strategy of adapting verbs with a particular semantic concept to provide a source of a range of grammatical concepts such as the marking of various kinds of subordinate clauses and the very similar concept of relative clauses, which, in Swahili at least, have made use of a construct, inflected for gender, as an introducer for relative clauses. It is of interest to note that, in modern usage, speakers interviewed indicate a preference for the use of the *amba-* introducer as a strategy for all relative clauses, not only those indicated by Ashton. It is possible that this preference stems from from a comparison with a language like English which uses such introducers, as normally a language change moves away from a more complex form introducing an additional structure, but in this case simplicity may have been overruled in favour of prestige.

6.5. **Summary of reanalysis in Swahili and Xhosa.**

At the outset of the chapter it was established that the objective would be to examine the occurrence of reanalysis in the two target languages, focusing on the reanalysis of nouns, the fossilisation of locative classes and the formation of complementiser structures. It was also proposed that, as the scope of the concept was wide, and because disagreement existed as to whether the process was truly a grammaticalisation one, this thesis would follow Heine's (1991:149) explanation that such a process has occurred when syntactic reanalysis involves a distinct transfer from one category to another.

In Section 6.2., the question of the Locative noun in Bantu languages was examined, in the context of the theory that entity-denoting nouns of various classes reanalysed to one of three locative classes, and were marked accordingly, in Swahili by separate class markers for all three classes 16, 17 and 18, and in Xhosa by a generic marker which covered all of the classes mentioned.
Locative-denoting nouns so formed were shown to dominate a number of syntactic structures, and require concordial agreement when they do so - further evidence that they have retained nominal characteristics and have not reanalysed to prepositions or adverbs as suggested by traditional approaches to the grammar. Furthermore it was argued that locative-denoting nouns retained their status as head of their phrasal categories, frequently of the form of possessive phrases, which, by way of example should be described in the grammar with the structure rule $NP_{LOC} \rightarrow N_{LOC} \text{ POSS } N$.

Section 6.3. turned to the question of body parts reanalysed into grammatical items and a detailed discussion allowed for the conclusion that certain body-part names such as those meaning 'body' or 'breast' lent themselves to the creation of some structures. Both languages discussed showed similar patterns, with close correspondence both between synchronic reflexes and Proto-language forms. It was further noted that instances occurred of a progression from body-part to grammatical item in a spatial domain, to a time-governed domain.

The final topic in the chapter was the examination of complementisers in both languages, with emphasis on a common origin based on semantic restrictions on the category of verbs which might source such development. Again, a close similarity between the source categories of both languages was noted and clear correlation between the features of matrix verbs in each language was noted. The fact that Arabic has provided a number of constructs used in Swahili has not excluded the frequent occurrence of typically Bantu-sourced constructs in today's language practices - a concept borne out by the further development in Swahili of the verb *amba* which, in addition to being the base for the complementiser *kwamba*, provides the base form for a relative clause introducer, fully inflected for class gender, which has moved from a restricted use in tenses other than the three basic tenses, to a more general usage in any tense throughout the grammar.

Certain concepts discussed in this chapter will be readdressed in the overall conclusions to the study, which form the content of the final chapter following.
Chapter 7. Conclusions.

7.1. Introduction to the chapter.

Section 1 of the Introduction to this thesis set as the primary objective an investigation of the processes of grammaticalisation in Xhosa, and indicated that Swahili would be used as a measure of comparison. In this chapter, the way in which this objective has been achieved will be discussed under the headings of Historical, Theoretical, Differentiation and Simplification. The first two of these headings test the choice of languages and their relationship as a basis for comparison, whilst the remaining sections will address the question of the processes described in the main chapters of the thesis. The focus on processes as a concept of grammaticalisation makes sense in that Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer in 'Approaches to Grammaticalisation' (1991:149) say "What is common to all definitions of grammaticalisation is, first, that it is conceived as a process." The processes demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5 in respect of auxiliary verbs in both target languages, and the discussion of reanalysis as a process in Bantu language development of nominals from entity-bearing to locative-denoting forms and subsequently temporal forms, all confirm the notion that grammaticalisation is essentially a description of a particular process, usually driven by pragmatic requirements of the users of the language.

In the section following some historically based conclusions arising from the investigations will be discussed.

7.2. Conclusions about historically based notions of the two target languages.

The discussion in Chapter 1 presented an overview of the development of the present day
scenario wherein Swahili and Xhosa are languages whose 'home territories' are placed as far apart as any of the members of the Bantu language group can be, with Xhosa traditionally occupying the south-eastern part of the continent, and Swahili located along the Eastern coast, more than two thousand miles to the North\(^1\). This distance apart, when considered with the time of separation, which was estimated to be at least 1000 years, can be considered adequate to have isolated the two languages from one another, and to have prevented any risk of recent interference.

Thus it is safe to say that the development of the two languages has been independent, and also allows the conclusion that any similarities between the two are due to a common origin, and not due to any other factors. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the correlation between the two languages when a selected list of common usage words is reconstructed to the Proto Bantu form. Table 3, which forms part of Appendix 6, is repeated below for convenience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Common Bantu</th>
<th>Eastern Bantu</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>84.6%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. (Table 3.) Percentage correspondence to Common/Eastern Bantu

Two further conclusions can be reached - the first being that similar processes are apparent in both languages, which is borne out by the examinations which are outlined in Chapters 4 and 5 where the auxiliaries of Swahili and Xhosa are separately analysed. It was pointed out that the process could be expected to proceed along a cline represented by:

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\(^1\) Assuming Nairobi to have a latitude of approximately 0 degrees south and, say, Port Elizabeth a latitude of 34 degrees, this represents a distance of \((34 \times 60)\) 2040 miles as the crow flies - a great deal further if travelling
at the same time retaining the use of the component in an earlier stage of the process. The volitive verb *kutaka*, 'to want' was shown in Chapter 4 to have become an affix denoting the Future tense in Swahili, whilst remaining active in a finite role as well as in an auxiliary one:

(1). (a)  *Ninataka kwenda Nairobi*

1st.PERS-PRES *want* INF-go Nairobi

'T *want* to go to Nairobi.'

(b)  *Nitakwenda Nairobi*

1st.PERS-FUT go Nairobi

'T *will* go to Nairobi.'

(c)  *Huyu mtu ataka kufa.*

"This person is **at the point of** death."

Ashton (1947:277)

A similar process can be seen in the Xhosa example from Chapter 2:

(2). (a)  *Ndiya eDikeni*

1st.Pers-PRES go LOC-Alice-LOC.TERM

'I am going to Alice (E.P.)'

(b)  *Ndiya kuya eDikeni (xa kukho impunuko)*

1st.Pers-FUT INF go LOC-Alice-LOC.TERM
'I am going to go to Alice (when the need arises).'

(c) *Ndìya kuthenga inkomo*

1st.PERS-FUT INF-buy C9-cow

'I am going to buy a cow.'

Similarity between processes in the two languages was also identified in Chapter 6, wherein the studies focused on the use of body parts. Not only was similarity of process discussed but it was shown that many of the Locative-denoting nouns in both languages emanated from the same historical source, a further confirmation of the relationship between the languages. Table 3 from that chapter is reproduced below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-Proto-Bantu</th>
<th>Proto Bantu</th>
<th>C.S. No.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
<th>Reflexes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-uma</td>
<td>*nyů́ma&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C.S. 2182</td>
<td>'back'</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Xh. umva 'rear', emva, 'rear (Loc).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*yů́ma</td>
<td>C.S. 1381</td>
<td>'rear'</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sw. nyuma, 'rear'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Proto Niger     | *nů́ma       | C.S. 2182 | 'back' | CE           |          |

Table 2. (Table 3.) Reconstruction of *nyuma and umva*

From the above, and the discussion in the previous chapter, it can be concluded that certain changes, which are common to both languages, had in fact occurred before the languages had separated to any great degree - in the example shown, before even Proto Bantu in the hypothetical Proto-Niger phase.

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2 The tone on the super-high vowel ā is low in all three instances - it was felt preferable to indicate the vowel status of 'super-high', and the Meinhof method used for typological reasons. See Meinhof (1932:25)
7.3. Conclusions about some theoretical applications of grammaticalisation.

It is abundantly clear (and unremarkable) that grammaticalisation occurs in both languages but Heine, Claudi and Hünnefelder (1991:154) identify as a most pressing problem the necessity to define the relationship between source and target of a particular process. They pose three questions, which can be summarised as follows:

- What source concepts give rise to which grammatical concepts?
- Given the concept is it possible to define its lexical source?
- Are these features universal?

In the light of the importance that Heine et al. attach to these questions, it is prudent to assess the success of this thesis in addressing them. Firstly, two major areas of grammaticalisation process were examined in detail, namely, that of the auxiliary verb and that of the body-part name becoming a grammatical marker.

In the case of the examination of auxiliaries, it was concluded that both languages draw on the inventory of finite verbs as a source of auxiliaries, and it was demonstrated that in some cases the process has proceeded beyond the step of becoming a conventional auxiliary but has allowed the development of an affixal form to indicate some grammatical concept such as aspect. Examples from the appropriate chapters of this thesis are shown below:

3. **SW (a) Sijaja!**

1NEG-SING PROG.come

"I have not yet come"
(b) *Asijela la asoma kitabu kitakatifu.*

3SING.NEG.SUBJ.sleep.

"Before he goes to sleep, he reads a holy book."

(Lit."Without his yet lying down... (Oxford dictionary (1939))

Xh (c) *Uze usale wena ugcine umzi.*

2PERS-AUX 2PERS-remain-SUBJ ABS you 2PERS-care for-SUBJ C3-house

'you stay behind and look after the house.'

(d) *Andisayi kuthetha.*

NEG-1PERS-PROG-AUX-NEG.TERM INF-say

'I am no longer going to speak.'

It has been shown that it is comparatively simple to define a source word, given a particular grammatical concept, but it is not so clear that it is possible to identify which members of a particular category may be prone to a grammaticalisation process. The discussion of auxiliary verbs revealed the frequency with which verbs of motion are seen to be liable to such processes - both languages show this tendency; in Swahili, *kwenda, kuja* and in Xhosa, *ukuya, ukuza, ukubuya, ukuphinda, ukufika,* are all verbs of motion and form auxiliaries. Likewise, both languages develop grammaticalised forms of verbs of volition such as Swahili, *-taka* and Xhosa *-funa* and indeed both languages use the various forms of 'to be' in the customary modal constructs, but other forms, particularly some of the Xhosa auxiliaries, show no such commonality with accepted sources for the process. Examples of these are seen in Appendix 2 and include such verbs as *phantsa,* *tyapha* and *sandula.*

The discussion would not be complete without mention of the category of 'saying' verbs which exhibit particular features in both languages. Discussed in detail in Chapter 6, Section 6.4., it was shown that Swahili uses *amba,* 'to tell' and Xhosa uses *ukuthi,* which has the meaning 'to say', to provide a complementiser for embedded sentences. The use of 'saying' verbs as
complementisers, is according to Hopper and Traugott (1993: 180) a very normal practice as speech is an interactive form of mental concepts like want, fear and wonder. It is of interest, and a path to a conclusion on the predictability of source-verb choices, to look further into the Xhosa verb form ‘ukuthi’ and its use as an extension of the use of the ideophone.

