SOME FEATURES OF THE PHONETIC AND GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF BACA

by

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Introduction

Baca is spoken chiefly in M. Frere district, but a fairly large number of Bacas, who claim to speak Baca, live in Umzimkhulu district, and about a thousand live in the district of Mt. Ayliff. According to van Waramelo, there are roughly 10,600 Baca tax-payers in Mt. Frere, 4,500 in Umzimkhulu, while those in Mt. Ayliff number less than 1,000. In none of these three districts is Baca the only dialect spoken. Mt. Frere has a considerable number of Nguni who speak Khoi, Mt. Ayliff is predominantly Zulu-speaking, and "there probably is no place where the native population consists of so many small units and different elements as the Umzimkhulu district". The Baca dialect is therefore contiguous with almost every other Nguni dialect spoken in the Transkei; for the south is inhabited by the so-called 'countryside', the south-east and the east by Impis, while standard Xhosa too exerts its own influence on this dialect chiefly through church and school, where Baca, like all the other non-literary dialects, is being stifled to death.

(2) Collection of Material

In view of these various potential influences, great caution had to be exercised in collecting, sifting and verifying material, for the intention was, as far as possible, to record the purest forms. In Mt. Frere, at least, there are fifteen contiguous Baca-speaking locations including four of Nont/khet/e's (Xhosa) which is the most primitive Baca-speaking area. Assuming that the least influenced forms of this dialect were to be found in this area, I decided to get in touch with the nearest Npaza Baca, and these I found in Mnderfontein East where most of the material in this dissertation was collected at intervals over a period of two years, between April 1940 and May 1942. I found a very benvolent man in Mr. Clifford, the Compound Manager, himself a student of Bantu culture in general, and of the Xhosa language in particular.

My chief informants were Sicanula Mdodi, Mkhaya Mankunbu, Maphumla Npita/hane, Nthi Vasiiki and Mwangeli Matiwane—all from Nont/khet/e's except the last one who came from Nhchisana's. Several other Bacas from these two areas as well as from Umzimkhulu and Mt. Ayliff came and went, but these five men I found always ready to sit for hours with me, whether during a weekend or over a long stretch of time during vacations.

At Easter-tide 1942, I went to Mt. Frere to verify doubtful information. I was there for a fortnight, spending three days at Lubaaweni where I met Chief Sithanda and one of his councillors, and the rest of the time with Chief Mfane, son of Nhchisana, another of Mkhawulua. At Luyengan (Nhchisana's) I had occasion not only to listen to, and take part in, inkundla cases, but also to go very carefully over material gathered each day with various informants including Chief Mfane himself, his uncle Mobi and my kind host Abner Novuoka, a teacher who, on account of his mother's good influence, is very proud of Baca and is recognised by all the Bacas in Nhchisana's area as one of the best speakers of Baca.
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As the title implies, at this stage I am not embarking on a complete textbook of Basa, but am attempting to make an exposition of those phonetic and grammatical features of Basa that are not shared with standard Zulu and standard Xhosa. Stress has therefore been laid on the differentiae of Basa. My investigation reveals that the most remarkable differences are chiefly phonological and morphological, and that syntactical differences are practically negligible in quantity. For this reason, no section of this dissertation is devoted to syntax as such. Perhaps therefore, a more suitable title would have been "Some Features of the Phonetic and Morphological Structure of Basa"; but since under some of the headings it has been found necessary to give a fairly detailed account of the syntactical use of certain forms, the present title ought to be acceptable.

(4) Soundshifting

The following are the sound-shiftings that distinguish Basa from Zulu and Xhosa on the one hand, and bring it nearer to Swazi on the other:

(a) Primary Plosives

Ur-Bantu t > tsh. e.g. -tshathfu (three), letsha (bring).

(b) Vowels

" f > i or I. e.g. initi6a (pool), In'somi (fable).
" a > a or a. e.g. tshandza (love), phasi (below).

(c) Nasal Compounds

Ur-Bantu nd > ndz. e.g. lindza (guard), indza6a (matter).
" nt > nts. e.g. intsa6a (mountain), intsambo (thong).

(d) Vowel Influence on Consonants

Ur-Bantu ti > tshi. e.g. -tshi (say), umtshi (tree).
" tu > thfu. e.g. -tshathfu (three), -thfuma (send).
" ti > ti. e.g. umti (village), ti= (reflexive affix).
" ti > ti. e.g. imbuti (goat), umhluti (gravy).

(e) Nasal Compounds before Close Vowels

Ur-Bantu ndi > nti. e.g. inkundi (bull), ithundi (shade).
" mbi > nti. e.g. Inhlanti (fish).

(f) Nasal Compounds of ni

Ur-Bantu ni + a > n'si. e.g. In'somi (fable), In'suku (days).
" ni + f > m'f. e.g. In'fene (baboon), In'fudvo (tor-toise).
" ni + hl > nhl. e.g. ctin'hlanu (five), Tin'hloko (sort

*All conclusions on Swazi are based upon Dr. Engelbrecht's "Swazi Texts with Notes".
(g) Consonants before Semi-Vowels

Ur-Bantu twa > thfwa. e.g. thfuala (bear), impethwana, dimin. of impethfu (maggot)

" Iya > ta. e.g. khatshats, causative of khatshala (be tired), veta, causative of vela (appear).

" ntwa > ntfwa. e.g. intfwnsa, dimin. of intfo (thing), "umntfwa, dimin. of umntfu (person)

" ndwa > ndzwza or ndvwa. e.g. tshandzwa (be loved), umsindzwana, dimin. of umsindwa (noble)

Some of these are further discussed in relation to morphology.

(5) Tekela or Tshefula?

These sound-shiftings alone distinguish Baca from all the Nguni dialects spoken in the Transkei, except Ntlangwini (isiZulu, as the Baca people call it). To my several informants who had never heard Swazi spoken — in fact, only those who were born to the mines have heard Swazi — I read extracts from Dr. Engelbrecht's Swazi Texts with Notes. I had transcribed these extracts in order to give the impression that they were specimens of Baca that I had collected elsewhere. Not one of the informants, however, failed to detect the morphological difference, and the remark always was, "Ave kuhini Baca lesa" (That is not Baca). On learning that it was Swazi, they invariably remarked, "Kantsi namiSwazi aya tshaul!" (So the Swazis tshaul too!) And this brings up the question: what do the Ngunis really understand by the words tekela and tshaul? I notice that some writers, e.g. Dr. Engelbrecht, use the term tshaul for what the Ngunis in the Transkei know as tekela, and others, e.g. Frige, quoting Bryant, use tekela for what the Transkeian Ngunis know as tshaul. The Bacas are very proud to tell anybody who ridicules their dialect, "Tshina mabaca siya tshaul. Asthizhi: sitshizhi. Asenzi: siyentza". It is quite obvious that by the word tshaul the Bacas mean the sound-shiftings that distinguish their manner of speech from the surrounding dialects. On the other hand, in all the Transkeian Nguni dialects that I know of, the term tekela means the "dentalization" of alveolar consonants, that is, t, d, s, becoming t’, d’, s’ respectively, and the palatalization of l, that is, I becoming y; and tekela is understood to mean, not dialectical sound-shiftings, but individual defects of speech.

I am not at all suggesting that these two words have been incorrectly used by the writers to whom I have referred. I presume that they have the same meanings in Swazi as in Zulu. But what I am trying to point out is that the original significance of these two words still requires some investigation; and meanwhile, anybody who tries to suggest to the Bacas that the language they have inherited from Thalime/e and Madikane is not ukuteshula but ukutekela will probably Bascalad minus his dignity!

(6) Nasal Consonants before Plosives

Another interesting feature of Baca phonology is the tendency of nasal consonants to disappear before plosives, in specific cases leaving their influence on the preceding vowel. This has definitely happened in regard to the adverbs phasi (below), edhsa (at the bottom), where the homorganic nasal has disappeared before a, and left its trace on the preceding low vowel which has become a, and in connection with the
relatives umdu (dark-red), 6oyu (red) which remain ntsundu, 6oyu respectively in Zulu-Xhosa. The form 6oyu is even more remarkable because it reveals a tendency to extend to the voiceless fricatives a phenomenon that is at present more prevalent before voiceless fricatives. In fact, 6oyu is the only instance I know of the disappearance of the nasal before a voiceless fricative.

Where still retained before voiceless fricatives, the nasal consonant is all but inaudible, except in the speech of Bacaas who have been influenced by "spelling pronunciation" of standard Xhosa. In fact I am convinced that in conversation most illiterate Bacaas drop the nasal consonant before f, s, hl (phon ) instead of Im'fundvo, In'aimbi, In'hloko. one often heard ifunfvo, Isimbi, Ihloko respectively. But as soon as a speaker noticed that I was straining my ear to catch every sound, the nasal became quite audible.

The circumstances in which the high forward vowel is nasalized and the preceding nasal consonant softened are discussed in Chapter I. Except in this chapter, where the vowel is marked ' , I have used the same symbol for these sounds as for the principal members of their respective phonemes.

(6) Influence of Contiguous Xhosa Dialects

In Unchisana's area many foreign phonetic and morphological elements are to be heard. This is due to several causes, of which I may mention the following:-

(1) A large number of "enlightened" Bacaas who have been taught to look down upon their mother-tongue.

(11) inter-marriage with neighbouring tribes.

(111) immigrants from neighbouring tribes.

My home at Xbokothwana* having been favourably situated for a considerable knowledge of at least three of the other dialects, I was in a position to detect most of the forms that Baca shares with them as against standard Xhosa. At Chief MaSanu's inkundla I heard such forms as eyo mbuuti (that goat), kwuya ndlu (in that hut), which I knew to be Mpondo, that/hi (horse), it/huni (ten) which I knew to be Mpondomise, and ut/alwa (beer), sindleka** (provide for expected guest) which I knew to be Winzi.

These and other forms were indignantly rejected by my informants as "ukuboba kwemfika-6umfum" (the speech of recent arrivals or "utlanders"). I have discarded all such as "non-Baca forms. On the other hand there are features in common, e.g. the Negative Past Subjunctive, the "inclusive" Imperative Subjunctive and the Negative in -ve, the last shared with Mpondo only. Most of the forms I refer to have been often cleaned as "corrupt forms of Xhosa" by examiners and teachers.

* In Tsolo district.

** Very likely a case of transposition. Of, hlinzeka (Zulu-Xhosa), and hlinteka (Baca).
A concentrated lexicological study of Baca may perhaps reveal several words of Sotho origin. So far I have been able to discover two such words, viz. amawandwana (swollen noes) of Sotho and indwana (beer drunk by old men, cf. Sotho tsho). See also Ch. VI, p. 43, (iii). These words may have been "loaned" during the brief contact in the days of Madzikane and Qhoshoese.

The "inclusive" Imperative Subjunctive (see Ch. VII, p. 52, (x(d)) is possibly to be explained in the same way, and this is most probable seeing that it is a feature shared with Ndebele which, as is well-known, has been in contact with Sotho ever since the Lifangane. Large sub-sections of this tribe left Herschel, Matatiele, and Plettenberg and settled with the Spondimbe in Gumbu and Tsolo districts about the end of last century, and they may be responsible for the presence of this feature in Spondimbe.