This speech category is recognised as a characteristic of many Bantu languages and is a category which adds much colour to speech in those languages. Not listed in the 1987 reprint of Concise Oxford Dictionary (1982), the name describes a speech sound of a descriptive nature, but one that does not necessarily carry the feature of onomatopoeia. In Xhosa the ideophone uses ukuthi as an auxiliary where it is necessary to convey tense or aspect, but it is not invariable. In Swahili, ideophones are used without the presence of any specific auxiliary.³

(4). (a) SW maji yalianguka mwaa!

The water fell ‘splat’!

(b) Xh wee gduphu emanzini

He fell ‘splash’ into the water.

It is important to note in this context that, as often stated by Satyo in private conversation, there is an invariable element of ‘saying’ in the ideophonic phrase, which accounts for the process by which ukuthi has become grammaticalised in this role; the following interpretations demonstrate this:

(5). Xh (a) Sahlala phantsi, sathi cwaka

We sat down, saying nothing.

(b) wee gduphu emanzini

He fell - how shall I say - ‘splash’ into the water.

³ The verb ku-piga (‘to hit, beat’) comes close to providing the auxiliary form seen in Xhosa with ukuthi, but its use as an auxiliary extends far beyond ideophones. Thus, while kupiga chafyu, (‘to sneeze’) is undoubtedly ideophonic, the same cannot be said of kupiga kelele (‘to make a noise’) or kupiga mstari, (‘to draw a line’) - it has a very general meaning of ‘performing an action’.
Both languages allow verb formation from ideophones - another grammaticalisation process from a purely lexical form to a conjugable verb, which must be construed as a reduction in lexicality, which provides further conclusive evidence that the speech category provides a readily identifiable source for such processes:

(6) (a) SW  \textit{bwatika bwata}  
to drop down with a bang  \hspace{1cm} \text{(Ashton (1947:315)}

(b) Xh  \textit{manga/mangala}  
to be surprised.

The second major investigation to be tested against Heine et al.'s questions listed above, is that of body-part names, examining the inventory of each language for evidence that such words do develop grammatical roles in the languages under study. Discussion centred on two of the most likely candidates - words for 'front' and 'back' - and tables of results were drawn up which showed the path by which the present-day word for the locative concept had evolved. In both cases the results allow a clear conclusion that the origin of the words in both languages was a common one, and one that emanated from pre-Proto-Bantu times. Furthermore, in the case of the words carrying the meaning 'front', it was shown that a number of polysemous usages exist synchronically, whilst other, entity-denoting forms have fallen from use. This latter conclusion is in line with a further question posed by Heine, Claudi and Hünnefeld - does a source develop into a variety of grammatical categories, either separately or concurrently, and what motivates such a choice?

In the table of reflexes below (extracted from Table 2 in Chapter 6), it will be seen that Xhosa has correspondences amounting to five different forms of noun, one of which is locative-denoting, and the other four are entity-denoting (one is an abstract concept). Swahili has a
corresponding return of three reflexes, one locative-denoting and two entity denoting - a total of eight synchronic forms from one reconstruction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xh. ibele 'breast', ububele, 'human kindness'.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW. kiwele, 'udder', Xh. iwele 'twin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xh. ubisi, 'milk'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sw. mbele, 'front'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xh. phambili, 'in front of'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sw. mwilli, 'body'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3. Reflexes in Xhosa and Swahili corresponding to the Proto-noun *bid ('body')**

Both the examinations discussed above raised similar concerns about traditional approaches to studies in the respective languages. In the case of the study of the Bantu auxiliary, extensively reviewed in Chapter 3, it was found that a description of such forms in terms of notions such as are found in English - that the category of auxiliaries is generally limited to forms like 'be', 'have' and the Modal auxiliaries like 'can' and 'will' - was inadequate as it did not cater for all descriptive constructs, nor those forms which had reduced to affixes.

The definition offered by Brown and Miller (1991:209), that auxiliaries "...relate the sentence to 'temporal', 'modal', 'aspectual' and 'voice' distinctions" does not seem to account adequately for all forms to be found in Bantu languages. In the examples below repeated from other parts

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4 The problem of judging one language by the rules of another is by no means new - Bryson (1990:128) points out that the rules and terminology for describing English are based on Latin grammar - hence the "rule" about the split infinitive; it can't be done in Latin, therefore it shouldn't be in English. The problem doesn't arise in either Xhosa or Swahili - both use an infinitive form which can take object concords or negative formatives between the prefix and the stem: ukungafiki, (Xh., 'not to arrive') and kumsaidia, ('to help him/her') both illustrate this.

5 The examples are mainly from Xhosa, with only one chosen from Swahili - this reflects the different
of this thesis, Example 7 shows two Xhosa constructs where the traditional definition would apply - 7(a) is distinctly modal, whilst 7(b) has a temporal connotation, but the sentences of Example 8 have a different story to tell as the auxiliaries, whilst descriptive by nature, do not fall into any of the traditional categories suggested above by Brown and Miller.

(7) (Xh) (a) *Ndiza kuhamba ngomso*

1SING-AUX.FUT INF-go tomorrow

'Will go tomorrow.'

(Xh) (b) *Sada safika*

1PL.PAST-AUX 1PL.PAST-arrive

'Eventually we arrived.'

(8) (SW) (a) *endapo nikienda, itakwaje?*

AUX-ASP.LOC 1SING-COND-go NEUT-FUT-be-INT

'Supposing I do go, what then?'

(Xh) (b) *tyaphe amkele ukutyza*

AUX-AUX.TERM 3PERS.C1.SUBJ-receive-SUBJ.TERM C1S-food

'It is a good thing that he has received food.'

(Xh) (c) *Ufumane aphendule*

3SING-get-AUX.TERM 3SING.SUBJ-reply-SUBJ.TERM

'He just replies without thinking.'

Furthermore, the conventional approach, based on the experience of the English auxiliaries and modals, takes no account of the use of tense and aspectual affixes found in the Bantu languages. This has been described in detail in Chapter 3 (54ff) with reference to the Past approaches to the concept of auxiliaries between the two languages. This will be discussed further later.
tense marker -â-, which, it is suggested, derives from a Proto-Bantu verb *-ka, 'go'.

It is for these reasons that the description of auxiliary verbs in Bantu languages as first set out by Pahl (1983), and expanded upon in this thesis, can be considered a more suitable approach, with the further conclusion that the role of the auxiliary in Bantu languages is a dual one - providing both a means of describing tense, aspect and modality, and secondly providing a further description of the semantic properties of the main verb.

In Chapter 6 the examination of the locative phrase was undertaken, and it was concluded that the traditional approach of reallocating such structures to the category of "adverbials" was flawed. It was demonstrated that, in the Bantu languages, such phrases clearly have the structure shown here:

\[ S \Rightarrow NP \ V \ NP_{loc} \]

where \[ NP_{loc} \Rightarrow N_{loc} \text{ (POSS N)} \]

It was shown in the examples repeated below that Locative noun phrases in both languages are heads of their respective phrase structures, and that they enforce concordial agreement on following constructs:

(9) (Sw) chini ya meza
    \[ N_{loc}-\text{down C9-POSS table}^6 \]
    'Underneath the table'

(10) (Xh) phantsi kwetafile
    \[ C16-\text{down} \ C17.AGR-POSS-table \]
    'Underneath the table'

It can thus be concluded that, as the Locative noun retains its position as the head constituent,
the overall structure must be that of a Noun Phrase, and thus it can be stated that Bantu verbs are further described in locative contexts by noun phrases, not adverbial phrases.

In the section on Differentiation, there will be further discussion on the concept of adverbial phrases in the two languages under examination.

7.4. **Differentiation - a review of the similarities and differences between Xhosa and Swahili.**

7.4.1. **The role of the auxiliary as a descriptive form.**

It can be concluded that languages use the processes of grammaticalisation for different purposes, and that such purposes are supported by pragmatic necessity.

| Discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero |

Summed up in the above cline (proposed by Givon ((1979a) and quoted by Heine, Claudi and Hün nemeyer (1991:13)) which appeared in Chapter 2, it has been shown that Xhosa uses a process of grammaticalisation to provide the language with a large inventory of descriptive forms, by adapting appropriate finite verbs along a path of change from purely lexical items through the role of auxiliary verb, some of which end up as cliticised forms, and eventually affixes, as shown below, whilst others retain a more descriptive role:

(11a) **UDabula wayesel' emazi kancinane uThembeka...**

---

6 The Class for 'meza, 'table' is Class 9 - the class of the Possessor noun is not relevant and thus omitted.
‘Dabula already knew Thembeka slightly.’

(11b) *Khona sekusithiwa* "yinkosasana"

AUX.now-c15-1PERS.PL.OC-say-PASS

‘Granted she is a princess’

(11c) *Andisayiboni*  

*indoda*  

NEG-1PERS-PROG-C9.AGR-see-NEG.TERM c9-man

‘I no longer see the man.’

Sentence (11a) shows the verb *-sala*, (‘to remain, stay’), already partly grammaticalised as an auxiliary, sentence (11b) shows how it has become cliticised, and in sentence (11c) the verb is seen in an affixal form. (See the full discussion in Chapter 5 (96-99))

However, the largest group of verbs subject to process is the group described in Chapter 3 as Pahl's group 5 - those verbs which have retained their independent meanings, but at the same time may be used in an auxiliary role to impart more description to another finite verb. This inventory (12 examples were listed in Appendix 2.2, but the list is not exhaustive) should be considered with Pahl's Group 4 (Appendix 2.1) which comprises a group whose corresponding independent forms are no longer extant in the language. It can be concluded from the following selection from this category that the function of this form is to add semantic content to the main verb:

(12) *tyaphile ukwamkela ukutya*  

(we) did well accepting food.

(13) *wafana waphosisa*  

he just told a lie.

(14) *ubemane esiba iigushi*
We repeatedly stole sheep.

(15) \textit{ndandisa kuya edolophini}

I go to town often.

Swahili does not appear to be so rich in this form of description of verbs - the list of auxiliaries is much shorter (see Appendix 1), and all the verbs which do grammaticalise are verbs of motion and other predictable forms. Some of these have, as in Xhosa, followed the expected route from auxiliary to affixal form, and have been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. One of these -\textit{taka}, 'to want', has provided the language with the Future tense marker, whilst -\textit{kwisha}, 'to finish', has become a Perfective form:

(16) \begin{align*}
(a) & \text{Atakayefika.} \\
& \text{3SING.FUT.REL.arrive} \\
& \text{'S/he who will arrive.'} \\
(b) & \text{Nitakwenda Nairobi} \\
& \text{1st.PERS-FUT.go Nairobi} \\
& \text{‘I will go to Nairobi.’} \\
(c) & \text{Nimekwisha kula.} \\
& \text{1Sing.PERF-finish INF-eat}^7 \\
& \text{‘I have finished eating.’}
\end{align*}

That the process of grammaticalisation of \textit{kwisha} is ongoing in Swahili is borne out by two quotations from \textit{Sudi ya Yohana}, by C.S.L. Chachage (1981). The first shows that the movement to affixal form in combination with the older Perfective -\textit{me}- and the second illustrates a further process to combine with a Past tense marker -\textit{li}- which appears to impart a Pluperfect notion:

\textsuperscript{7} Although the gloss indicates the infinitive \textit{ku-}, this is present on account of the monosyllabic root -\textit{la},
It is thus clear that Swahili and Xhosa differ in the processes used to provide additional descriptive features for the verb phrase; Xhosa relies heavily on a wide range of verb forms in auxiliary role, whilst Swahili restricts this course to a few examples. Ashton (1947:329) lists eight ways in which adverbial concepts are expressed—descriptives in the terminology of this thesis. Some of these, by virtue of the difference between Swahili methods and those of Xhosa, should be mentioned, whilst such common forms as locative nouns, noun phrases and ideophones will be accepted without further comment.

**7.4.2. Other descriptive forms of common Bantu origin.**

Both languages employ a few Bantu primitive adverbial roots, but the distinction between these forms and ideophones is perhaps blurred.  

(18) (a) Xh. *...kwaphumelela isixhenxe qha!*

"*Isikolo saseMolweni*" Dikeni, C. unpublished.

"...only seven succeeded!"

__________________________

not because any breach of rule has occurred.
(b) Sw.  *Nataka vivili tu!*

"I only want two!"

A form widely used in Xhosa but which has only one example noted in Swahili is the adverbial formative *ka*-. This form is commonly used to create adverbial forms from adjectives or demonstratives, and most of the inventory of Xhosa adjectives may be treated in this way.\(^8\)

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
(19) & (a) & \text{Xh. } -kulu ('big') > kakhulu ('very') \\
& & -hle ('beautiful') > kakhule ('well')
\end{array}
\]

(b) Sw.  *-mwe* (old root for 'one') > kamwe ('not once')

Although Swahili has few *ka*- forms compared to the extensive Xhosa inventory,\(^9\) a common strategy in that language is to use *vi*-, a formative similar to the Class 8 prefix, when modifying adjectival stems to express manner:\(^10\)

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
(20) & & -zuri ('nice, beautiful') > vizuri ('beautifully, nicely') \\
& & -baya ('bad') > vibaya ('badly')
\end{array}
\]

It should be noted that both languages allow the formation of adverbs from demonstratives, and that they may express a concept without a subject noun:

(21) (a) Sw.  *kuona vile ilivyokuwa...*

"seeing how matters stood..."

(b) Xh.  *kwathi ke kaloku...*

---

\(^8\) Compare Example (18)(a) with *mhlopo qhweli*, 'intensely white!'

\(^9\) The inventory of adjectives in Xhosa forms a closed category, comprising twelve primitive roots and the first six numerals. Some exceptions to the *ka* -formative are *-saphi, -sashane* ('short'), and *-tsha* (new) which seem to prefer *ngoko* as an adverbial prefix. All however are attested in Zulu with the *ka*-prefix (Doke and Vilakazi (1990)).

\(^10\) Examination of a 200,000 word corpus of Xhosa returned a count of one of one in 325 words the *ka*-formative in front of common adjectival stems, with the highest count (189 examples) being for *kakhulu*. One adjective, *-epesi* ('light, quick') uses *u*- of state - *nenda upesi* ('go quickly'). This *u*-form is also found in *wina* derived from an old form (cf. Xhosa *ukuma*, 'to stand') - *ima*. It has the meaning 'standing up, upright'
(lit. "it was said to be like this")

"Once upon a time..."

To conclude the commentary on descriptive forms based on Bantu roots, it is worth mentioning, for completeness, that Swahili allows certain nominal forms representing concepts of time to be used to modify appropriate verbs without change of form - also seen in Xhosa, though the latter language prefers a locative form:

(22) Sw. (a) alikwenda jana
    'she went yesterday'

Xh. (b) sahamba izolo
    'we went yesterday'

(23) Sw. (a) walifika usiku
    'they arrived in the night'

(b) bafika ehusuku
    'they arrived in the night'

Finally, it is also noted that in Swahili the Class 7 prefix may create adverbial forms from nouns, imparting a concept of 'behaving like' :

(24) Sw. anacheza kitoto...
    'he plays in a childish way'...

Thus far, it seems that both languages use similar strategies to develop a range of grammatical expressions to enhance the meaning of verbal constructs. Swahili has a larger inventory of primitive adjectival roots, whereas Xhosa makes more use of the auxiliary form recruited from its inventory of independent verbs. Swahili has but one example of the common Bantu adverbial formative, Xhosa uses the form extensively. Before expressing any conclusion, however, the discussion will focus on non-Bantu formatives in the next section.
7.4.3. Other descriptive forms of non-Bantu origin.

7.4.3.1. Swahili alternatives to non-syntactic auxiliaries.

The last of Ashton's concepts to be examined is that of borrowed words, mainly from Arabic, which provide Swahili with a useful inventory of both adjectives and adverbs. It will be argued that the auxiliary forms seen in Xhosa are largely replaced by Arabic borrowings in Swahili. Appendix 7 is a list of Arabic-derived adverbials or other descriptive forms which have been used to create examples in Swahili which relate as closely as possible by direct translation, or at best by comparison with the English gloss. It will be seen that with the exception of the pair -funa (Xhosa) and -taka (Swahili) (identical in meaning and both volitive), it is possible to find an Arabic borrowing for every Xhosa auxiliary listed in Appendix 2, paras 2.1 and 2.2. In addition, it should be noted that in most cases the Swahili borrowed form is the most likely choice to express the concept under consideration. Two pairs of examples from Appendices 2 and 8 are repeated below:

(25) (a) Sw. *alikwala karibu kuwaga*  
he nearly fell.
(b) Xh. *umphante ukuwa*
he nearly fell

(26) (a) Sw. *alipofika tu.*  
as soon as he had arrived.
(b) Xh. *kusala kufika...*  
As soon as he had arrived.

On the last page of Appendix 7 is a list from a concordance examination of the Swahili corpus mentioned elsewhere. Twenty five quotations have been retained illustrating that a large
proportion of the adverbial inventory items are actually used in the literature in this way, and thus support the more contrived examples of the table.

One conclusion which can reasonably be suggested is that at the time of exposure to Arabic influence on Swahili, the speakers found the use of foreign descriptive terms easier to handle than a system of auxiliary verbal forms used by the Bantu language speakers. The large number of Arabic adverbial borrowings indicate that the syntactic category is widely used in Arabic, and as speakers of that period in the development of Swahili may have been of Arabic or mixed descent and thus more at home with the simpler syntax, it seems natural that much of the inventory could have entered the language by this route. Earlier discussion in this section has already suggested that the other routes for the production of descriptives remain closely parallel to the productivity rules of Xhosa - it is only in this category of non-tense forming verbs that Swahili has sought an alternative path.

7.4.3.2. Borrowings into Xhosa.

The emphasis on the influx of Arabic lexical items and some grammatical forms which have been discussed so far, may lead the reader to suppose that there is little to say for borrowing in Xhosa. Indeed, the geographic isolation of the language group seems to have preserved many aspects of the formal structures of the language to a greater degree than is apparent in Swahili.

However, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, considerable borrowings of a lexical nature have occurred as a result of contact with aboriginal groups in the territories now occupied by the Xhosa language speakers, both by assimilation into the greater community, and through the practice of isihlonipa - the use of a 'respect language' by young women who by custom modify any word with syllables resembling the name of their male in-law. It is most likely that women would have been eager to tap a new resource which offered a wide range of hitherto
unused terms, and when necessary, the sounds of the clicks could be incorporated into Bantu structures to provide the necessary respectful difference. There is some evidence that some words of conventional Bantu language group shape are converted into "click-words" in attempt to become more "Xhosa", or they might have been changes introduced by the constraints of isihlonipha:

(27). (a) Xh. -mhlophe qhwa!

'brilliant white!'

(b) Z. -mhlophe thwa!

'brilliant white!'

There is however little evidence that these borrowings have been subject to any grammatical change, other than perhaps instances of click-based ideophones adopting the -thi auxiliary, or subsequent transfer into full verb form:

(28) (a) ukuthi qheke

'crack, break up'.

(b) uku-qhekeka

'to crack, break up'.

Borrowings from other languages, notably English, Dutch and Afrikaans, also are widely attested - items of Western culture introduced during early colonisation periods all received names based on the original language - ibhulukhwe, 'pair of trousers (D)', ihempe, 'shirt (D)' are common examples but no grammatical change other than an allocation of prefix has taken place.

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12 Zulu/English dictionary (Doke & Vilakazi (1990) also attests -mhlophe qwa with the same meaning - this further supports the argument of vulnerability to change.
Reanalysis sometimes takes place with borrowings - elsewhere in this thesis (Chapter 6.1.) an example is given of a Swahili borrowing for a roadsign taking on the appearance of a class 7 noun by a process of reanalysis. Chachage (1981:53) uses *vilabuni* ('in clubs') derived from the English 'club' (association) and treated to the formation rules of Swahili, firstly by the addition of the Class 8 (plural) prefix (*ki-labu/vi-labu*), followed by the attachment of a locative suffix - *ni*.

7.4.4. **Differentiation - summary of conclusions.**

Conclusions about the geographic isolation of the Xhosa language have been reiterated throughout this thesis. It is clear that as a result of its unique position for many centuries the language has remained relatively free from the kind of pressures which place Swahili where it is today. Apart from the, presumably quite voluntary, absorption of a number of speech sounds from the original inhabitants and the pragmatic adjustment of the lexicon to account for newly introduced cultural concepts, there has probably been little meaningful change to Xhosa grammar. Swahili on the other hand has undergone a number of processes of change which have left the grammar showing signs of simplification, and traces of more than one formation of a pidgin form which eventually becomes part of the standardised language, with consequent weakening of the more rigid grammatical structures.

The first of these periods of change was most likely to have been during the Arab colonisation period, when, it was suggested in Chapter 1, Swahili as it is known today, started to appear. The first Arabic borrowings would have been in use soon after permanent settlement began, but for reasons already debated, there is no written record of the period. However, Arabic in Swahili form was clearly in use a few centuries later - Knappert (1967:143) dates the earliest copy of the Swahili epic *"Utenzi wa Herekali"* as early as 1728, but points out that it is not the oldest Swahili manuscript.\(^\text{13}\) The opening lines quoted below are the conventional formulaic

\(^{13}\) Neither is it necessarily the earliest copy of this particular epic poem. In Chapter 1 it was pointed out that rules of copyright allowed the manual reproduction of a document as many times as was necessary,
religious phrases, but they are in Swahili, not Arabic:

(29) *Bisimillahi kutubu*  
*yina wa molo wahhabu*  
In the name of God repent  
the name of the Lord of all

Subsequent periods of change to the language would have coincided with the advent of European settlers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Settlement of farmers and the presence of military forces both contributed to the development of pidgin forms. The following quotation is from a handbook first published in 1936, and in its 15th edition in 1964. The book was intended "for the soldier, settler, miner, merchant, and their wives" and openly admits to be offering the forms of Swahili spoken up-country (the standardised form is shown in brackets):

(30) (a)  
*mimi napiga wewe*  
(nitakupiga/ninakupiga)  
1-ABS PRES.hit 2-ABS  
I (will?) hit you.  
Standardised form.

(b)  
*Huya nakwisha piga mimi*  
(amenipiga)  
3-DEM PRES.INF.finish hit 1-ABS  
He struck me.