(9) Conclusion

As to any previous relationship between the Swazis and the Bacas I have no authority. I have consulted several historical records in vain. But in the traditional history of the Bacas, "uplamini" and "kwadlamini" figure a great deal, but this is no proof that the contact was in Dlamini's days. The famous Madzikane is said to have learnt "kwadlamini" and practised such magic as even Merlin never knew. As chief of the Bacas he reared a large herd of heifers which never mixed with other cattle. In doctoring his warriores, Madzikane made these heifers produce unlimited quantities of milk by hitting each heifer on the pelvis with his magic wand. The warriors fed on this milk and on nothing else for several days before they went to battle, and we to any army that dare oppose their fierce onelaunthawu Madzikane is said to have been brought up "kwadlamini" where he learnt this unheard-of uqutshi.

That a plot, if Mosofolo could get hold of it! But it does not solve the difficulties of a prosaic investigator of such things as soundshiftings etc. Of him this fine legend deserves no more than a sceptical, condescending smile.

CHAPTER I

The Phonetical Structure of Baca

1. The speech sounds of Baca do not differ much from those of standard Xhosa and standard Zulu. Except for the nasalized mid-vowel A and the nasalized high-forward vowel I, the vowel system is the same; the consonant system includes three heterorganic compounds which are not found in Xhosa and Zulu. As these compounds have more than one articulation, it is not easy to give them precise brief names. I have therefore tried to describe them as closely as possible, giving them tentative names which I expect will sound as clumsy to others as they do to me.

2. There are nine vowels in Baca, viz:

   i, I, e, æ, a, ð, o, u.
3. i (high forward vowel). Ex.: imitshi (trees); isitiwa (mael); tshina (we); ilive (country).

4. I (nasalized high forward vowel). Ex.: imene (baboon); imbunjwe (education); insomi (table); insimbi (iron) inlikho (head); iThlalaka (doors). This vowel is found before a nasal preceding a voiceless dental-labial fricative or a voiceless alveolar fricative.

5. e (the close mid-forward vowel). Ex.: etulu (above); ixhegu (old man); leti (these); umsebenzi (work).

6. a (the open mid-forward vowel). Ex.: ucephe (spoon); ukheleka/nene (false); inkwenke (boy).

7. e (the low vowel). Ex.: sanda (seize); Isaka (a Baca); kamba (go); thathu (three).

8. e (the nasalized low vowel). This is a very rare vowel, so far found in two words only. It is followed by the voiceless fricative a which must originally have been preceded by a nasal in these two words. The words are: phafi (below); edasi (at the bottom). As is well known, the corresponding words in Xhosa and Zulu retain the nasal.

9. \ (the open mid-back vowel). Ex.: iDolo (nee); ithfolo (mall); umgqola (bag); esposta (Mpora).

10. a (the close mid-back vowel). Ex.: gowu (red); godwuka (go home); intombi (main); lo6u (this).

11. u (the high back vowel). Ex.: amafutha (fat); uBeliso (length); ulutshi (rod); umntu (person).

The Consonants

(a) Plosives

1. k (the radical velar plosive). Ex.: 6eka (put); bidetsa (be confused); injakati (bitch); ukuida (food).

2. k' (the ejective velar plosive). Ex.: inkabi (ox); inkeqane (grains); -nkulu (big).

3. kh (the aspirated velar plosive). Ex.: kha (draw); kha6a (kick); kakhtlu (gore fitly); uhun1 (fire-wood).

4. g (the voiced velar plosive). Ex.: umgagodla (boy animal).

12. t (the radical alveolar plosive). Ex.:-ta (come); teka (get a wife); umti (village); itolo (yesterday).

13. t' (the ejective alveolar plosive). Ex.: enta (do); umlente (leg); iintipho (claws).

14. th (the aspirated alveolar plosive). Ex.: thatha (take); thetha (argue); amathidala (misgivings); isithupha (thumb).

15. d (the voiced alveolar plosive). Ex.: edasi (at the
(iii) Bi-labials

20. p (the radical bi-labial explosive). This seems to occur only in borrowed words. Ex.: ipeni (penny); ipondi (pound).

21. p' (the ejective bi-labial explosive). Ex.: impilwana (treatment); umpenge (cough); impimbeni (horn); impolu (elbow); ihlwenza (pauper).

22. ph (the aspirated bi-labial explosive). Ex.: hlonipha (hlonipha); phola (be finished); iphiko (wing); phola (be cool); phuma (go out).

23. b (the voiced bi-labial explosive). Ex.: bala (write); bekza (look); boba (speak); bulza (thrust).

24. 6 (the bi-labial implosive). Ex.: amantu (people); ameka (put); -6ini (two); 6ona (see); 6uya (return).

(iv) Nasals

25. m (the bi-labial nasal). Ex.: amanti (water); mena (invite); -mitshi (pregnant); umona (jealousy).

26. m (syllable m). It is found mostly before fricatives and plosives before which preceding u- has been elided. Ex.: umfatši (woman); umsiti (soot); umthombo (fountain); umkhatshi (space in between).

27. m (the dento-labial nasal, phon. m). It is found before the voiced dento-labial fricative v in the combination m. Ex.: imvula (rain); imvelaphi (source); imvelalwana (agreement).

28. m (the syllabic dento-labial nasal). It is found before the voiceless dento-labial fricative f. This is a very soft denti-labial nasal, almost inaudible among the Baca of Upoza. Ex.: imfene (baboon); imfe (sweet reed); imfundvo (learning).

29. n (the alveolar nasal). It is found before all vowels as well as in the combinations nt, nd, nz, ndl. Ex.: umma (son); emini (at day-time); enta (do); intsaba (mountain); ukundingsa (to fly); indzelela (matter); amandla (strength).

30. n (the syllabic alveolar nasal). It is found before all vowels as well as in the combinations nt, nd, nz, ndl. Ex.: umma (son); emini (at day-time); enta (do); intsaba (mountain); ukundingsa (to fly); indzelela (matter); amandla (strength).

31. ny (the palatal nasal, phon.:). It is found before vowels as well as in ejective combinations before homorganic affricates. Ex.: umnyati (basket); umyoko (your mother); int/engula (sour spoon); injo (dog).

32. ny (the palatal nasal, phon.:). It is found before vowels as well as in ejective combinations before homorganic affricates. Ex.: umnyati (basket); umyoko (your mother); int/engula (sour spoon); injo (dog).

33. nyh (the aspirated palatal nasal). This is a very rare sound. Ex.: -nyhenti (many).

34. n (the velar nasal, phon.:). It is found before the homorganic plosives k and g. Ex.: umnkala-nkala (crab); -nkulu (big); uganga (hill); ngembili (ahead).
(v) Fricatives

35. f (the voiceless denti-labial fricative). Ex.: -fa (die); inite (field of sweet reed); umfana (young man); umfo (gentleman); nila (forage); futshi (again).

36. v (the voiced denti-labial fricative). Ex.: vela (close); iiive (country); ilivi (voice); vula (open).

37. a (the voiceless alveolar fricative). Ex.: isandla (hand); senqa (milk); isicamba (mat); ove! (never!); susa (remove); boniswa (be shown).

38. z (the voiced alveolar fricative). Except in place names and in homorganic compounds this sound is very rare.
Ex.: cokoza (at cokoza); chaza (explain); inchaza (round beer-drinking vessel); idikazi (concubine).

39. / (the voiceless palatal fricative). Ex.: izha/1 (horse); i/ya (leave behind); i/uni (ten).

40. l (the palatal fricative). Ex.: jaca (be lean); iluza (brown clay used for dressing women's hair); ngo_waca (in the evening).

41. (the voiceless velar fricative). Ex.: anqa (surround); ba-eteka (fall whole length); fekisa (withdraw); yela (pull).

42. g (the voiced velar fricative). Ex.: g og_ana (crown); g ama (eat mealies in their stalks); g umaku (be bruised).

43. h (the voiceless glottal fricative). It is very rare.
Ex.: huhuta (let in draught); hë (of striking on the head).

44. h (the voiced glottal fricative, phon. h). Ex.: iha/1 (horse); isihula (fool); huwe (it is you).

45. r (the rolled alveolar fricative). This is found only in borrowed words. While "school" Bacas use this sound, the illiterate ones transliterate it to l. This "school" Bacas say ierenji (orange); umutresi (mattress), while the illiterate say iolenji, umstilasi resp.

(w) Lateral Consonants

46. l (the voiceless alveolar lateral). Ex.: lala (sleep); fikt\a (stone); letsha (bring); uluti (bark used as fibre).

47. hl (the voiceless fricative alveolar lateral, phon. h). Ex.: umhlanhla (tooth gap); bleka (laugh); amehlo (eyes).

48. dl (the voiced fricative alveolar lateral, phon. l). Ex.: idlanga (vulture); indlese (ear); dloa (poison); dlula (pass).

(s) Compound Consonants

(1) Homorganic Compound or Affricates

(1) Labial Affricates

49. mw the voiced dendi-labial affricate, phon. m\u0141y. Ex.: imwula (rain); imvelaphi (source); amahlamw\u0141 (form).
(ii) Alveolar Affricates

59. ts (the voiceless alveolar affricate, ejective). It is found in its simple form and in the combination nta. Ex.: taitsa (cocoa); titintai (rods); intseba (mountain).

61. th (the aspirated alveolar affricate). It is found mostly before front vowels. Ex.: thandza (love); tsimba (trust); shi (say); phetsa (complete). This affricate is never found before back vowels except in a few ideophones, e.g. tshu (of pitch darkness).

62. dz (the voiced alveolar affricate). It is found before front vowels. Ex.: dizidze (sister); dzala (old); kudzani (far away); kwadzini (you boy). Before back vowels this affricate is found only in a few ideophones, e.g. dzw (of making a bee-line). This affricate is found also in combination with the homorganic nasal n. Ex.: indzaba (matter); endza (get married, of a woman); igandza (egg).

63. nd (the voiced lateral alveolar affricate, phon. nd). Ex.: ndlala (starvation); ndlele (way); ndlonde (species of mamba) indun (hut).

(iii) Palatal Affricates

54. t/ (the voiceless palatal affricate, ejective). Ex.: it/ele (kleabash); it/e (atone); it/wa (be finished). It is also found in combination with the homorganic nasal phon. n. Ex.: ent/a (new); int/aka (mealie flower); int/ongoe (nicotine).

55. t/h (the aspirated palatal affricate). Ex.: umt/hana (sister's child); t/hisa (burn); t/hano (say so).

56. j (the voiced palatal affricate, phon. j). Ex.: jamela (glare at); cija (tell lies); ijiki (bear); gaja (miss). It is also found in combination with the homorganic nasal phon. n. Ex.: inja (dog); manje (now); injongo (aim).

(iv) Velar Affricates

57. k/ (the voiceless velar affricate). Ex.: k/ala (white-faced); k/weba (tan hide); k/weia (scratch); k/jobha (poop).