Le Breton, F.H. (1964:22)

Holm (1989:566) identifies this variety as 'kisetla' (as does Whiteley (1969)) and also gives the following example of 'kiHindi', also from Whiteley (1969) and purporting to be the kind of Swahili used by Kenyan Indian people:

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thus it is not inconceivable that this poem was in existence in the seventeenth century, as was the *Hamziya*, also quoted quoted in this thesis in Chapter 6.
The use of the verb *kwisha* in Example (30)(a) is typical of the replacement of tense markers in a simplification process, but the particular use of *kwisha*, used in conjunction with the older Perfective *-me-* seems to have been in existence for some time before Le Breton wrote his guide - Bishop Steere (1917) includes an example which he explains as giving emphasis to a Past or Perfect tense:

(32) *Amekwisha kuja*

he has finished to come, he is come already, he is certainly come.'

This example of a process which has been discussed at length in the chapters on grammaticalisation may be indicative of the early form of the process, as the following verb *kuja* is an infinitive form, and thus the structure is that of a conventional serial verb string.

It should be remembered that in the days when these grammars and handbooks were written, Swahili was not the official language of any of the East African territories, and that its Standardisation process was in its infancy. After the adoption of Swahili as a National language in Kenya, with the accompanying enhanced status in schools, the spoken form has become much closer to the standardised version. Holm (1989:564) summarises in his opening remarks on restructured Swahili by saying:

"Swahili is the first language of some five million people... (and) varieties of Swahili that have been restructured to varying degrees are spoken as a lingua franca by over

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14 The age of the manuscripts which Bishop Steere adapted for his "Swahili Exercises" can be gauged from the following quotation from the section dealing with the Class 7 prefix: "Slaves and others from the interior often incorrectly change the *ki-* prefix into *chi-*, after the analogy of the *Fao* and other inland languages." Presumably there was no slavery in East Africa by 1917.
thirty million more people in east Africa and Zaire... The restructured variety spoken in Eastern Zaire is gaining native speakers."

In the next section, the examination will focus on various aspects of simplification encountered in the two target languages, and will identify such processes which have a bearing of the syntax.

7.5. **Simplification - the weakening of syntactic structures.**

In the previous section, it was argued that Swahili had adopted an inventory of Arabic-based lexical items as substitutes for the non-syntactic Bantu forms of auxiliary verbs. This could be considered to constitute a weakening of the syntax of the language, eliminating as it does a complete category of auxiliary verb forms. However, Hopper and Traugott (1993:217) warn against the danger of making this assumption, pointing out that even if pidgins are regarded as mixed languages, they are always described in terms of the lexifier language. In the case of Swahili, it has to be assumed that the Bantu prototype was the lexifier, and not Arabic, and it has been shown in an earlier section that the Bantu languages support a set of formation rules for adverbials. Thus, if Swahili adopted an inventory of adverbs from Arabic as seems to have been the case, it did so within the constraints of existing rules, not by any radical departure from them.

Hopper and Traugott (ibid) also point out that the process from pidgin to creole (and onward through a process of codification and standardisation) is a process of complexification - this view can be confirmed by the fact that the pidgin forms used as examples earlier in this chapter are now probably historical anachronisms, as the adoption of Swahili as an official language has led to its wider use and understanding.  

15 Appendix 9 presents a short list of auxiliary verb forms of this type from two randomly selected Bantu languages, to confirm that the practice is widespread throughout the language group. The process will also have been quickened by the emigration of many of the settler population and many Asians after independence. It is probably true to say that those who remained show greater
Discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero

What does occur, and can be seen in both target languages, is reduction or simplification of certain grammatical morphemes - which can be seen as a part of the grammaticalisation process in the event that morphemic boundaries are crossed, as explained by Givon's cline, discussed in section 7.4 of this chapter and reproduced here for convenience:

Both languages have a tendency to reduce noun prefixes, thus fulfilling the prediction of the cline to pass from morphology to zero. Swahili has lost all pre-prefixes, whereas Xhosa retains them almost intact except for Classes 5 and 11, where the pre-prefix and proper prefix are merged with loss of the proper prefix consonant:

(33)  
Class 5.  
\[ \text{ill} - \rightarrow \hat{i} \text{ unless the stem is monosyllabic.} \]

Class 11.  
\[ \hat{u} \hat{u} - \rightarrow \hat{u} \text{ unless the stem is monosyllabic.} \]

Swahili uses no prefix at all for polysyllabic nouns in Class 5, and only uses the proper prefix \textit{ji}- for monosyllabic forms:

(34)  
\textit{jicho macho}  'an eye/eyes'

\textit{neno maneno}  'word/words'

Furthermore, Swahili has conflated the Class 11 and 14 prefixes, so that nouns of these classes are treated as u-Class without distinction, thus reflecting the loss of the consonants \textit{t}' (Class 11) and \textit{b}' (Class 14). In addition the prefix \textit{u}' is retained without syntactic function when forming monosyllabic stem plurals for this class in Class 10:

commitment to the countries (particularly Kenya) and did and still do speak a better variety of Swahili anyway.
(35)  

Swahili N-Class (Classes 9 and 10) nouns exhibit no change of shape whether singular or plural, regardless of the presence of the prefix, which is absent altogether if the noun is borrowed.

All these examples demonstrate reduction of either part or all of a grammatical morpheme, or even total elimination.

In Xhosa whilst the process is not yet so obvious as in Swahili, there has been reduction - the Locative classes use only one form of concordial agreement as was discussed in detail in Chapter 6, Class 10 prefixes are reduced unless the stem is monosyllabic, and in rapid speech there is a tendency for the Class 11 possessive morpheme lwa to be reduced to la, thus risking a blurring of the distinction between this class and Class 5 which has la as its possessive morpheme.

Another example is the loss of the consonant l- of the demonstrative pronoun - retained in all cases in Zulu, it is only seen in Xhosa in the monosyllabic concord classes or when a prefix is to be attached to a locative class form:

(36)  

Redundancy of morphemes - when the same morpheme is repeated in one grammatical construct, leads to deletion and thus eases the path of a grammatical morpheme to reduce to afixal form. This is seen in the Xhosa compound tenses as discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1.3. where it was shown that structures like ndibe ndihamba would reduce to
Swahili shows the same tendency in compound tenses where previously fully conjugable constructs are now fixed with neuter prefixes. Perrott (1957:129) points out that fully conjugable forms of kwa, 'to be' were the normal form twenty years before the publication of her book, but were now replaced by impersonal forms:

(37) \[ \text{ningawa nitasoma} \rightarrow \text{ingawa nitasoma} \]

'Although I shall read'

Perrott, writing first in 1951, had the perception to comment that the use of amba (discussed fully in Chapter 6, Para 6.4.3.4.) was changing, saying:

"If its use extends, as it probably will, it will continue the simplification of the Swahili verb begun by the use of the impersonal forms referred to on page 130."

It is just this kind of simplification, and the exact components behind the change, which have been the focus of the discussion in this section. By discussion with, and observation of Swahili speakers today, it is clear that the amba form has almost totally superceded the older form of relative affix.

It is suggested in some circles (general conversations) that one reason is the closeness of the usage to that of similar constructs in English - possibly an unlikely hypothesis considering Perrott's report of a process started some seventy years ago before the commencement of the "global English" debate.
7.6. **Future trends in Xhosa and Swahili**

It is not the objective of this thesis to make socio-linguistic appraisal of the two target languages, but short remarks on the future development along linguistic lines will not be inappropriate.

Swahili would appear to be in a stable phase in the history of the language - it is spoken, according to Ethnologue (1996), by at least thirty five million people, five million of whom are mother-tongue speakers. Now an official or national language throughout the East African territories, (selected by Kenya because of its political neutrality and by Tanzania because of the great diversity of languages spoken there) it can look forward to growth in the number of mother-tongue users, and a proliferation of the standard version through schools, universities and media. Presumably use of dialects will weaken, as tourism causes previously isolated areas to become more accessible. By way of example, in the Lamu area, home to the dialects of Bajun, ki-Amu and ki-Pate, now lists seventeen hotels on the Internet, and has become a tourist haven and "hippie" paradise. At the time of writing this thesis, Uganda is rated as one of the burgeoning economies of Sub-Saharan Africa, with Tanzania also showing much improvement in its economic development.

Lastly, the development of geographically strategically placed Arusha as a conference centre for political and trade meetings, and recently featured in attempts to solve regional neighbours Congo, Rwanda and Burundi's conflicts, could result in the inclusion of those more Westerly countries, already with a tradition of Swahili as a lingua franca in some parts, into a large and successful region with a common language and a central regional trade capital.

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17. As the data seems to be based on Holm (1989), (see Appendix 10), it is reasonable to suppose that the total stands at many million more - probably well in excess of forty million.

18. In the early '60s, the writer was accommodated by the Government Veterinary Officer, then considered the only "suitable" accommodation for Western visitors!
On the other hand, the future for Xhosa may be somewhat different. Spoken by more than six million, eight hundred thousand people (*Ethnologue* (1996)), the main concentration is in the Eastern region of South Africa, an area which is underdeveloped and mainly rural although a large migration into the Western Cape in recent years may have upset traditional demographic distribution patterns. Fully codified, standardised (from three of the principal dialects, Ndlambe, Ngqika and Gcaleka) and a national language, Xhosa should be able to look forward to a future with the expectation of consolidation due to more and better teaching programmes at schools and universities, greater acceptance of the right to mother-tongue education and legal and civic documentation in the language.

The reality may, however, be somewhat different. South Africa has eleven official languages, all constitutionally guaranteed equal rights, but insufficient resources exist to put such ideals into practice. Many factors work against the upliftment through own-language resources - publishers' attitudes, and increased access to Information Technology through media such as the Internet, are just some examples of potential weakening of the status of Xhosa or that of any of the other indigenous languages.

Amongst its list of official national languages, no one language (other than English) emerges as a likely candidate to be a primary language in which all the citizens can communicate. Unlike in Kenya, there is no completely politically neutral language (even English, which might comply, has the stigma of not being African and having been the language of colonisation). Unlike Tanzania with its more than one hundred different languages, there is no *lingua franca* already in place which could be developed into a common language for all the language groups. In a recent survey for the Pan-South African Language Board and reported in a newspaper article (Sunday Times, 9 Sept 2000) nearly fifty per cent of the non-English-speaking population said they often did not understand, or seldom understood government or local government pronouncements in English.
What was of particular interest in the same report was the comment that ... "informal urban varieties of Tsotsitaal/Isicamtho/Flaaitaal - the so-called languages of contact - often serve as a better bridge in communication than English." Inherently Bantu in their concept, such urban pidgins (for that is what they seem to be) may well be the forerunners of a language which could emerge as the lingua franca of South Africa. However, further comment would be speculative and beyond the scope of this thesis.

It can thus be concluded that, while Swahili has an assured future to develop freely, in the way any widely used language does, and will probably increase the numbers of both mother-tongue and non-mother-tongue speakers, Xhosa is faced with the problem of rural versus urban pressures, and there will need to be intensive debate in all language planning discussion groups if it is to avoid the fate of becoming a historical anachronism.

7.7. Areas for future study.

It is clear from the above comments that an area requiring urgent study is that of the role of Xhosa in a modern South Africa, with emphasis on mother-tongue education and the necessary interface with, not only other indigenous languages, but increasingly with the languages of technology which play an important role in driving a global economy.

The above field of study is for the socio-linguists, but an important field of study, which has been commenced in part in this thesis, is an examination of the grammar and the methods traditionally used to describe it. This thesis has shown that to describe one language in terms of another is a dangerous path which leads to misconception and misunderstanding, a point well illustrated by the following example, typical of many approaches to Bantu grammar and

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19 My emphasis.
the role of the agreement concord in particular. It is taken from Ziervogel, Lombard and Mokgokong (1969): "In English one says "the man sees", but in Northern Sotho one says the (sic) "the man he sees".

There is no reason to suppose that the agreement morpheme or concord in the expression *monna o reka selepe* ('the man buys an axe') coincides with the English pronoun "he" which normally only appears in the absence of the subject noun - its function in this environment is purely to relate the verb to its subject noun. However if the verb and its agreement marker are in an anaphoric relationship with an appropriate noun in the previous sentence or clause, then correctly the agreement morpheme 'o' has taken on an additional pronominal function. It is in areas such as these that the description of Bantu language grammar needs to be reviewed.

7.8. **The objectives reviewed.**

In the Introduction, and at the beginning of this chapter, the objectives of this thesis were set out. They were to conduct an investigation of the processes of grammaticalisation in Xhosa and to use Swahili, as the earliest written Bantu language, as a comparison. There was to be focus on the identification of areas where the present or traditional approaches to the grammar were inadequate and where found, to suggest alternative approaches. The need to define the relationship between source and target in such processes as defined by Heine, Claudi and Hünnefelder (1991) was considered fundamental to such examination as it posed vital questions about the ability to define the lexical source and to establish the universality of the features of the process.

This chapter has discussed the degree to which these objectives have been achieved. Several processes of grammaticalisation in Xhosa were identified and described. Where the traditional description seemed inadequate, an alternative has been offered. Meinhof (1932:176) says:
"In our opinion a linguistic classification should be historical, that is, a classification that embodies as far as possible the actual history of the languages concerned."

This thesis has attempted to do just that.
# Analysis of Auxiliary Verbs in Swahili

## 1. The Auxiliary Verbs used in the Conjugation of the Verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kwa</td>
<td>V followed by NP</td>
<td>atakwa daktari</td>
<td>He will become a doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwa na</td>
<td>V + -na- + NP</td>
<td>aliwaka na pesa nyingi</td>
<td>He had much money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwa -na-</td>
<td>Aux + V at specific time</td>
<td>aliwaka anasoma</td>
<td>At that time he was reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwa -ki-</td>
<td>Aux + V continuous action</td>
<td>atakwa akituma</td>
<td>He will be reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwa -me-</td>
<td>Aux + V Stative/completed</td>
<td>aliwaka amelala</td>
<td>He was asleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-LI-</td>
<td>Aux + &quot;o&quot; of relative, in present tense only</td>
<td>Tulio watoto</td>
<td>We, who are children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NGALI</td>
<td>Aux + -ki- + V progressive in present tense.</td>
<td>angali akituma</td>
<td>He is still reading.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aux + Infinitive in Past and Future tenses.</td>
<td>aliwaka angali kusoma</td>
<td>He was still reading.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atakwa angali kusoma</td>
<td>He will still be reading.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 2. Auxiliary Verbs which are NOT used in the conjugation of Verbs.

These auxiliaries do not have any part to play in the formation of tenses or the conjugation of the verb.

### Group 2.1. Auxiliary verbs with NO corresponding independent verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO SUCH VERBS OF THIS CATEGORY ARE FOUND IN SWAHILI.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Group 2.2. Auxiliary verbs with independent meanings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kwisha</td>
<td>Aux + Infinitive implies &quot;already&quot;</td>
<td>amekwisha kwenda</td>
<td>He has already gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kaja</td>
<td>Aux + Future implies action some time in the Future.</td>
<td>tutakuja tutatuma</td>
<td>Later, we will use it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwenda</td>
<td>Aux in -li- or -me- implies &quot;just now, at the moment&quot;.</td>
<td>Hamisi amekwenda kuitwa</td>
<td>Hamisi is now being called.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With optional prefix and -po- of time indicates, &quot;if by chance, should it happen...&quot;</td>
<td>wendapo husanya kazi vizuri, hawezi kusilwa fedha.</td>
<td>If it happens that you do not work hard, you will not be paid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Usage</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kwenda (cont'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hu- + AUX + -ka- or -me- tense indicates, &quot;maybe, perhaps&quot;</td>
<td>Huenda ikawa bahati yangu nikapata fedha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4. kuweza</td>
<td>AUX followed by Infinitive indicates possibility.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mtu kuweza kutaajabu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5. kupata</td>
<td>AUX + V, with optional prefix, ku- implies ability or opportunity.</td>
<td>Hapata kwenda safari bodo</td>
<td>He has not yet had the opportunity to travel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6. kutaka</td>
<td>AUX + V, with optional prefix, ku- indicates &quot;on the point of&quot;</td>
<td>Huyu mtu ataka kafa</td>
<td>This man is on the point of death.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Analysis of Auxiliary Verbs in Xhosa

1. **The Auxiliary Verbs used in the Conjugation of the Verb.**

   **Group 1.1.** Auxiliaries which are affixal, and placed between Subject Concord and stem, or between stem and terminative (isindezisi) (Pahl’s first group).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1 -ya-</td>
<td>Long form, Present tense</td>
<td>SC + -ya- + stem ndiyahamba</td>
<td>Aspect (see next example) or referential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.2 -wa-</td>
<td>together with -ya-, to give inchoative, but derogatory meaning.</td>
<td>SC + -ya- + -wa- + stem Suka, nyawaxila.</td>
<td>Inchoative /derogatory. You are becoming a drunkard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.3 -sa-</td>
<td>With Indicative and Participial moods, most tenses - progressive.</td>
<td>SC + -sa- + stem Still (Neg. no longer) Ndisalhetha</td>
<td>I am still speaking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.4 -ka-</td>
<td>Negative form of Progressive</td>
<td>NEG + SC + -ka- + stem Andikaboni ntu</td>
<td>I do not yet see anything.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.5 -a-</td>
<td>Remote Past Tense formative</td>
<td>SC + -a- + stem (with coalescence) Ndafunda</td>
<td>I learnt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.6 -nga/-nge-</td>
<td>Potential affix</td>
<td>SC + -nga- + stem Ndingahamba</td>
<td>I may go.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.7 -kwa-</td>
<td>Inclusive aspect</td>
<td>SC + -kwa- + stem AmaGumukhwebe akwabusa kumalRhahabe</td>
<td>Even, the same, that vary. Those very Gumukhwebe people pay homage to the Rhahabes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   **Group 1.2.** Auxiliaries which may be conjugated as separate constructions, or prefixed to the main verb (iintsiza-senzi) and followed by the Infinitive, participial (Pahl’s groups 2 &3) or the subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1 -ba/-be</td>
<td>in continuous tenses</td>
<td>SC + -be + participial</td>
<td>was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.2 -ya/-ye</td>
<td>in Future tenses (-ya), remote past continuous (-ye), also in Narrative past (-ye).</td>
<td>SC + -ya- + infinitive SC + -ye + participial (see SG3 for XHA100-F:123)</td>
<td>will was/were used to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.3 -za-/ze</td>
<td>in near future tense</td>
<td>SC + -za- + infinitive</td>
<td>will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.4 Se(le)</td>
<td>all indicative tenses</td>
<td>SC + -se + participial</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.5 nge-</td>
<td>Perfect tense (nge-), Ngedivuyile (&lt;nde ndi ndiyile)</td>
<td>nge- + SC + root</td>
<td>should/ought/wish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.6 Ma-</td>
<td>Hortative</td>
<td>ma- + SC + subjunctive</td>
<td>let/cause to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.7 Musa</td>
<td>Negative imperative.</td>
<td></td>
<td>do not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2. Auxiliary Verbs which are NOT used in the conjugation of Verbs.

These auxiliaries do not have any part to play in the formation of tenses or the conjugation of the verb. (Pahl's group 4).

#### Group 2.1. Auxiliary verbs with NO corresponding independent verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kha/-khe</td>
<td>As a prefix e.g. <em>khawuzize</em></td>
<td><em>kha-</em> + subjunctive</td>
<td>just bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conjugable, as aux.</td>
<td>e.g akhe <em>athethe</em></td>
<td>speak a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(SC)</td>
<td><em>SC + -khe + participial</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-da/-de</td>
<td>Conjugable, as aux.</td>
<td><em>sada sofika</em></td>
<td>eventually we arrived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in subjunctive</td>
<td>*(lu)*de <em>lutambe</em></td>
<td>until it is soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>negative subjunctive</td>
<td><em>akafiki engadange afunde</em></td>
<td>he will not come before he has learnt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-phantsa/e</td>
<td>followed by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>uphatse awe</em></td>
<td>he nearly fell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>followed by infinitive</td>
<td><em>uphatse ukwula</em></td>
<td>be nearly fell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tyapha/e</td>
<td>followed by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>tyapha amkele ukutya</em></td>
<td>it is a good thing that he has received food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>followed by infinitive</td>
<td><em>tyaphile ukwanakela ukutya</em></td>
<td>(we) did well accepting food</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Group 2.2. Auxiliary verbs with independent meanings. (Pahl's group 5.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-fika/e</td>
<td>conjugable, foll. by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>usana lusaya kufika lufunde</em></td>
<td>The child will soon learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hla/e</td>
<td>followed by narrative</td>
<td><em>sahla salwa</em></td>
<td>we suddenly fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>followed by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>sihle sibwe</em></td>
<td>we suddenly fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-suka/e</td>
<td>followed by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>usuke wayityala imbevu</em></td>
<td>he had hurriedly planted seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>followed by participial</td>
<td><em>usuka ungabikho namhla</em></td>
<td>it happens that he is not here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-buva/e</td>
<td>followed by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>babuye bayitshise ngca</em></td>
<td>they burnt the grass again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-phinda/e</td>
<td>followed by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>ubephinde wafumane umbona ominzi</em></td>
<td>he has again had a good crop of mealies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fana/e</td>
<td>followed by subjunctive</td>
<td><em>wafana waphosisa</em></td>
<td>he just told a lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fumana/e</td>
<td>followed by participial</td>
<td><em>ufumane aphendule</em></td>
<td>He just replies without thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ufumana ethetha</em></td>
<td>He is speaking in vain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hlala</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ehlela ephekale indoda yaihe ukutya</em></td>
<td>She is always cooking food for her husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sala</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>kusala kufika</em>...</td>
<td>As soon as he arrived...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kade</td>
<td>all followed by participial</td>
<td><em>bekade behamba apha</em></td>
<td>They used to walk here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mana/e</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ubemane esiba iigusha</em></td>
<td>He repeatedly stole sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-soloko</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>usoloko ehamba</em></td>
<td>He is always walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fuda/ala</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>andisoloko ndithenga tinkomo</em></td>
<td>I don't always buy cattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ifudula isakha amanzi</em></td>
<td>She is used to drawing water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.8.</td>
<td>-sandla, -sandula</td>
<td>usandul'ukuxhela inkom</td>
<td>He has just slaughtered a beast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-andula</td>
<td>ndandul'ukushamba</td>
<td>And then I left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>akandule ahambe.</td>
<td>He no longer runs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.9</td>
<td>-fafele, -mebe</td>
<td>ufanele ukuthandaza</td>
<td>He ought to pray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.10</td>
<td>-kholisa, andisa, -dla</td>
<td>ukholisa ukulima.</td>
<td>He ploughs satisfactorily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndandisa kuya edolphini</td>
<td>I go to town often.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>badla ngokuba babi</td>
<td>they are usually bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.11</td>
<td>-funa, -thanda</td>
<td>umlambo ufuna ukuphuma</td>
<td>the river is about to overflow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.12</td>
<td>-thi</td>
<td>ukathi cwaka.</td>
<td>ideophone supplies meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>used with ideophone</td>
<td></td>
<td>you must waken them in the morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as auxiliary</td>
<td>uze uthi ekuseni ubavuse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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University of Cape Town
Appendix 3.