(2) Heterorganic Compounds

The main consonants under this heading are combinations of alveolar plosives with labio-dental fricatives, the voiceless plosive combining with the voiceless fricative and the voiced plosive with the voiced fricative. To produce a sound of any of these combinations, the upper teeth slightly touch the lower lip simultaneously with the alveolar plosion. The breath, escaping forcibly as a result of the plosion, causes friction between the lower lip and the upper teeth. The sound thus produced may be voiced or voiceless, or aspirated.

59. tf (the voiceless alveo-labial compound, ejective). This sound is very rare in its independent form, but is very common in conjunction with the alveolar nasal. It is followed by back vowels or by the bi-labial semi-vowel. Ex.: utfolo (arrow); into (thing); umntf: (person); umntfwana (child).
59. dy (the voiced alveolo-denti-labial compound, ejective. It is found before back vowels and before the bi-labial semi-vowel. It is also found in conjunction with the alveolar nasal. Ex.: idvolo (knee); indwoza (man); umlandlu (debt); isidveli (ant-heep); dywsha (forage for first-fruit ceremony).

60. thy (the aspirated alveolo-denti-labial compound). It is found before back vowels and before the bi-labial semi-vowel. Ex.: impaho (treatment); -tehathfu (three); thuma (send); thwala (candy).

61. kh/ (the aspirated velar-palatal compound). Only one word, as far as I have been able to investigate, contains this sound. This is kh/ikh/a (strike). Umpho has a similar word khwit/ha with the same meaning, and standard Xhosa has the word khwit/ha (shower) and umkhwit/ho (beating shower).

My opinion is that the Umpho-Xhosa form is the original one and that the Basa form is a result of reciprocal assimilation. The aspirated velar plosive in the first syllable assimilated the palatal t which was originally in the second syllable, and the palatal fricative element in the second syllable has assimilated the bi-labial semi-vowel w in the first syllable. Thus:

khwi > kh/1, and t/ha > kh/a, and therefore
khwit/ha > kh/ikh/a.

Among the Basa of 'Spoza the plosion of the first syllable in this word is preceded by a rounding of the lips, and simultaneous with the plosion is a sharp withdrawal of the corners of the mouth, the result being an indeterminate w in the first syllable. I think this is further evidence of a previous existence of w in this syllable.


(i) Implosives

Under nasal influence the bilabial implosive b becomes b. Ex.:
Gambana (hold each other) > imbambano (dispute)
-6ini (two) > etimini (two)
6oleka (lend) > imboleko (lending)
Gumba (meul) > imbubha (compact matter)

(ii) Fricatives

Of the voiceless fricatives only the palatal is made ejective by a preceding nasal. Nasal + / > at/. Ex.: u/iyi (eyebrow) > int/iyi (eyebrows); /ukuma (move) > int.ukumo. Before the voiceless denti-labial fricative f, and the alveolar fricatives s and h, the nasal is so soft that it is all but inaudible, especially at 'Spoza. If the nasal is preceded by the high-forward vowel, this vowel is distinctly nasalized; but the fricative itself is not influenced by the nasal. Thus:

(a) Nasal + f > mf (phon. mf)

Ex.: Tuna (learn) > imfimudvo (learning), phon. Inf:nydvo
Galula (ouput to) > imfanelo (obligation), phon. Infan:1
ufudvo (tortoise) > imfudvo (tortoises), phon. Infu:dv.
(b) Nasal + s > ns (phon. n's).
Ex.: salela (remain) > insalela (remnant), phon. In'salela
usida (feather) > inusida (feathers), phon. In'sida
usaku (day) > inusaku (days), phon. In'saku

(a) Nasal + hl > ahl, phon. n'-
Ex.: uhlanje (incision) > inuhlanje (incisions), phon. I:n'lanje
-hlana (five) > etihlanje (five) phon. eti'nje
uhlofo (sort) > inuhlofo (sorts), phon. I:n'hlofo

(2) The voiced fricatives v, dl (phon. l) and z are all made
ejective by a preceding nasal. Thus:-

(a) Nasal + v > mv, phon. m-
Ex.: kuvalo (breastbone) > limvalo breastbones), phon. I:mvvalo
uluvi (grey hair) > itulwi (grey hairs), phon. I:tiulwi.

(b) Nasal + dl > ndl, phon. nd-
Ex.: daala (play) > indala (play), phon. Inda:

(c) Nasal + t > nj, phon. nd-
Ex.: jamelana (glare at each other) > injamelwano (mutual hate)
    phon. I:njamelwano
    injongo (sim), phon. I:ti

The voiced alveolar fricative z never occurs initially in its
simple form and therefore is never preceded directly by a
nasal. The same applies to all velar and glottal fricatives,
whether voiceless or voiced.

(iii) Aspirates
Aspirates become ejective under nasal influence. Thus:-

(a) Nasal + ph > mp, phon. mp'.
Ex.: uphawu (mark) > limpawu (marks), phon. I:mp'awu
uphondvo (horn) > limpondvo (horns), phon. I:mp'ondvo

(b. Nasal + kh > nk, phon. nk'.
Ex.: khatshaha (exasperate) > inkatshaha (disturbance), phon.
    I:katshaha
    ukheleket/hane (falcon) iinkeleket/hane (falcons), phon.
    I:nk'el/h

(c) Nasal + tsh > nts, phon. nts'.
Ex.: -tshathla (three) > utshathla (three), phon. utshatsla:ts
    ulutshi (rod) > itshatsi (rods), phon. iti:nts'i

(d) Nasal + thf > ntf, phon. ntf'.
Ex.: ufhulu (dust) > intshulu (dusts), phon. utshutsul

+

Although the aspirated palatal affricate t/h exists, there do
not seem to be any incidences of nasal influence on it.
63. The relationship between the Alveolar Affricates tsh, dz, and the Heterorganic Compounds thf, dv.

The Basa aspirated alveolar affricate tsh (< Ur-Bantu t) can only be followed by front vowels. Before back vowels tsh becomes thf. This is seen in the formation of nouns of Class 9 (standard classification) form verbs ending in tsh, when final -a becomes -o. Here tsh becomes thf.

Ex.: phatsha (handle) > impathfo (treatment)
chitsha (spend) > incitsha (expenditure)
phatsha (conclude) > umphatsha (conclusion)

Consider also the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Ideophone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cotssha</td>
<td>cotsfota (walk lazily)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noqutsha</td>
<td>noqutshoka (cut short)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voiced alveolar affricate dz is derived from Ur-Bantu l (n + 1 > ndz, and ndz-γ ydz). But dz, like tsh, can be followed only by front vowels. Before back vowels dz becomes dv. In the formation of nouns of Class 9 from verbs, when final -a becomes -o, dz becomes dv.

Ex.: tahandiza (love) > utshandaovo (love)
neceda (help) > uncedaovo (assistance)
gondza (perceive) > ingondaovo (perception).

Note also thundiza (urinate), umthunado (urine). It is quite possible that umthunado (penis) also comes from thundiza, and that assimilation of vowels has taken place.

Click Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Dentals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54. c (the plain dental click). Ex.: icela (side); isicamba (mat); cela (beg); u6ucopho (brain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. ch (the aspirated dental click). Ex.: chana (hit); checa (shore); chwesu (roaf).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. nca (the nasal dental click). Ex.: -ncani (small); nca (of sticking fast); ncedza (help); incadzi (book).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. ncch (the aspirated nasal dental click). Ex.: incha (grace); inchube (first-fruit ceremony); -manchu (sour).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. gc (the voiced dental click). Ex.: gcagca (elope); gc11a (seven); igcokwe (chicken).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(II) Palatals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69. q (the plain palato-alveolar click). Ex.: igabata (drop); igela (group); umugwage (road).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. qh (the aspirated palato-alveolar click). Ex.: iqhinga (trick); u6ughafuta (officiousness); qhela (be used to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. nq (the nasal palato-alveolar click). Ex.: ingame (pipe); ingina (heart); isingqadwa (tree-stump).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. nch (the aspirated nasal palato-alveolar click). Ex.: inghelu/e (smooth round stone); inghiniva (witness); inghumbe (wreath).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. gq (the voiced palato-alveolar click). Ex.: egqa (jump over); guila (of falling over); uingqu6a (mango).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) Laterals

74. x (the plain lateral click). Ex.: isixathu6a (shoe); ixwe (time); xina (defeat); ibhzo (gate-post).

75. ixh (the aspirated lateral click). Ex.: ixhala (anxiety); ixhegn (old man); xholi (hurt the eye).

76. nx (the nasal lateral click). Ex.: inxe6a (wound); inxelon (thirst); inxana (clutch); umxene6a (grass rope).

77. nxh. (the aspirated nasal lateral click). Ex.: nxhama (be angry); nxhawu (pot); inxhila (bag); nxholias (scold).

78. gx (the voiced lateral click). Ex.: iligx (&reat); gxot/ha (expel); gxuma (be startled by pain).

79. The Morphological Influence of the Nasal on Click Consonants.

(a) Under nasal influence the plain clicks a, q, x become aspirated nasal clicks, 6 > nh; q > nh; x > nxh. Ex.: calula (analyses) > inshalulo (analyses); cingen (think) > linchinga (thoughts); qondeza (perceive) > inqondv (mind); qumbo (be watchful) > inqumbo (wraith); xa6ana (quarrel) > inxa6ano (quarrel); xela (report) > inxela (report).

But ucepha (spoon) > lincepe (spoons) uqagasi (ridge) > linqagasi (ridges).

(b) The aspirated clicks ch, qh, xh, become nasal clicks (non-aspirated) under nasal influence. ch > nh; qh > nh; xh > nxh. Ex.: chaza (spend) > incithfo (expenditure/waste); chaza (explain) > inxenzelo (explanation); choda (proceed) > inqu6 (procedure); qhataha (chest) > inqathfo (cheating); xhala (support) > inxazo (support); xhameka (make efforts in vain) > inxambeko (vain efforts).

80. Palatalization.

This affects (i) nouns in the locative formation, (ii) nouns and qualifying words in the diminutive formation and (iii) verbs in the passive formation. As these will be fully discussed under the appropriate headings, let it suffice merely to state here that: - ph > vrh; 6 > t; b > j; mb > nj; m > ny; nh > nt.

As is well known, palatalization affects chiefly bilabials, but in the Basa diminutive formation, as in Zulu, palatalization affects the alveolar nasal as well. n > ny.

81. Elision

In addition to the elision of initial and final vowel there is a great deal of elision of whole syllables, even in the speech of inkuwala orators. In regard to the elision of the initial vowel Basa reveals nothing new. The initial vowel is elided (i) in the vocative formation, (ii) after a demonstrative pronoun, (iii) in nouns of class le after the possessive formative ka, (iv) after absolute pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons and (v) after emphatic absolute pronouns.
Examples:—

(i) ita apa, matfwana ndzini (Come here, child)
(ii) leli thole (this calf)
(iii) unyawo lukwambane (my mother's foot)
(iv) tshina masaca (we Bacaas)
(v) abona sema (the real inhabitants).