Investigation of -s(i)- in monosyllabic verbs.

Usage: In present participle form where no object concord is present. The OC and -s(i)- are thus mutually exclusive. Some forms are seen where the use of the affix -s(i)- seems optional. First and third person singular are shown where appropriate (ndi/-ia/-e-).

Scope of investigation:

Five groups of verbs are recognised, as follows:

(i). The latent-i verb group.
(ii). The other monosyllabic verbs (excluding group (iii)).
(iii). Monosyllabic verbs with endings other than -a.
(iv). The verb -mka (syllabic -m).
(v). Vowel verbs.

Tone: Tone markings are only shown where distinctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive Form</th>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Pres. Ind. Tense</th>
<th>Present Participal</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>P.B. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short Form</td>
<td>Long form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1. (latent-i).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuba (iba)</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ndiba</td>
<td>ndisiba</td>
<td>yiba!</td>
<td>yia1 (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndiyeba</td>
<td>esiba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuhla</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndiyehla</td>
<td>ndisihla</td>
<td>yihla!</td>
<td>-kua (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uyebla</td>
<td>esihla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuma</td>
<td>T/l</td>
<td>ndima</td>
<td>ndisiima</td>
<td>yima!</td>
<td>yima (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndiyema</td>
<td>esima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukumbe</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ndimba</td>
<td>ndisimba</td>
<td>yimba!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndiyemba</td>
<td>esimba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukupha2</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ndipha</td>
<td>ndisipha</td>
<td>yipha!</td>
<td>-pa (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndiyepha</td>
<td>esimba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusa</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ndiyesa</td>
<td>ndisasa</td>
<td>yisa!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uyesa</td>
<td>esisa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuva</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ndiva</td>
<td>ndisiva</td>
<td>yiva!</td>
<td>(i)yu (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndiyeva</td>
<td>esiva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuza</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndiza</td>
<td>ndisiza</td>
<td>yiza!</td>
<td>yinga (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndiyezza</td>
<td>esiza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group 2.

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukuza</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndiba</td>
<td>ndisiba</td>
<td>-ya (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuda</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>iyada</td>
<td>esiba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>esida</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ukufa</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndiyaqa</td>
<td>ndisifa</td>
<td>yifa!</td>
<td>-kua (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>esifa</td>
<td></td>
<td>*PUA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The symbols such as i and y are those used by Meinhof. In the first instance, the symbol indicates the super-high vowel, the second the primary fricative.

2 McLaren (1963) shows two versions, the second, ukupha, has the meaning "to pluck", and is shown with an alternative form, -ipha, indicating the presence of the latent-i, whereas the first means "to give". Thus this second form has been placed in the Latent-i group. Pahl (1983:66) confirms these variants, though he places them both in the non-latent-i group.
Group 2 (cont'd).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>ndikha</th>
<th>ndyekha</th>
<th>ndisikha</th>
<th>esikha</th>
<th>yikha!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukulwa</td>
<td>T/I</td>
<td>ndilwa</td>
<td>ndiyalwa</td>
<td>ndisilwa</td>
<td>esilwa</td>
<td>yilwa!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuma</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>liyana</td>
<td>iyana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yana!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukunga</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndinga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukunya</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndiyanya</td>
<td>ndisinya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuphá</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>ndipha</td>
<td>ndiyapha</td>
<td>ndisipha</td>
<td>yipha!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukusá</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>kuyasa</td>
<td>kusisa</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ukutha</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>nditha</td>
<td>ndiyatha</td>
<td>ndisitha</td>
<td>-ita (M)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutsha</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndiyatsha</td>
<td>liyatsa</td>
<td></td>
<td>-pia (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukutyá</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>nditya</td>
<td>ndiyatyia</td>
<td>ndisitya</td>
<td>yitya!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukuwá</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>ndiyawa</td>
<td>ndisiwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>yiwá!</td>
<td></td>
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Group 3 (endings other than -a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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<th>uathi</th>
<th>ndisithi</th>
<th>yithi!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ukutsho</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Nditsho</td>
<td>uitsho</td>
<td>isitsho</td>
<td>yitsho!</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Group 4 (syllabic M).

<table>
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<th>Word</th>
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<th>mka!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Group 5. (Vowel verbs).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>ndiyakha</th>
<th>ndisakha</th>
<th>yakha!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

==oooOOOooo==
### Appendix 4.

#### Summary of Tenses

**Indicative Mood**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Tense</th>
<th>Xhosa Structure</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Short Positive</td>
<td>ndibona</td>
<td>I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Long Positive</td>
<td>ndiyabona</td>
<td>I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Negative</td>
<td>andiboni</td>
<td>I do not see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Future Positive</td>
<td>ndiza kubona</td>
<td>I shall see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Future Negative</td>
<td>andizi kubona</td>
<td>I shall not see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future Positive</td>
<td>ndiya kubona</td>
<td>I shall see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future Negative</td>
<td>andiyi kubona</td>
<td>I shall not see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous Future Pos.</td>
<td>ndiya kuba ndibona</td>
<td>I shall be seeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous Future Neg.</td>
<td>ndiya kuba ndingaboni</td>
<td>I shall not be seeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Long Positive</td>
<td>ndibonile</td>
<td>I have seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Short Positive</td>
<td>ndibone</td>
<td>I have seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Negative</td>
<td>andibonanga</td>
<td>I have not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past Positive</td>
<td>ndabona</td>
<td>I saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past Negative</td>
<td>zange ndibone</td>
<td>I did not see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past Cont. Pos.</td>
<td>ndibe ndibona</td>
<td>I used to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past Cont. Neg.</td>
<td>ndibe ndingaboni</td>
<td>I used not to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past Cont. Pos.</td>
<td>ndabe ndibona</td>
<td>I used to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past Cont. Neg.</td>
<td>ndabe ndingaboni</td>
<td>I used not to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect Positive</td>
<td>ndibe ndibonile</td>
<td>I had seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect Negative</td>
<td>ndibe ndingabonanga</td>
<td>I had not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Contingent Pos.</td>
<td>ndibe ndiza kubona</td>
<td>I should have seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Contingent Neg.</td>
<td>ndibe ndingazi kubona</td>
<td>I should not have seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Proto-Bantu and Xhosa Class prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class No.</th>
<th>P.B. Form (Guthrie)</th>
<th>Meinhof</th>
<th>Xhosa Form</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*mu-</td>
<td>*mu-</td>
<td>um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*ba-</td>
<td>*va-</td>
<td>aba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*mu-</td>
<td>*mu-</td>
<td>um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>*mi-/*mi-</td>
<td>*mi-</td>
<td>imi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*di-/*di-</td>
<td>*li</td>
<td>ili-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>*ma-</td>
<td>*ma-</td>
<td>ama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>*ki-</td>
<td>*ki-</td>
<td>isi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>*bi-</td>
<td>*vi</td>
<td>izi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(*ni-)/*ny-</td>
<td>*ni-</td>
<td>in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(*di-ni)/*di-ny-</td>
<td>*li-ni-</td>
<td>izin-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>*du-</td>
<td>*lu-</td>
<td>ulu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>*ka-</td>
<td>*tu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>*tu-</td>
<td>*ka-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>*bu-</td>
<td>*yu-</td>
<td>ubu-</td>
</tr>
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<td>15</td>
<td>*ku-</td>
<td>*ku-</td>
<td>uku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>*pa-</td>
<td>*pa-</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>*ku-</td>
<td>*ku-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
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<td>*mu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>*pi-</td>
<td>*pi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>*yu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>*yi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>*ya-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>*yi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Sotho vowel system differs from that of Xhosa in that there are nine vowels, four front vowels ranging from open e, medium e, closed e, and i, and corresponding back vowels. These are rarely differentiated in current orthography, only open e and closed e being used where confusion could otherwise arise. This convention is followed here.

Swahili, however, has retained *mbele*, a 'preposition' meaning 'in front of', and seemingly a reflex. See discussion elsewhere on body parts grammaticalising to prepositions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Common Bantu</th>
<th>Eastern Bantu</th>
<th>Swahili reflex</th>
<th>Xhosa reflex</th>
<th>Sotho reflex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td>-gudu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mguu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>-yini</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>isibindi (7)</td>
<td>sebeti (7)</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>dume</td>
<td>(uma)lume</td>
<td>malome (1a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>ndomo</td>
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<td>molomo (3)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>shingo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>mtu</td>
<td>umatu (1)</td>
<td>motho (1)</td>
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<td>-badu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>bavu</td>
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<td>-te</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mate</td>
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<td>mathé (6)</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
<td>-bega</td>
<td>bega</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>tears</td>
<td>-yi′oodi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>machozi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>-dimi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>limi</td>
<td>ulwimi (11)</td>
<td>lelemi (5)</td>
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<td>jino</td>
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<td>leino (5)</td>
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<td>lefahla (5)</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>jifu</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>makan</td>
<td>-^4</td>
<td>mashala</td>
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<td>dance (N)</td>
<td>-bina</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>ngoma</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>kuni</td>
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<td>khong</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>mofeng (3)</td>
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<td>letifo (5)</td>
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<td>ntlo</td>
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<td>mzigo</td>
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<td>mama</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>jina</td>
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<td>mafuta</td>
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<td>mafura</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-bicji</td>
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<td>coni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>soni</td>
<td>intloni (9)</td>
<td>dihlong (10)</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>sister</td>
<td>-dumbu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>umbu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^3 means soil.

^4 i-gala now appears in the language having the meaning of 'hot sun', while i-galanga means 'hot fire'. It is possible that these are reflexes of *-kada. Near neighbour Tswana has magala meaning 'charcoal'.