In regard to the elision of the final vowel, in addition to the well known elisions of the vowel of the subjectival concord before vowel-verb stems, and that of the locative formative ku before nouns of Class 'la, the following standard elisions are worth noting:—

(i) Elision of the final vowel of a monosyllabic demonstrative pronoun before a qualifying whose initial vowel is identical with the vowel of the demonstrative.
Ex.: lo omncani > 1' omncani (this little one)
lo omnye > 1' omnye (this other one)
le enhole > 1' enhole (this fine one)
le' etimbini > 1' etimbini (these two)

(ii) Elision of the final vowel of the locative demonstrative adverb la' (< lapha) before locatives in -e-
Ex.: lo' endlini > 1' endlini (here in the hut)
lo' emesamo > 1' emesamo (here opposite the door)
lo' etulu > 1' etulu (here at the top)

Sometimes in the spoken language only context distinguishes between the forms of (ii) and those of phrases consisting of demonstrative pronouns and nouns of certain classes. Compare the two phrases in each of the following pairs:—

l' enhloko (here on the head)
le nhloko (this head)

l' esifaya (here in the fold)
le' esifaya (this fold)

l' etifunu (here on the buttocks)
le' ti6unu (these buttocks)

Elision of Syllables

Except for the two words kh/ikh/a and inkomo referred to at the end of this section, elision of syllables is confined to final syllables, as far as I have been able to ascertain. Elision of the final syllable takes place:

(i) In the interrogative noun u6ani? when it is at the end of a sentence. The tone of 6a in this case is raised to the level of that of the elided -ni.
Ex.: 'Ukhamba na6a'? (With whom are you going?)
Kantsi inkomo leta hetika6a'? (And whose did the cattle prove to be?)

(ii) In the demonstrative adverbs lapha and nganha, -pha is very often elided. Thus lapha > la' and ngapha > nga'.

(iii) 6a-the If a demonstrative pronoun precedes a noun whose first syllable is identical with the final syllable of the pronoun, the final syllable of the pronoun is always elided.
Ex.: leti tindlu le' tindlu (these huts)
leti tanda le' tanda (these hands)
lo6u 6ubhala lo' 6ubhala (these beads)
lokpu kudla lo' kudla (these food)

In addition it may be mentioned that the first syllable of the word kh/ikh/a is perhaps always elided when the emphasis is on its adjunct. Thus a Baca would say:
Ewe, ndiya vusa ukutshi adamkh/ikh/a (Yes, I admit that I did strike him)
Funjalo nje adam’kh/e kahle (And I struck him full)
Siyaya ukutshi umkh/ikh/lile (We do understand that you struck him)
Kodsi ke um’kh/o ngantfoni? (But with what did you strike him?)

But an extreme instance of elision is found in what has become an idiomatic use of the noun inkomo before the possessive yakowethfu, yakowenu, yakowa6o. Whenever a Baca alludes to a beast to which the owner is very much attached, inkomo becomes i’m’.

Thus: inkomo yakowethfu > i’m’akowethfu (the beast to which I am very greatly attached)

inkomo yakowa6o > i’m’akowaza (the beast to which he is very much attached)

inkomo yakowenu > i’m’akowenu (the beast to which you are very much attached)

It is to be noted that i’m’akowethfu/akowa6o/akowenu are stereotyped phrases, and that their use is extended to horses. Ex.: Mfandikwela le i’m’akowethfu emnya (I was riding the black horse to which I am much attached)

Iphi i’m’akowenu ephela-nle? (Where is the dark-red, bright-eared, bright-muzzled ox of which you are so proud?)

N.B. This idiomatic use of inkomo is confined to male animals.

82. Vowel Harmony.

Except in the incidence of locatives, Baca has nothing new to reveal here. In regard to other incidences a few illustrations will suffice.

(i) Coalescence: iha/i} la + inkosip > lenkosip (of the chief)
amasi a + umtfwana > omtfwana (of the child)

(ii) Elision:

ku + oobawo > kooobawo (to our fathers)
ndi + enta > ndenta (I do)

(iii) Consonantalization: i + am > yam (of me)
u + aya > wya (He went)

(iv) Assimilation:

b:na > bonisa (show)
b:ka > bekile (look)

When a formative is prefixed to a locative in e-, so that the final vowel of the formative and initial e- are juxta-posed, the following rules are observed:

(i) The final vowel of the indefinite locative formative nga-coalesces with initial e- of the locative.
Ex.: nga + emayango > ngaemayango (by the door)
 nga + endlini > ngaendlini (by the hut)
 nga + etulu > ngetulu (on the summit)

(ii) Prelocative -k- is preplaced to initial e- of a locative when the locative is preceded by (a) the conjunctive formative na-, (b) the possessive concord and (c) by the subjectival concord in a copulative predicative.
Ex.: (a) na + endlini > nakentini (even at the village)
 na + aLutateni > nakeLutateni (even at Lutateni)

(b) wa + empina > wakentini (from a strange land)
 ya + emposa > yakeposa (of Mposa)

(c) u + ejikini > ukekikini (he is in a beer party)
 si + esoli > sikeSoli (we are in the mines)
83. **Tone.**

Since Raca has nothing new to reveal in this connection, a few illustrations of significant tone will suffice.

(a) **Semantic Tone**

**Ex.:**

**Nouns**

emacaleni (on the sides); emac'aleni (at the law-court); isifane (group of young men); 'isifen'a (small sweet reed garden)

**Verbs**

fundza (learn) 
'ukwethul'a (to swear) 
'ukulingana (to vie with each other); ukulingana (to be equal)

**Miscellaneous**

im'itshi (trees) 
isive (tribe) 
ngale (by means of this one); ng'ale (on the other side) 
imile (it has stopped); imile (that it may grow)

(b) **Grammatical Tone**

**Ex.:** ndent'a (I do) 
dnd'senta (I doing) 
nd'ikh'e,mb'le (that I may go); ndikham'b'e (I went) 
andihlonipha (let me hlonipha); 'andihlon'iphe (let her respect me)

(c) **Emotional Tone**

Ave elidla iijiki (He does not drink beer) 
Awe elidla iijiki! (How he drinks beer!)

Enjani intombi? (What sort of girl?) 
Enjani intombi! (What a girl!)

84. **Transposition.**

This may or may not be, a feature of Raca. So far only one word has been discovered that is recognisable as a certain case of transposition. This is the word indelana (cow that has lately calved). The Zulu and Xhosa forms are indlezele and indlezele respectively. From the Raca system of sound-shifting we should therefore deduce indelana. It is obvious that dl and t have changed places, and that indelana has by transposition become indelana.

85. **Semi-vowels.**

The semi-vowels should have come in under "Consonants", but were overlooked. These are the bi-labial semi-vowel w, e.g. wena (you), chitehwana (be spent), and the palatal semi-vowel y, e.g. yena (he), y'aya (leave behind).
Chapter II

The Noun

(a) Classes of Nouns

The following are the Baca noun-class prefixes, side by side with the hypothetical Ur-Bantu noun-class prefixes to which they correspond:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ur-Bantu</th>
<th>Baca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>um-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>im-</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>isi-</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>i(N)-</td>
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<td>iti(N)-</td>
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<td>tilu-</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>tilu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>tilu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we take singular and corresponding plural as one and the same class, we have eight classes of nouns corresponding exactly to the Zulu-Xhosa ones. We give both full and contracted forms as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umntfu (person)</td>
<td>a6antfu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umfatu (woman)</td>
<td>a6afati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umSuthfu (Mseotho)</td>
<td>a6asuthfu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umelaphi (healer)</td>
<td>a6elaphi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umenti (doer)</td>
<td>a6enti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Class 1a
- u6awo (father)
- unonkala-nkala (crab)

### Class 2
- umtshi (tree)
- umthuntu (shade)
- umlente (leg)

### Class 3
- ilive (country)
- ilit/e (stone)
- it/aloh (calabash)
- idvolo (knee)

### Class 4
- isikhwasakati (widow)
- isiti6a (pool)
- isalukati (old woman)
- isandla (hand)

### Class 5
- infilu (hut)
- inja (dog)
- imbuthi (goat)
- ingudvudu (ground hornbill)
- ingqawe (pipe)
- icawe (church)

### Class 6
- ulutshi (rod)
- ulufi (bark used as fibre)
- utipho (finger nail)
- usif6a (feather)

### Class 7
- u6udzakwa (drunkenness)
- u6uthfongo (sleep)
- u6udzala (age)
- u6oml (life)

### Class 8
- ukudla (food)
- ukufa (death)

### (b) Prefixal and Suffixal Nominal Formatives

#### (1) Prefixal
The prefixal formatives are as follows:

(i) The locative formatives ku-, kwa-, e-. e.g. ku6awo (to my father), kumgama (at/against), kwaNomt/aeketu (at Nomt/ekette), kwaMjanyelwa (at Mjanyelwa's), eMpoza (at Mpoza), eCa6azi (at Ca6azi).

As is well known, all these formatives signify at, from, to, in, on.
(ii) The conjunctive formative na-, signifying and, together with. E.g. naşıantu (and the people), netinja (along with the dogs).

(iii) The instrumental formative nga-, signifying by means of. E.g. ngomkhonto (by means of an assegai), ngemitsi (by means of herbs).

(iv) The indefinite prelocative formative nga-, signifying near, in the neighbourhood of. E.g. ngemfuleni (near the river), ngakwaganu (near Ngana).

(v) The compound formatives njenga- (like) and ngena- (as big as). E.g. njengekatse (like a cat), ngangembuunzi (as big as a goat).

(vi) The possessive formatives ka- and a-. E.g. kamhana of my mother), samBaca (of the Baca).

(2) Suffixal Formatives

(i) The locative suffix -ni, which is always employed in conjunction with the prefix e-. E.g. ekweni (to/in/from/on the beast).

(ii) The diminutive suffix -ana. E.g. ijana (little dog).

(iii) The augmentative/feminine suffix -kati. E.g. umthikati (big tree, infakati (bitch).

The prefixal formatives do not cause any phonetic changes on the stems of the nouns except those due to vowel harmony. Since these are very well known and have moreover been dealt with under that heading, it is not necessary to dwell on them here. The suffixal formatives, -ni, -ana on the other hand, cause the change known as palatalization. This is treated fully under "forms of the Noun" in the next chapter.

Chapter III

Forms of the Noun

(1) The Vocative Form. This is formed by eliding the initial vowel of the noun. E.g. umfati (woman) > mase! (woman). To be more emphatic, the vocative of common nouns is followed by ndzini, e.g. mase! ndzini (thou woman).

When nouns of class 1a are employed interjectively in the vocative form they undergo the following changes:

(i) Nouns ending in -a, -e, or -i change the final vowel to -ee.
   uGhona (mother) > mase!
   uMasendzwe > Masendzwe!
   uNqobinni > Nqobinini!

(ii) Nouns ending in -o or -u substitute -wee for the final vowel
   uNqotshelelo > Nqotshelewe!
   uNqotsukw > Nqotsukwe!

These vowel changes are not observed (i) in impolite or angry speech, and (ii) if the vocative comes at the end of the sentence, that is, when it is no longer merely interjective.