^5 ingoma in Xhosa has come to mean 'song' but it is obviously a reflex of *-goma and a cognate of ngoma (SW)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Common Bantu</th>
<th>Eastern Bantu</th>
<th>Swahili reflex</th>
<th>Xhosa reflex</th>
<th>Sotho reflex</th>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>geni</td>
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<td>mgeni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>strength</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-gudu</td>
<td>nguvu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>smoke</td>
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<td>moshi</td>
<td>umsi (3)</td>
<td>mosi (3)</td>
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<td>-gido</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mzi</td>
<td>uzi (11)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>61</td>
<td>to arrive</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>kufika</td>
<td>ukufika</td>
<td>ho fihla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>to ask for</td>
<td>-domb-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kuomba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>to bathe</td>
<td>-yog-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kuoga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>to be</td>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kuwa</td>
<td>ukuba</td>
<td>ho ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>to bewitch</td>
<td>-dog</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kuloga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ho leoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>to give birth</td>
<td>-bijad-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kuzza</td>
<td>ukuzala</td>
<td>ho tsuala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>to bite</td>
<td>-dum-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kuuma</td>
<td>ukuluma</td>
<td>ho lona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>to build</td>
<td>-jeng-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kujenga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>to build</td>
<td>-yak-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ukwakha</td>
<td>ho haha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>to bring up</td>
<td>-el-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kulea</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
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<td>-tuad-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ukuthwala</td>
<td>ho ruala</td>
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<td>to chew</td>
<td>-takyn-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kuta funa</td>
<td>ukuhla funa</td>
<td>ho hla funa</td>
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<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>to become cold</td>
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<td>ukuwa</td>
<td>ho wa</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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6 No verbal cognate, but note tieke (5), 'something drenched with water'.

7 In Xhosa, ukusela is the preferred verb for to drink, possibly to avoid confusion with ukumya 'to defecate'. However an apparent homonym exists with the meaning, ukumya 'to soak with water'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>ho ya</td>
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</table>

<sup>8</sup> A slight meaning shift has occurred - now means 'to go deep, get to the bottom'.

<sup>9</sup> Ho hama means "to milk" in Sotho, and kukamua has the same meaning in Swahili. The Xhosa word ukukhama is used in the same sense as a "honipha" (respect) word by Xhosa women. See the text for more discussion on the significance of comparative cattle and milking terms.

<sup>10</sup> now means 'tell', and is found in the grammaticalised complimentiser <i>amboye</i> etc., 'who, that'
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Xhosa reflex</th>
<th>Sotho reflex</th>
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<td>kuvimba</td>
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<td>-baya</td>
<td>-bi</td>
<td>-be</td>
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<td>fupi</td>
<td>-fuphi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^{11}\) Apart from the adjective -de 'long', this Common Bantu root is also seen in the verbal form -da 'to be long', often used in its auxiliary form meaning 'do at length' and in the noun umda (3) 'a boundary line'.

\(^{12}\) Worn out.

\(^{13}\) Clearly a cognate of Swahili -enyewe and the CB *-yene, this word in Xhosa has the meaning 'one' - the reflexive is formed by the use of a prefix -ze- in the object concord position.

\(^{14}\) Palatalised /p/ and diminutive suffix.
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<td>-kudlý</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ufiko (11)</td>
<td>kgudu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>branch (of tree)</td>
<td>-tabi</td>
<td>-tawi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{15}\) The regular Xhosa word for cattle is *inkomo*. However, it is of interest to note the word shown which is used by practitioners of *isihlonipha sabafazi*, the avoidance language of married women.

\(^{16}\) In this example, and in that of 154, the noun has a diminutive suffix, shown in brackets to highlight the true reflex.

\(^{17}\) Perhaps archaic - most speakers would use *asali* 'honey'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Common Bantu</th>
<th>Eastern Bantu</th>
<th>Swahili reflex</th>
<th>Xhosa reflex</th>
<th>Sotho reflex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>day (24 hours)</td>
<td>-euku, -tiku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>siku</td>
<td>usuku (11)</td>
<td>tsiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>famine</td>
<td>-jada</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>njaa</td>
<td>indlala (9)</td>
<td>tala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-dido</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>umlilo (3)</td>
<td>molo (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>chini</td>
<td>(pha)nts1i (16)</td>
<td>fatshe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>hill</td>
<td>-gudu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>chugugu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>-yedj</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mwezi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kwedzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>-tiku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>usiku</td>
<td>ubusuku (14)</td>
<td>bosiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>path</td>
<td>-jida</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>njia</td>
<td>indlela (9)</td>
<td>tsele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>-byda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mvula</td>
<td>imvula (9)</td>
<td>pula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>root (+stem)</td>
<td>-tina</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>shina</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>root (-stem)</td>
<td>-dij</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mzizi</td>
<td>uzi (11)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>seed</td>
<td>-begu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mbegu</td>
<td>imbewu (9)</td>
<td>peu (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>-bue</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>jirwe</td>
<td>ilitye (5)</td>
<td>lejwe (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>-juba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>jua</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>iron</td>
<td>-cimbi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>intsimbi (9)</td>
<td>tshepe (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>-deo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>leu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>thicket</td>
<td>-caka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kichaka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mti</td>
<td>umthi (3)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>-ji</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>maji</td>
<td>amanzi (6)</td>
<td>metsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>-yaka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mwaka</td>
<td>umanyaka (3)</td>
<td>ngwaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>-godo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>izolo (5)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>axe</td>
<td>-coka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>shoka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>axe/hoe</td>
<td>-jembe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>jembe</td>
<td>izembe (5)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>white person</td>
<td>-cungu, -jungu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mzungu</td>
<td>umlungu (1)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>pain</td>
<td>-cungu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ubuhlungu (14)</td>
<td>bohloko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>to lick</td>
<td>-damb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kulamba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>-yendo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mwendo</td>
<td>umendo (3)</td>
<td>leeto (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>to forget</td>
<td>-dibad</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ukulibala</td>
<td>ho lebala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>to be equal</td>
<td>-dingan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kulingana</td>
<td>ukulingana</td>
<td>ho lekana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>pool</td>
<td>-diba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kiziwa</td>
<td>isiziba (7)</td>
<td>sediba (7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *jembe* in Swahili means 'hoe', whereas in Xhosa its cognate means 'axe'. Guthrie (CS933) gives both meanings.

Tone differences have not generally been shown, but in this case it clearly indicates that this reflex is different from the previous entry.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
<th>Common Bantu</th>
<th>Eastern Bantu</th>
<th>Swahili reflex</th>
<th>Xhosa reflex</th>
<th>Sotho reflex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>millipede</td>
<td>gongode/-do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>jongoo</td>
<td>isongololo (5)</td>
<td>lefokololi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td>-gudube</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nguruwe</td>
<td>ingulube (9)²⁰</td>
<td>kolobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>cloth/blanket</td>
<td>-gubo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nguuo</td>
<td>ingubo (9)</td>
<td>kobo (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>-pia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mpia</td>
<td>-tsha</td>
<td>-tjha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>finger</td>
<td>-yada</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>intestine</td>
<td>-tema</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>-yato</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>to buy</td>
<td>-gud-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>to dance</td>
<td>-bin-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>vinya-vinya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>to die</td>
<td>-ku-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>to dig</td>
<td>-puk-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>kufuku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>to know</td>
<td>-yiyeb-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ho taeba</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>to know</td>
<td>-man-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>to look at</td>
<td>-dod-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>to seize</td>
<td>-kuat-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>to sit down</td>
<td>-yikad-</td>
<td>kukaa</td>
<td>ukuhlala</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>to vomit</td>
<td>-duk-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>-kumi</td>
<td>kumi</td>
<td>-shumi</td>
<td>leshomê</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>-gana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>-swi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>(house) fly</td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>inzi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ntsi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>louse</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nta</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>dew</td>
<td>-dume</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>thirst</td>
<td>-yota</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>lenyora</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁰'Wild pig'. The borrowed word *ihagu* is used for the domestic kind in Xhosa.
Table 2. Summary of Correspondences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Bantu</th>
<th>E.Bantu</th>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Sotho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Percentage correspondence to Common/Eastern Bantu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Common Bantu</th>
<th>Eastern Bantu</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>84.6%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Table of correlation between languages.
Appendix 7.

List of Arabic borrowings used as Swahili adverbials compared to Xhosa auxiliaries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Xhosa form</th>
<th>Swahili example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abadan</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>-zange</td>
<td>sitakuja kwako abadan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I will never come to your place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abadi</td>
<td>ever</td>
<td>-soloko</td>
<td>kazi yake ni kutembea abadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He is always walking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afadhali</td>
<td>better, preferably</td>
<td>-khethekayo (not aux) Afadhali astifanyi</td>
<td>It's better if he doesn't do it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aghalabu</td>
<td>often, usually</td>
<td>-dla</td>
<td>Maiji yachotwa aghalabu na ng'ombe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Water is usually drawn by oxen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajabu</td>
<td>wonderfully</td>
<td>-thi manga (IP)</td>
<td>kubwa ajabu¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wonderfully big!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasa</td>
<td>just</td>
<td>-kha</td>
<td>lete maiji hasa!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>just bring water!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatimaye</td>
<td>eventually</td>
<td>-da/-de</td>
<td>tulifika hatimaye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>eventually we arrived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadi/hata</td>
<td>until</td>
<td></td>
<td>tangu asubuhi hata jioni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from morning until night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabela</td>
<td>before</td>
<td></td>
<td>haji kabla hajajifunza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>she will not come before learning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karibu</td>
<td>nearly</td>
<td>-phantsa/e</td>
<td>aliwuwa karibu kuanguka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he nearly fell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heri</td>
<td>it is well</td>
<td>-tyapha/e</td>
<td>heri apate chakula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It's as well that he gets food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bora</td>
<td>it is excellent that</td>
<td>-tyapha/e</td>
<td>heri atakubali kupata chakula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>good news that he will accept food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upesi</td>
<td>soon</td>
<td>-fika/e</td>
<td>mtoto atajifunza upesi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the child will soon learn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghafula</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>-hla/e</td>
<td>ghafula tulipigana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>suddenly we started fighting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haraka</td>
<td>hastily</td>
<td>-suka/e</td>
<td>alipanda mbegu haraka²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he hurriedly planted seed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This example, and others, are found in Oxford Swahili/English dictionary (1939).
² The prepositional form kwa haraka is also common, but the purpose here is to show adverbs.
kwa nasibu  happens -suka/e  kwa nasibu hayuko hapa.
It so happens that he is not here.
tena  again -buya/e  walichoma majani tena.
they burnt the grass again.
tena  again -phinda/e  akinjwa na manu mazuri tena.
he has had a good crop again.
hasa  expressly -fana/e  alisema uwongo hasa.
he just told a lie.
bure  in vain -fumana/e  anasemabure.
He is speaking in vain.
daima  perpetually -hlala/e  anapika chakula daima.
she is perpetually cooking food.
tu  barely -sala/e  alipofika tu.
as soon as he had arrived.
zamani  in the past -kade  walikawa wakitembea hapa zamani.
they used to walk here.
mara kwa mara  time and again -mana/e  aliba kondoo mara kwa mara.
he repeatedly stole sheep.
mara chache  seldom neg. + -soloko  ninanumua ng’ombe mara chache.
I don't buy cattle often.
kwa kawaida  accustomed -fuda’ula (past)  anachota maji kwa kawaida.
She is used to drawing water.
sasa hivi  just now -sandula  amechinja ng’ombe sasa hivi.
He has just slaughtered a beast.
halafu  and then -andula  halafu niliondoka.
and then I left.
si tena  no longer neg. + -andula  hakimbii tena.
He no longer runs.
lazima  necessary, ought -fanele  ni lazima aombe.
he ought to pray.
kabisa  thoroughly -kolisa  analima kabisa.
he ploughs thoroughly.
-taka  about to -funa  anataka kuja.
(Bantu verb in both)
he is about to die.