Thus we say: Nqotshelewe! yihlo ulayi? (Nqotshelelo, where is your father?)
But: Yihlo ulayi, Nqotshelelo? (Where is your father? O Nqotshelelo?)
The Possessive Form. The Possessive Concord employed before nouns of Class 1 singular is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lika-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sika-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>luks-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6uka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kuka-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Class 1
- umana kaNomt/eket/e (Nomt/eket/e's son)
- oomana sakaNomt/eket/e (Nomt/eket/e's sons)

Class 2
- 2 umti kaVimbi (Vimbi's kraal)
- imiti kaVimbi (Vimbi's kraals)

Class 3
- 3 it/a/lo likambana (my mother's calabash)
- omat/a/lo kamhana (my mother's calabashes)

Class 4
- 4 isife sikaDzikwayo (Dzikwayo's sweet-reed garden)
- itife tikaDzikwayo (Dzikwayo's sweet-reed gardens)

Class 5
- 5 inkomo ka/e/enisi (e/enisi's beast)
- oinkomo tika/e/enisi (e/enisi's cattle)

Class 6
- 6 ubambo lukaNomt/shelelo (Nomt/shelelo's rib)
- iimbambo tikaNomt/shelelo (Nomt/shelelo's ribs)

Class 7
- 7 u6utshi 6ukaNdza6a (Ndza6a's witchcraft)

Class 8
- 8 uku'fa kuka Madzikane (Madzikane's death).

The general Possessive Concord is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>lwa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>xka- 6a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kwa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- umana wenkosi (the son of the chief)
- it/a/lo lomntfwa (the child's calabash)
- iimbambo tenja (the ribs of the dog)
- ukudla kwamadvodza (men's food)

The Emphatic Possessive. This is formed by prefixing a vowel to the ordinary possessive forms. These vowels are as follows:
The Locative form. To form the locative, -e- is substituted for the initial vowel of the noun, and the final vowel is substituted for as follows:

-eni is substituted for final -a, or final -e. e.g. intsa$e > entseneni (mountain); ilive > eliveni (country)
-weni for final -o. e.g. iboxo > eboxweni (gate-post)
-wini for final -u. e.g. isisu > esiswini (belly).

This rule is accompanied by the following modifications:

(a) Nouns of Class 5 plur. that ordinarily take the contracted prefix u-(N)-, take the full prefix in the locative form: e.g. ilakomo (cattle) > etinkomeni; ilakopi (oxen) > etinkasi. (b) Nouns of Class 3 sing. and plur. that take contracted prefix u-(N)-, ordinarily, take the full prefix in the locative: e.g. umnyawo (foot) > ulunywani; utwane (toe) > etlwane; umnyawo (feet) > etinyaweni; intwane (toes) > etintwaneni.
(c) If the final syllable contains a labial followed by a back vowel, the suffix drops w. and eni, -ini are substituted for final -o and -u respectively. e.g. interambo (rope) > entsambeni; igubu (water-pot) > egubini; utipho (finger-nail) > elutipheni; umlomo (mouth) > emlomeni; indamo (place) > endsamweni; isikhwevu (gen) > esikhwini; isifo (disease) > esifeni; ilifu (cloud) > elifini.

(d) If the final syllable contains 6 or mb followed by o, the bilabial is in some cases palatalized.
6 > t/ e.g. idyobo (jungle) > advet/eni; ihlolo (summer) > ehlol/eni.
mb > nj e.g. itshambo (bone) > etshenanjeni; umthombo (fountain) > emthf'jnjeni.

N.B. Although the aspirated bilabial plosive ph is not ordinarily palatalized, one word mhlophe (white) > emhlot/beni (obviously).

(e) Proper names of places that are not also common nouns do not take the locative suffix, but those that are also common nouns generally take the suffix. e.g. e'thosa; eSa6azi; eMvuzi; eMt/hazi; emphemba.

Put: eLugangeni < ubanga (hill); eLubacwuni < ubaco (desolation); ethfoleni < ithrole (calf); embodwini < imbodla (wild cat).

(f) The following are some of the common nouns that do not take the locative suffix: umnyango (entrance) > umnyango; itiko (hearth) > etiko; ifunti (forehead) > efunti; isi6aya (fold) > esi6aya; inhloko (head) > enhloko; ikhaya (home) > ekaya; u6usuku (night) > e6usuku; ukwinda (autumn) > ekwinda; ihlantane (mid'ay) > ehlantane; isini (day-time) > emini.

The following are now found exclusively in the locative form. They have lost their identity as nouns entirely, and are therefore classified as adverbs: emdle (in the open veld); ekhatshi (inside); e/eya (across); embili (in front): etulu (on top/above). The last four, however, are followed by the possessive form, the concord employed being that of the lost Class 17. e.g. e/eya kom'ulas (across the river); ekhatshi kom'ti (inside the village).

When followed by a possessive, embili and etulu drop the final syllable, and etulu further changes final -u into -i. Thus: embili > embi, and etulu > eti. e.g. embi kwesi6aya (in front of the fold); eti kwethfu (above ns).

(g) Nouns of Class 1a take the prefixal formative ku- (the final vowel being elided) instead of the formative considered under (a) to (f). e.g. ku6awo (to my father); kooVimbii (to Vimbii and his companions).

(h) The possessive concord of the lost Class 17, kwa-, is prefixed to nouns of Class 1a singular to convey the idea of "at/to/from the place of". Here the initial vowel of the noun is elided before kwa-. e.g. kwamchisana (at Mchisana's); kwamuluma. (at my mother's brother's). If the conjunctive formative na- or the possessive concord is prefixed to a noun in the locative form in kwa-, to avoid hiatus, k- is preplaced to initial e- e.g. nakeNkwele nakeNhlot/eni (even at Nhlot/eni); umfatu wakeNtabobo (person from Ntabobo).
If the indefinite prelocative formative ange- (in the
neighbourhood of) is prefixed to a locative in e-, final -a
of the formative coalesces with initial -e- of the locative.
e.g. ngemnyango (by the door); ngemfuleni (near the river).

(4) The Diminutive Form. This is formed by the use of the su-
fix -ana. The rules are as follows:

(a) If the final vowel of the noun is a front vowel, -ana is
substituted. e.g. iligxa (forest) > iligxana (little forest);
ikati (cat) > ikatana (kitten); igcokwe (chicken) >
igcokwana (small chicken).

(b) If the final vowel of the noun is a back vowel preceded
by a consonant other than a bi-labial or pure denti-labial, the
final vowel is changed to -w- before -ana is suffixed. e.g.
emhlo (eyes) > amhlwana (small eyes); inqhondvo (mind)
inghondwana (little understanding); ixhegu (old man) >
ixhegwana (contemptible old man/ tiny old man); umntu
(perman) > umntwuana (child).

(c) If the final vowel of the noun is a back vowel preceded
by a pure denti-labial or by the semi-vowel -w-, -ana is sub-
stituted for the final vowel. e.g. isifo (disease) >
isifana (slight disease); ilifu (cloud) > ilifana (small
cloud); amavo (tales) > amawana (light tales); iindseyu
(beard) > iindsewana (little beard); unyawo (foot) >
unyawana (small foot); unxhawu (pot) > unxhawana (little pot).

(d) If the final syllable has l, as its consonant, l becomes dl
before substituting -ana. e.g. umfudula (river) > umfudlana
(little stream); indlela (route) > indledlana (path).

(e) If the consonant of the final syllable is a bi-labial, that
consonant becomes a palatal before suffixing -ana.

6 > t/ : ingu6o (blanket) > ingutana (small blanket)
ph > t/h: ucephe (spoon) > ucehtana (small spoon)
b > j : incube (first-fruit ceremony) > inchujana (same, but
minor chief)
m > ny : umlomo (mouth) > umlonyana (small mouth)
mp > nt/ : ihlwinepu (pauper) > ihlwenta (contemptible pauper)
mb > nj : ubambo (rib) > ubanjana (small rib).

(f) If the consonant of the final syllable is the alveolar
nasal izikhe a palatalisation takes place before substituting
-ana. n > ny: isikhuni (log of wood) > isikhunyana (small
log of wood).

Note 1. anyana is a reduplication of -ana. It forms
double diminutives of nouns. It is found in such nouns as
umfanyana (tiny young man), the diminutive form of umfana (young
man), which in itself is the diminutive form of umfo.

Note 2. Some nouns are found only in the diminutive form.
Such a noun is umbudlwana (puppy), from hypothetical
umbulukwana. Some IsiXhosa dialects have the form umbulwana
(Mpondomish). Literary Xhosa has both umbulwana (little dog)
and umbulwane (little dog that cannot yet see). That the
original form was, it is difficult to say.
Note 3. In the diminutive formation, adjectives and relatives follow the same rules as the nouns. e.g.: -khulu (bog) > phkhudwana; -dzala (old) > dzadlana; -xoxa - mhlophe (white) > -mholot/hana; -nocani (small) > -ncanyana; -sobyu (red) > sobyu -Sowana.

Note 4. Monosyllabic stems are not affected by palatalization. Thus: -6i (ugly) > -6ana, and impi (impi) > impansa.

Note 5. Bees, like Zulu, favour diminutive forms of qualifying adjectives after diminutive forms of nouns. e.g. inkat'ana esundwana (small dark-red ox); inkatanyana enhlana (a pretty little girl).

Note 6. Sometimes the diminutive suffix is attached to the qualifying only, the significance being exactly the same as that of the form under Note 5. e.g. inkal esundwana (small dark-red ox). umbem obovana (light complexioned young fellow).

(5) The Augmentative Form. This is formed by means of the suffix -kati. e.g. inkomo (beast) > inkomokati (big beast); umfati (woman) > umfati kati (big woman).

If the noun is followed by a qualitative, the suffix is attached only to the qualifying. e.g. umfati omkhulukati (very big woman); umthi omdzekati (very tall tree).

The suffix -kati is also employed as a feminine suffix. e.g. inja (dog) > injakati (bitch); umkhwe (father-in-law) > umkhwekati (mother-in-law).

Note 1. As a feminine suffix -kati is found in a few words that have lost their independence as simple nouns and are only found in the feminine form. e.g. isalukati (old woman) > hypothetical isalul; isikhwasakati (widow) > hypothetical isikhwasa.

Note 2. Colour qualifications employ the suffix -kati after nouns signifying the names of female animals. e.g. imati ephasakati (black cow with white abdomen); ithfokati elik elaketi (white-faced heifer).

(N.B. ithfokati is the feminine of ithpole).

Sometimes such a qualifying is used as a substantive. e.g. ilungakati eligwanaile (big-udder black-and-white cow).

Distinction of Sex

This chapter may as well conclude with a brief reference to distinction of sex. Besides the employment of the suffix -mati, sex is distinguished by

(i) distinct terms, e.g. indoda (man), umfati (woman).

(ii) a special term for a male, e.g. impongo (he-goat).

(iii) the terms inkunti (male), imati (female that has had young inzakati (female).

These are followed by generic terms in the possessive form. e.g. inkunt'enkomo (bull), imat'ambunti (she-goat). Note the elisions.
assumes the form kwı-; if the vowel of the subjectival concord is any other vowel than ı, the locative formative remains kwı-. (The 1st person singular, as is usually the case in Bantu pronouns, is not covered by this rule).

In the following table the subjectival concord is given in brackets to illustrate the rule.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>kumi (sdı)</td>
<td>kwıshı (sı)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>kuwe (u)</td>
<td>kwıni (ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Cl.1</td>
<td>kuyı (u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuwe (u)</td>
<td>kuyı (u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwılo (ılı)</td>
<td>kwılo (ılı)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kwıso (sı)</td>
<td>kwıso (sı)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kwıyo (ıı)</td>
<td>kwıyo (ıı)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kwılo (lıı)</td>
<td>kwılo (lıı)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ku6o (sıı)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kuko (kıı)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Class 6 sing. takes the form kwı-, most probably by false analogy with Class 3 sing.

Note the form -mi in the 1st person sing.

The forms are the same when kwı- is compounded with nga-.

The emphatic pronoun may also take the prefixal formatives. The final vowel of a prefixal formative coalesces with the initial vowel of the pronoun. e.g. na + oyına > noyına; nga + etoña > ngeetoña.

When kwı- is prefixed to the emphatic pronoun, u is elided before initial o- and becomes w before initial a- or e-.

The table is therefore as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>koyına</td>
<td>kwa6oına</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kweyoına</td>
<td>kwa6oına</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwelona</td>
<td>kwa6oına</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kwe6oına</td>
<td>kwa6oına</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kwe7ona</td>
<td>kwa6oına</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>koloına</td>
<td>kwa6oına</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ko6oına</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kokona</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms are the same when kwı- is compounded with nga-

e.g. ngakoyına matfu (near the very person); ngakwawona madwodza (near the very men).

(b) Table of Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1st Position</th>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1a6a</td>
<td>1a6o</td>
<td>1a6aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lowo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1e</td>
<td>1e6o</td>
<td>1ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>1e1i</td>
<td>1e6o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1e1a</td>
<td>1e6o</td>
<td>1ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>1e6i</td>
<td>1e6o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1e6i</td>
<td>1e6o</td>
<td>1e6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>1e</td>
<td>1e6o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>1e6i</td>
<td>1e6o</td>
<td>1e6a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>lolu</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>loluya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>leti</td>
<td>leto</td>
<td>letiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6eb</td>
<td>6ebu</td>
<td>6ebuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>loku</td>
<td>loko</td>
<td>lokuva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table gives the full forms of the Demonstrative Pronoun. The full forms of the 2nd and 3rd Positions are always used, whether the demonstrative precedes or follows the noun, or whether the noun is merely implied.

If the demonstrative of any position precedes the noun, the initial vowel of the noun is elided. e.g. Lese sicamba hesam (That mat is mine); isicamba lese hesam (The mat is mine). Letiya nhutzi tidla amadzele am (Those goats are feeding on my corn); nhutzi letiya tidla amadzele am (Those goats are feeding on my corn). Lese aliya lapha (Leave that one here); Letiya hetakwaMjanyelwa (Those are Mjanyelwa's).

The full forms of the 1st demonstrative are used as follows:

(i) When the demonstrative either as subject or as object stands alone. e.g. Lafa ha6akw1tAh1 (These are my compatriots); Tisha lapha tonke Leti (Put all these here).

(ii) When the demonstrative is preceded by, and is in apposition to, the noun. e.g. Tboxo leli lephulwe hini? (What broke the gate-post?) Umuhia lu6am lo6u buyeke lapha (Leave my beads here).

(iii) When the noun implied, whether preceding or following the demonstrative, belongs to one of the "weak" classes. e.g. Lo mfo uqama phi? (Where does this gentleman come from?) Le nkomo yayitelve hilsilime (This beast was born deformed). Lmitshi le yayiheksaidzikane (These herbs were Hadzikane's). Amadzoma le wanyathise (Give these men a drink).

(iv) When the demonstrative precedes a noun of Class 3 singular. Class 5 plural, Class 6 singular or plural that normally takes a contracted prefix (i.e. polysyllabic stems of these classes). e.g. Leli ha/l lalidlo6e of/hungwana (This horse had been offered as lo6ola at 7/hungwana)

Leti nkomo tivela phi? (Where have these cattle been?)

Lolo hibaka ma lulumgwa (Let this door be repaired)

Leti nkelakhet/bane ti/uba amago6we (These falcons are finishing the chickens)

The Contracted 1st Demonstrative

Before nouns of "weak" classes the 1st Demonstrative is used in full in all circumstances. Before nouns of other classes the 1st Demonstrative is made monosyllabic by eliding the second syllable before all nouns other than those considered under (iv) above.

The following table will illustrate this:
The tendency then is to make the demonstrative monosyllabic before all nouns. Before nouns of "weak" classes elision is not necessary because the demonstrative is already monosyllabic. Before the nouns given under (b) the full "forms are necessary because concordial agreement must be observed, and since the entire prefixes are elided, concord can only be observed by re-storing the last syllable of the pronoun. Otherwise there would result such absurd forms as le'ha'i, le'inkomo (cf. the singular form).

(c) The Enumerative Pronoun. The roots of the three types of enumerative pronouns are as follows: -nke (signifying "all"), -dwa or -dzi (signifying "only" or "alone")- and numeral roots from two upwards (signifying "both", "all three", "all four", "all five" etc. The numeral roots take a prefix in concordial agreement with the noun implied.

The following is the table of the Enumerative Pronoun with root -nke:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ndonke</td>
<td>sonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>wonke</td>
<td>nonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1. wonke</td>
<td>2. wonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. lonke</td>
<td>4. sonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. yonke</td>
<td>6. lonke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. sonke</td>
<td>8. konke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pronoun may:

(i) stand alone as subject or object. e.g. honke 6aya yati leyo ntsfo (They all know that); Na katilethi lapha tonke leto (Let him bring all those here).

(ii) Precede or follow a noun in apposition, whether subject or object. E.g. wonke amakhosi aye ejikini (All the chiefs have gone to a beer-drink); Amakhosi wonke aye ejikini (All the chiefs have gone to a beer-drink); Ndilikhuphile lonke ikhazi (I have paid all the lobola); Ndilikhuphile ikhazi lonke (I also paid all the lobola).

(iii) Precede or follow an absolute or demonstrative pronoun. E.g. Sonke tshina mabhaca siqhomme kwazulu. (All of us Bacons come from Natal); Fona konke loku okubobako hamanga (All that you say is lies); Letiyo tonke tiinkomo tam (All those are my cattle); Lonke leli hihle loobawo (All this is our fatherland).
The following is the table of Enumerative Pronouns with root -dvwa / -dzi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>ndedvwa / nddzi</td>
<td>sodvwa / sodzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>wedvwa / wodzi</td>
<td>nodvwa / nodzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>edvwa / eddzi</td>
<td>odvwa / oddzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th person</td>
<td>sodvwa / wodzi</td>
<td>odvwa / wodzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th person</td>
<td>lodvwa / lodzi</td>
<td>todvwa / todzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th person</td>
<td>yodvwa / yodzi</td>
<td>todvwa / todzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th person</td>
<td>kodvwa / kodzi</td>
<td>todvwa / todzi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two forms -dvwa and -dzi are used interchangeably with the same meaning.

This pronoun almost always follows a predicative and precedes the noun implied. e.g. Umfo yodzi umfo wakemtini (The stranger arrived all alone).

If the noun takes the first position in the sentence then the predicate comes between the noun and the pronoun. e.g. Uma yemtini umfo yodzi (The stranger arrived alone).

If the noun is merely implied, the pronoun follows the predicate. e.g. Ma danyatshe bisa yodzi lafo ya (Let those drink by themselves).

Very rarely the pronoun follows the noun when the latter takes the first position in the sentence. e.g. Inksi yodzi ayibobi maseka. (The chief alone does not try cases).

Unless the noun implied is used, this pronoun never precedes the verb.

The Enumerative Pronoun with numeral roots has a double prefix, the first element being identical with the first syllable of the Simple Absolute Pronoun, and the second being a contracted form of the adjectival concord, such as is found in certain compound nouns, e.g. ndlu-nkulul' (main house) - a term used in greeting the chief's headwife, Ngu6o-wnini (Mr. Two-Blankets).

The above description applies only to the first five numerals which are adjectives. The numerals above five, which are either nouns or relatives, do not take a double prefix. Those that are nouns substitute a prefix identical with the first syllable of the absolute pronoun for the initial vowel of the prefix. Those that are relatives prefix this element to the relative stem.

In the following tables the numeral roots -bashathfu (three, adj.), -guelu (seven, relative) and i/umzi (ten, noun) are used as illustrations;
Table with adjectival root —tebatshfu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>sobatshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nobatshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person Cl. 1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>sobatshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yobatshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>wombatshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>totsitshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>tontatshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>tontatshatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sobatshatu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kokutshatu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table with relative root —gcelu

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>sogoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>nogoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Cl. 1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>gogoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yogoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>wogoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>togoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>togoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>togoelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>gogoelu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kogoelu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table with noun stem —i/umi

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>soli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>noli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Cl. 1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>soli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yoli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>woli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>toli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>toli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>toli/umi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>soli/umi</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>koli/umi</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pronoun may precede or follow or replace a noun. e.g. Tombini intombi tam tendzele esakesiensi (Both my daughters have been married to Xesibe); Leti nkomo tonxhongo ndatitshenga ngemali yakegoli (I bought all eight of these cattle for money obtained from the Rand); Boma/umi-amosobini hasafati okakaMchisana (All twenty are Mchisana's wives).

(d) The Possessive Pronoun. The Possessive Pronoun has special possessive roots for the 1st and 2nd person (sing. & plur) and for Class 1 sing. The rest of the roots are the same forms of the absolute pronoun as are used after the prefixal formatives. To these roots is prefixed the possessive concord.

Table of Possessive Roots

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>—m</td>
<td>—ithfu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>—kho</td>
<td>—inu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person Cl. 1</td>
<td>—khe</td>
<td>—6o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>—yo</td>
<td>—yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
Ugendze Iwenkomo yea ndiluse kunodipha (I have taken the spoon of my ox to the dipping-supervisor).
Comana sethuu 6asefantsa sGoli (Our sons work in the Rand)
Iinkomo leny tidla phi? (Where do your cattle graze?)

The emphatic Possessive. This is formed by prefixing a vowel to the ordinary or simple possessive pronoun. This vowel is a, e, or o according as the initial vowel of the noun signifying the possessive is a, i, or u respectively. The above rule, however, is not quite satisfactory since it fails to cover Class 1a plur. Neither does the rule that it is the vowel of the noun prefix that determines the initial vowel of this pronoun, for the same reason. It would therefore perhaps be better to say "according as the subjectival concord or the noun signifying the possessive has for its vowel a, i or u". e.g. adam ondana (my sons); ekhhe isicamba (his mat); olwafo oholo (their kind).