Note. The sentences in the examples above have been chosen to coincide with those of Appendix 2, paras 2.1 and 2.2.; those on the next page are extracts from literature.
Appendix 7 (cont'd).

The following listing is the result of a concordance search through a Swahili corpus of approximately 475000 words. Each adverbial form in the previous table was entered as a search word and an appropriate example retained. Four forms, abadan, abadi, kwa nasibu and mara chache gave no returns.

MicroConcord search SW: kabisa
80 characters per entry
Sort: NS/SW unshifted.
1 6 Mwanamke asilafunika kichwa chake, afadhali arysse nywele zake. Lakini ni sibu BARIUK-1.TXT
2 wake uko kwa Mwenyezi Mungu. Lakini angrabu ya watu hawajul. * 188. Semai Sii 7.Sura-1.DOC
3 ziki ambao utanawiri zana Babeli. Si ajabu Biblia inasema musiki alina hii pamoja SAAAYAG-1.DOC
4 eo mbali mbali zitajifunzwa hapa. Ni bora hapa tukumbuke kwamba ni hapa Babeli m SAAAYAG-1.DOC
5 kumfanya yeyote sana kwamba najisifu bure. 16 Ikina ninahubiri Habari Njema, hi BARUAK-1.TXT
6 wa Mungu, na anaendelea kuwa kuhai daima. 4 Bad, mwaona jinsi mtu huyu alivy BARUAK-1.TXT
7 salama, ndipo uharihifu uweajiapo kwa ghafla kama vile utungu umjavyo mwenye mi SAAAYAG-1.DOC
8 lie 50 Kisha akawaongoza nje ya mji hadi Bethania, akaisia mikono yake juu, ak HLUKA-1.DOC
9 umu zake (angalia ukuraswa wa 17) na halafu aliendelea kusema: "Tukiwa tumeogopa FATIMA.DOC
10 bia: <Chukua hati yako ya deni, kati haraka, andika hamsini.> 7 Kisha akswanafuzi HLUKA-1.DOC
11 limu chache siku zote Ni udhia kwetu hasa. 11. Thumma P ifuatayo Ni hino P ya KUMBUKA.DOC
12 inayotumiiwa kutoza ushiru (PIN), na hata alia sauti (voice prints) Pia jina u SAAAYAG-1.DOC
13 hosajiliwa, cha kutekea wafanyakazi, hatimaye wote tulizaliwa nyumba za kampuni. KITICH-1.DOC
14 nia mwenye hekimia mmoja wa Kidunia, heri awe mjinja kusudha kusema kuwa wahitaji BARIUK-1.TXT
15 ya Mumba wau ambaye ni wa kuminika kabisa. Kundi la Mungu wc s wz BARIUK-1.TXT
16 Dorothea. Je, likuwa muda mji tu kabla au basa ya kutokewa na Mtoto Yesu ta FATIMA.DOC
17 da kuhiji huko Fatima, iliyoko maili karibu 90 kaskazini mwa Lisbon, nchini Port FATIMA.DOC
18 slasa bila ya kutegemea tija fulani. Kwa kawaida mtu au kampuni lilitoka msaada, SAUTIY-2.DOC
19 ya thamani zaidi kuliko dhahabu, ni lazima ijarihivu upate kuwa thabiti. Hapo m BARIUK-1.TXT
20 i ambayo hulpoke na mwamba inayofundishwa na matamu ya kujitumia mwa mara mara, na kuvutaji Biblia yake siku ya mlango FATIMA.DOC
21 yawe watoto wa Abrahamu! 9 Lakini, zana ni hayo shaka limeweka tayari kukaa miz BARIUK-1.TXT
22 tabu tena, kwa sababu wamansubishwa shisha tena Mwana wa Mungu na kumwizishwa hadharan HLUKA-1.DOC
23 kwa damu, na dhabiki kwa na kusudi upate kuwa kuhudhurika. Hapo m BARIUK-1.TXT
24 kini, Wana akipea, nitakufa uwezo wao; na hapa ndipo nitakapojigisha mwenye BARUAK-1.TXT
25 yeha kuchwa yeye ni m awfulifu. Hapo zainabi Mungu alikuwa mvumilivu bila kuzijal BARUAK-1.TXT

Data from the following files:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>File</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BARIUK-1.TXT</td>
<td>7.Sura-1.DOC SAAAYAG-1.DOC KUMBUKA.DOC KITICH-1.DOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLUKA-1.DOC</td>
<td>SAAAYAG-1.DOC FATIMA.DOC BARIUK-1.TXT SAAAYAG-1.DOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BARUAK-1.TXT</td>
<td>SAAAYAG-1.DOC HLUKA-1.DOC BARIUK-1.TXT SAUTIY-2.DOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLUKA-1.DOC</td>
<td>FATIMA.DOC  BARIUK-1.TXT HLUKA-1.DOC BARIUK-1.TXT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 8. Example of concordancing.

MicroConcord search SW: *uthi CH: *tsh*
80 characters per entry
Sort: 1R/SW unshifted.

1 odwa nezandi ngokunjalo. Singatho ukuthi amagama amanini asetyenziswa esi DIALECTS.DOC
2 ane. Ewe, namhla ukomsa wayengatshe ukuthi, "Bhota, sikolo, nave khaya!" Wayesi NOMSA1.TXT
3 na le! Akutshe, fjo wasemaTolwen' ukuthi lleli nje uhamba neentsana. Akuyaz JORDEXT.TXT
4 ntswa ukuba ndapakhile. Sendithilo ukuthi impendulo yan vaba ngamashwampala DONJADU.DOC
5 aka ethile engumisele. Singatho ke ukuthi inkululeko inemigathango ethile ekuf COMBINE.DOC
6 sithi yi- idiyolekthi. Singatho ukuthi isiXhosa sinokuba nes- idiyolekthi e TEMPDIAL.DOC
7 kho kuja kunjani, kodwa kunokutshwio ukuthi kukhona ukufa kakhulu nokufa kakudi. COMBINE.DOC
8 olo lwimi. Bezisithilo ngaphambili ukuthi kwintetho zakhwaXhosa eziyeleleney DIALECTS.DOC
9 hathaza kukuba umphuthumi utselho na ukuthi loo nyana kazenemvelo nguzwelinzima JORDEXT.TXT
10 iyanixelela n'apho kukhona, Ziyatho n'ukuthi, "izolo bekuyizolo, Ngoko kungoko, MQH1.TXT
11 abo. Bahlonelene. NeShayibhile itsho ukuthi mthande umsemlwane wakho njengoko uzi COMBINE.DOC
12 ntubaseMzini, syizange ifumane itsho ukuthi: "Nendiyawasesemzini; anadingeninaye DONJADU.DOC
13 kama, kube okunane andingeze ndatshe ukuthi ndzenye nje ukuphakama kwamndakhumu DONJADU.DOC
14 njana ekuthwa kuselimba senditchilo ukuthi ndibe novuyo lokubona siseka apho um DONJADU.DOC
15 antu balo njengoko lahlbalalo sitshoyo ukuthi 'Ngokuba osukuba ethandakwezintindis DONJADU.DOC
16 eeha linye. Njengokuba sisengatasho ukuthi oku kufana nokukhaza, ukuma, ukuh CHILD.DOC
17 'fama, ongenatyalala.Sesitshiko kambe ukuthi, onke la madoda angabafo abangasolek DONJADU.DOC
18 yekunxilela. Lalasitshe phandle ukuthi ukuba baza kughuba ngelo hlolo baku, MTU21.DOC
19 e; yana ungumfundi. Wayesitsho futhi ukuthi le mbudane ithethwa ngulo ntimwana ye INOWADU.DOC
20 a kuthni na ebengatshe kwasekuqaleni ukuthi ualahlekelwe yinali engako. Ithe impe MTU21.DOC
21 oli lesigqholo senenekezi. Singatho ukuthi umbala kunye nevumla zezinye zezint COMBINE.DOC
22 leyo ekhay'apha noko sangeze sitsho ukuthi zezodidli oluphambili, nemahlwa yokul DONJADU.DOC
23 la obuhlungu.Ukhe watsho uTokazi kuru ki nganto, ndingade nditsho nokutsho DONJADU.DOC
24 ki nganto, ndingade nditsho nokutshe ukuthi zizo endicinga ukuba zazisoyi DONJADU.DOC

Data from the following files:

CHILD.DOC COMBINE.DOC DIALECTS.DOC DONJADU.DOC JORDEXT.TXT
MQH1.TXT NOMSA1.TXT MTU21.DOC TEMPDIAL.DOC INOWADU.DOC

Fig 1. Example of concordancing programme sorting on ukuthi with context word containing tsh.
### Appendix 9.

#### Some auxiliaries from other Bantu languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Luganda</th>
<th>Eastern Sotho (from Ziervogel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leka</td>
<td>seek/want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genda</td>
<td>be able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>nearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agala</td>
<td>begin to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tera</td>
<td>help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aka</td>
<td>do nearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanga</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisinkana</td>
<td>finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lema</td>
<td>can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lyoka</td>
<td>be used to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soka</td>
<td>seem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anguya</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyikira</td>
<td>usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kera</td>
<td>for the time being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ought to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A list of auxiliaries from two Bantu languages, one Southern and one Central, indicates that the concept of non-syntactic verbal auxiliaries is widespread throughout the group.
Appendix 10. Extract from Ethnologue, a demographic language survey

SWAHILI (KISWAHELI, SUAHILI, KISUAHILI, ARAB-SWAHILI)

131,000 in Kenya, including 66,000 Bajuni (1994 I. Larsen BTL), 6,000 Siyu, 3,000 Pate, 15,000 Amu, 25,000 to 30,000 Mvita, 13,900 Shirazi (1989 census), 2,000 Vumba (1980 Heine and Möhlig); 13,000,000 first and second language speakers in Kenya (1980 UBS);
5,000,000 in all countries, first language speakers (1989 Holm);
30,000,000 total second language speakers (1989 Holm).

Coast Province. Also in Uganda, Tanzania, Mayotte, Rwanda, South Africa, Burundi, UAE, USA, and Somalia.


Dialects: AMU, MVITA (KIMVITA, MOMBASA), BAJUNI (BAJUN, TIK’UU, TIKULU, TUKULU, GUNYA, MBALAZI, CHIMBALAZI), PATE, PEMBA (PHEMBA, HADIMU, TAMBATU), MRIMA, FUNDI, SIU (SIYU), SHAMBA (KISHAMBA), MATONDONI.

The dialects listed are in Kenya. Bajuni is the most divergent. Bajuni and Pemba may be separate languages. Bajun has 85% lexical similarity with Amu, 78% with Mvita, 72% with Mrima; Mvita has 86% with Amu, 79% with Mrima; Mrima has 79% with Amu. 51% literacy. In the Mombasa area they call themselves 'Arab' or 'Shirazi', in Lamu area they call themselves 'Bajun'. Compulsory in primary education. Classical and modern literature. National language. Coastal. Traders, small businessmen; Bajun: fishermen, agriculturalists. Muslim. Braille Scripture in progress. Bible 1891-1996. NT 1879-1989. Bible portions 1868-1968.


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