The simple possessive pronoun always follows the noun signifying the possessive, and the emphatic possessive pronoun always precedes the noun signifying the possessive. e.g. Amhla/i ethru adla entsa6eni (Our horses are grazing on the mountain-slope). Amethru amhla/i adla entsa6eni (Our horses are grazing on the mountain-slope).

Demonstratives, Enumeratives and Possessives with Prefixal Formatives

To demonstratives of all positions the prefixal formatives are prefixed without any modification taking place regarding the pronoun. e.g. kuleli thfole (to this calf); kulab'Ganfu (to these people); nalaco sikhawatati (even that widow); nafo suluhu (even these beads); ngelative tinja (by means of these dogs); ngale' tintal (by means of these rods).

To enumeratives, prefixal formatives are never prefixed. If there is any locative, conjunctive or instrumental implication, the formative is prefixed to the absolute. e.g. Icali dikhela kwisheni monke (Put the blame on all of us); Ita nato tonke imbuuti (Bring all the goats); Icalu mus'ulhuka kwisheni nesati (Don't put the blame on us alone); Boba naye yedwe (Speak to him alone); M'k'Ndite adlo kwani nesaini (I am addressing both of you); Buva nato tonhlau (Bring back all five).

The possessive, when prefixal formatives are used, assumes the emphatic form. e.g. nk'ita khwelele kwelela iha/i. (I am going to ride my own horse); M'k'ete nelafo iJiki (Let them bring their own beer); Mdhlaba nguwa umakhonto (I stabbed him with my own assegai).

Chapter V

The Qualitative

Under this heading we shall deal briefly with the Adjective, the Relative and the Numeral. There is nothing new about these three, and therefore it has not been found necessary to devote a chapter to each.

(1) The Adjective

The concords are as follows:

Class 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
S. om-, om-, eli-, esi-, e-, olu- o6u-, oku-
P. a6a-, e'ni, ama-, eti-, eti(N)-eti(N) - -

The following are the commonest adjectival roots:
The adjective -kbulu is used as an illustration.

1. umfathi omkulu (stout woman) aśafati aśakhulu (stout woman)
2. umntshi omkulu (big tree) imitshi emikulu (big trees)
3. ilit/e elikulu (big stone) amat/e amakhulu (big stones)
4. isitiša esikulu (big pool) ititiša etikulu (big pools)
5. inja enkulu (big dog) itinja etinkulu (big dogs)
6. utshango olukhulu (big enclosure) iintsango etinkulu (big enclosures)
7. u6uso o6ukhulu (big face)
8. ukufa okukhulu (serious disease)

Note: the adjective -nje is not to be confused with the relative of the same root. The adjective -nje is used in counting on the fingers. e.g. amadvoza amanje (so many men) - the actual number being indicated by the fingers. itikhwasha·kati etinje (so many widows).

(2) The Relative

The concords are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>olu-</td>
<td>o6u-</td>
<td>oku-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>aša-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>eti-</td>
<td>eti-</td>
<td>eti-</td>
<td>eti-</td>
<td>eti-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stems that take the Relative Concord may be classified as follows:

(a) True relative stems - including numerals seven (gcelu), eight (nxhongo), e.g. inkaši eSundu (a dark-red ox), umhlaša osevu (red calf); ithr kati elik ašakati (a white-faced heifer) imbunzi ecalu (a black bull with a white abdomen and a white spot on the pelvis); imbunti emphophe (a white goat); iji ki elimuncho (sour beer); amaha/1 nxhongo (eight horses).

(b) Noun stems, including the numerals six, nine, ten upwards: e.g. amaha/1 stithumba (six horses); itindlu stithimweša (nine huts); indziša éhubungu (a painful affair); ukudla okumandzi (palatable food); imbudo ewani (a wet blanket, literally); imati emhala-ndle (a dark-red cow with bright-red muzzle and ears) (literally: a wild-cockroach-coloured cow)

(c) Demonstrative Relatives: These have three positions like the demonstrative pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st position</th>
<th>2nd position</th>
<th>3rd position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ngaka</td>
<td>-ngako</td>
<td>-ngakaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nje</td>
<td>-njalo</td>
<td>-njeya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e.g. amadvoza engaka (a man of such age); amakhwanwe anje (such boys).

In the first position -ngaka may nakuyyake the double diminutive suffix. e.g. ounfuana ongakanyana ounu ni ejikini? (What does such a small child want in a beer party?)
The relative and noun stems (naturally excluding numerals) may take the diminutive suffix. e.g. inkuntana socolana (a black bullock with a white abdomen and a white spot on the pelvis); ukudla okuwamandzane (a delicate dish).

The colour attributes may also take the feminine suffix when they qualify nouns signifying female animals. e.g. ithfokati elik alakati (a white-faced heifer); imati ebovukati (a red cow).

(d) Nouns preceded by prefixal formatives. e.g. umfati ono6u6 le (a kind woman); umti ongembvuleni (the village by the river).

(e) Verbs, which are inflected. e.g. umbem ohlanakiphile (a wide-awake young fellow); indvodza eyot/lew (a drunken man).

(f) Copulatives. e.g. umfati ohiqinyemfu (an untidy woman); inkomho ehisilima (a demonised beast).

(g) Adverbs. e.g. umti olea (a far-away village); itinoo etilapha (things that are here).

(3) The Numeral.
There are only three roots that take the numeral concord, viz. -me (other/ of a different kind), -ni (of what kind?), -phi (which?), the last preplacing an initial vowel to the concord.

The table of the numeral concord is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>m/-wu-, m/-wu-, l/-</td>
<td>s/- (yi-) l/-</td>
<td>6/-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a-</td>
<td>w/-yi-, m/-wa-, t/-</td>
<td>t/-</td>
<td>t/-</td>
<td>t/-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mbe is the only root that takes the above forms as they stand, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>-wmba/wumbe</td>
<td>-wmba/wumbe</td>
<td>limbe</td>
<td>-wmba/wumbe</td>
<td>limbe</td>
<td>-wmba/wumbe</td>
<td>limbe</td>
<td>-wmba/wumbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>6mbe</td>
<td>6mbe</td>
<td>timbe</td>
<td>timbe</td>
<td>timbe</td>
<td>timbe</td>
<td>timbe</td>
<td>timbe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mbe may precede or follow a noun. The noun undergoes no inflection if it follows -mbe, but drops the initial vowel if it precedes -mbe. e.g. wumbe umntfu (some other person), limbe uqenduse (some other spleen), tindlu limbe (different huts).

Before -mbe nouns of Class 6 sing. that normally take the contracted prefix w- replace this by the ordinary prefix minus the initial vowel. e.g. lukhuni lumbe (a different piece of wood); luqenduse lumbe (a different spleen).

Examples of the use of -mbe: Wumbe umntfu angacinga njalo (Some other person may think so); Timbe lintfombi ti ayita nana se tendzile (Some maidens remain hysterical even after marriage); Wetisa luqenduse lumbe (He brought a different spleen); Nina manje nboba ntfo yimbe (You are now discussing something different).
-ni? takes no concord in class 1 sing. In classes 2 sing., 3 sing., 4 sing., 5 sing., 2 plur., and 3 plur., -ni? takes the former of the alternative forms shown in the table, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mni?</td>
<td>6ani?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mni?</td>
<td>mini?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lini?</td>
<td>mani?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sini?</td>
<td>tini?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-ni?</td>
<td>-ni?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>luni?</td>
<td>tini?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>guni?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kuni?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ni? always follows the noun it qualifies. The noun may retain or drop the initial vowel. e.g. umafwana mni? (What sex of child?): ndaza tini? (What sort of news?).

Examples of the use of -ni?: Lo afati watala umafwana mni? (What was the sex of the child born of this woman?); Bafike niboba ndaza tini? (What news did they find you discussing?); Hinkomo sili leyo oyifshengile? (What is the sex of the beast you bougth?): Bakupha kudla kuni? (What sort of food did they give you?).

-a phi? takes the concords as shown in the table and to them preplaces a vowel, a-, e- or o- according as the vowel of the subjectiv concord of the noun qualified is a, 1, or u respectively.

The table is therefore as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>omphi? / owuphi?</th>
<th>a6aphi?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>omphi? / owuphi?</td>
<td>emphi? / eyphi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>elphi?</td>
<td>amphi? / ayphi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>elphi?</td>
<td>eyphi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>elphi?</td>
<td>eyphi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>elphi?</td>
<td>eyphi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>elphi?</td>
<td>eyphi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>elphi?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>elphi?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-a phi? stands alone, the noun being understood, precedes a noun, in which case the noun is not inflected, follows a noun, in which case the initial vowel of the noun is dropped.

Chapter VI

The Verb

(1) Kinds of Verbs. The verbs in Basa are divided into two categories, viz.:

(1) Those with primitive stems.
(2) Those with stems derived from (1) and from other parts of speech.

Primitive verb stems generally (a) are dissylabic, (b) begin with a consonant and (c) and in the vowel -a, e.g. tehand: (love), khamba: (go), zina: (defeat), boba: (speak).

But there are some monosyllabic stems, e.g. -pha: (give), -fa: (die), -ea: (dawn), -dla: (eat), mixx: t/ha: (burn), -kha: (draw).

There are also stems which begin with a vowel, which vowel is latent in some cases. e.g. -enta: (do), -akha: (build), -(i)ta: (come), -(i)va: (hear).
There are three whose stems end in a vowel other than -a. These are: -ati (know), -tshi (say), -t/bo (say so).

There are several polysyllabic stems whose final syllable or derivation suggests or shows that they are derived stems whose suffix has become part of the stem. e.g. -elapha (heal), -shulula (divide), dvundvuqala (climb to the summit), 6ophela (bind), khwelela (ride).

In Zulu-Xhosa the two last retain their primitive forms 6opha and khwela, the forms 6ophela and khwelela being applicative.

Derived verb stems are usually polysyllabic. There are three main varieties of these, viz.:

(a) Those derived from other verb stems by affixes (derivative species).

(b) Those derived from nouns and qualitatives. e.g. khalipha (be brave) < w6ukhalisi (sharpeness); bhalipha (shua) < uhloni (bashfulness); limala (be incapacitated) < isilima (deformed person or animal); khulaphala (grow) < -khulu (big)

(c) Ideophonic derivatives. Most of these have -ka as final syllable. e.g. khuphuka (emerge) < khuphu; dzathuka (snap) < dzathu; kwilikijela (throw) < kwilikij; cothfota (walk slowly) < cothfo

(II) Derivative Species. Except for the Xhosa -ana, -aniaa referred to at the end of this section and for differences due to sound-shifting, the derivative species in Saca are identical with those found in Zulu-Xhosa.

(1) The Passive. In general this is formed by inserting -w- before the final vowel of the verb stem. e.g. 6ona (see) > 6onwa; chitha (spend) > chitshwa; beka (lock) > bekwa. This rule is accompanied by the following modifications:

(a) Monosyllabic verbs, vowel verbs with latent initial vowel and disyllabic vowel verbs insert -iw- before the final vowel. e.g. -dla (eat) > dliwa; -t/a (burn) > thiwa; -t/bo > t/biwa; -(t)ta (ocSe) > -(t)1wa; -(t)ri (bear) > ri -iw-; -(t)ka (build) > akha.

(b) Verbs that take the full suffix -ile in the perfect substitute -w- for the l of the suffix. e.g. -galile (have begun) -galiva; -thfukile (have cured) -thfukiva.

Note: The verb 6ulala (kill) whose perfect form is 6ulele follows this rule in the present as well as in the perfect tense. 6ulala (kill) > 6ulawa; 6ulele (have killed) 6ulewe.

(c) Palatalization of bi-labial consonants takes place before -w-.

6 > t/: qhu6a (drive) f qhut/wa; /u6a (finish) /ut/wa
b > j : boba (speak) > bojwa; quba (wallow) > quja
ph > t/h : phepha-(dodge) > phet/hwa; elapha (heal) > elat/hwa
m > ny : e/wama (dodge) > e/wamya; thrama (send) > thrunya
mb > nj : 6amba (hold) > 6anja; tabema (trust) > tahanjwa

(d) A bi-labial in the final syllable of the stem is palatalized even if, as a result of the addition of a suffix, the bi-labial is no longer in the final syllable. e.g. qh6ela (drive
for: qmut/elwa; thrunula (send for) thrunyelwa; bobisa (cause to speak) bojiwa.

(e) Several polysyllabic verbs now used as simple stems are affected by palatalization like the verbs considered under (d). e.g. xabelo (choo) xat/elwa; sumbatho (clench) funjathwa; funuana (bind) funyanwa; gophela (bind) got/elwa.

(8) The Neuter. The commonest suffix is -eka, but a few verbs take -akala. e.g. tshandza (love) tshandzeka; vula (open) vuleka; 6ona (see) 6onakala; -(i)ya (hear) yakala.

(3) The Applicativ. The suffix is -ela. e.g. lima (plough) limela; tambela.

(4) The Causative. The commonest suffix is -isa, but several verbs ending in -la change -la to -ta (Ur-Bantu la). e.g. nyatsa (drink) nyatsiela; dwatla (forage) dwatela; khatshala (be tired) khatsheta; vela (appear) vata.

Note: Ur-Bantu ֶ sometimes exerts influence on the vowel of the preceding syllable, and partial assimilation takes place e.g. dunduvuša (climb to summit) dunduvušeta; fudvumela (be warm) fudvumeta.

(5) The Intensive. The suffix is -imisa. e.g. beka (look) bekisela; eka (ask) ekitela.

(6) The Reciprocal. The suffix is -iana. e.g. kh/ikha (strike) kh/ikhana; qondisa (understand) qondisana.

(7) The Reversive. The suffixes are -ula, -ulula. This species is almost confined to a few verbs ending in -ala, namely vela (close), (e) thvla (carry), endlala (prepare bedding). These form the reversive by substituting -ula for -ala. Thus: vela (close) vula (open); endlala (prepare bedding) endlula. The verb tshela (pour) takes -ula in the reversive: tshela (pour) thulula (pour out).

(Four the change from tsh to th cf. Ch. I, 63, p. 9)

The verb phaka (dish up food) takes -ula in the reversive. phaka (dish up food) phakula (remove dishes after meal).

(8) The Diminutive. This is formed by reduplicating the verb stem. e.g. qina (be strong) qina-qina (be fairly strong); hleka (laugh) hleka-hleka (laugh diffidently).

Mono syllabic verbs insert -yi- between the stem elements. e.g. -na (rain) -nyina (rain slightly).

Polysyllabic stems place the first two syllables of the stem before the stem. e.g. 6onisa (show) 6ona-6onisa (show a little).

Some other aspects of the verbal derivative species

(1) There are some verbs which are now found in the neuter and causative forms only. These have the neuter form in -eka or -uka, and the causative form in -eta, -ula or -usa.

e.g. Neuter
ghekela (be cracked) qheketa (cause to crack)
egphuka (be broken) ephula (cause to break)
nalothruka (be pulled out) nalothula (cause to be pulled)
phendvuka (be turned around) phendvuša (cause to turn about)
godvuša (go home) godvuša (cause to go home)

Causative
(ii) The suffixes -na and -nisa.

(a) Baca has the verb -(i)ma (not to give). This is a transitive verb. The suffix -na makes it intransitive. e.g. Ungemela ni afantu nyama? [Why do you refuse the people meat? You are very stingy!] This reminds one of the Sotho tima (not to give), timana (be stingy). Further research may prove that there are other verbs made intransitive by the suffix -na.

(b) Another remarkable suffix is -nisa. e.g. (e)thfuka (swear) ethfukanisa. One of the speakers (in fact the defendant) involved in a lawsuit at Chief Waane’s inkunda during the Easter Week, 1942, said: “Lo m’ati ukuphuka l’entsaifeni, adw at’odvundvu[dala ngetulu, ethfuka, ethfukanisa”. (This woman climbs up the hill until she reaches the summit, swearing and swearing indiscriminately.)

The form ethfukanisa is not, as would be expected, a combination of the Reciprocal and the Causative Species; that would be ethfukanana (cause to swear at each other). I tried to investigate further on this suffix when the inkunda “rose”, but could get no other instances. All I can say at present is that the suffix -nisa cannot be suffixed to any and every verb.

(b) Though I have given the suffixes as -na, -nisa, they are more probably -ana, -aniaa.

(iii) The Reflexive Affix. The Reflexive Affix is -ti-. e.g. ukuboba (to speak) > ukutibobela (to speak for oneself).

Chapter VII

The Verb (continued)

Conjugation of the Verb

Since this is not a text-book of grammar, it has not been found necessary to give a minute description of the verbal concords. These are not different from those of Zulu-Xhosa. Regarding the moods and tenses, the paradigms have been found sufficient in most cases, and the table of concords is given before each paradigm where necessary.

In this section special attention is drawn to the two distinct forms of the negative conjugation in the indicative and the participial, as well as in the relative construction. The first form in all these cases will be the ordinary negative form found in most Bantu languages, namely, prefixing a negative formative to the subjective concord and substituting a negative suffix for the final vowel of the verb. This is identical with the Zulu-Xhosa form. e.g. ndiya khamba (I go) > andikhambi (I am not going); ndiya boba (I speak) > andibobi (I am not speaking).

In Baca this form is used almost exclusively when the verb has no adjunct or object. In other words, as far as the indicative is concerned, this form corresponds to the long form of the positive.

The second form, whose formation will be described later, is used almost exclusively when the verb has an object or adjunct, the emphasis being on the latter. For interest it may be mentioned here that the second form is found in Mpondo too, although details of this function there have not been investigated thoroughly. Whether Baca has "borrowed" this form from Mpondo or vice versa it is not possible to say until a thorough study of Mpondo has been made.
(a) The Infinitive

Examples: Positive Negative

- ukukhamba (to go) ukungakhambi
- ukwenta (to do) ukungenti
- ukwati (to see know) ukungati
- ukudliwa (to be eaten) ukungadiwa

Sentences: Lo mfo uya kwati ukungaphela indlam (This man knows how to tread the war-dance); Ukungabeki itintro kahle humkhwa omzi (it is a bad habit not to look at things well).

(b) The Imperative. The following are the rules for the formation of the imperative:

(i) Dissyllabic and polysyllabic verbs, whether vowel or consonant verbs, use the simple stem ending in -a as the imperative singular. e.g. khamba (go), oxa (withdraw), esula (wipe), enta (do).

The Bacas of Lugeneni prefix y- to dissyllabic and polysyllabic vowel verb stems. Thus: esula > yesula, enta > yenta.

(ii) Vowel verbs whose initial vowel is latent use the simple stem with the latent vowel "revealed". e.g. (i)ta (come) > ita, (i)ma (stand) > ima, (i)va (hear) > iva.

The Bacas of Lugeneni prefix y- to the "revealed" vowel Thus: (i)ta > yita, (i)ma > yima, (i)va > yiva.

(iii) Monosyllabic verb stems prefix i- to the verb stem. e.g. -dla (eat) > idla, -kha (draw) > ikha, -t/to (say so) > it/to.

The Bacas of Lugeneni prefix yi- to the verb stem. Thus -dla > yidla, -kha > yikha, -t/to > yit/to.

(iv) The imperative plural is formed by suffixing -ni to the singular forms in all cases. e.g. khamba > khambani; esula, yesula > esulani, yesulani; ita, y1ta > itani, y1tani; idla, y1dla > idlani, yidlani.

(v) When preceded by the objectival concord or by the reflexive affix ti, the imperative changes the terminal -a of the stem into -e. e.g. tsamba (seize) > mtsamba, mtsambeni (seize his); idla (eat) > yidla, yideni (eat it); sula (pull) > ti ule, ti uleni (pull yourself/ourselves).

(vi) Baca, like Zulu-Xhosa, has no corresponding negative imperative. To express the negative imperative, the verb stem musa, musani (remove) is used imperatively before the infinitive form of the verb being negated. The k of uku- and the final vowel of musa, musani are elided. e.g. guta (aks ask) > mus'uu6uta; sana gutani > musan'uu6uta; dala (play) > mus'uu6dala; dilani > musan'uu6dala.

(c) The Indicative. The tenses of the indicative are as follows

(1) Primary Tenses: Present (Long & Short), Perfect (Long & Short), Future (Long and Short).

(2) Secondary Tenses: Recent Past Continuous; Remote Past Continuous; Recent Past Perfect; Remote Past Perfect; Recent Past Contemplated; Remote Past Contemplated.

(1) The Present Tense (Long Form). The table of concords is as follows:
The concord of the negative is the same, but has wu- and ka- in the singular of the 2nd and 3rd persons respectively.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndiya khambha (I am going/I go)</td>
<td>andikhambi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uya khambha (you are going/you go)</td>
<td>awukhambhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uya khambha (he is going/he goes)</td>
<td>akakhambdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Present Tense (Short Form)

Before ordinary consonant verbs the concords are the same as those found before the long form; but before vowel verbs the concords are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nd-</th>
<th>w-</th>
<th>'w-</th>
<th>l-</th>
<th>s-</th>
<th>y-</th>
<th>lw-</th>
<th>6-</th>
<th>kw/-k-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>6-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>a/e/o t-</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concord of Class 8 is kw- before vowel verbs beginning in a-, e-, and k- before vowel verbs beginning in o-.

The concord of Class 3 plur. is a- e-, o- before vowel verbs beginning in a-, e-, o- respectively.

As far as the positive conjugation is concerned, Baca does not differ with Zulu-Xhosa. The negative, however, reveals a new feature. It has been found necessary therefore to give the tables separately in order to give full treatment to the negative.

Examples of the Positive (Short Form)

ndikhamba (I go), ndenta (I do), ndondla (I breed)

The Negative of the Present (Short Form)

The negative of the Present Indicative, Short Form, is characterised by the defective verb- -ve*. Whatever its original significance, this verb is now used exclusively to form the negative of certain tenses and moods, and one of these is the Present Indicative, Short Form. This verb is now never apart from some negative formative or other of the verb.

To form the Present Indicative, Short Form, the negative formative a- is prefixed to -ve. In this tense, the negative formative may or may not be followed by the subjectival concord. The main verb follows -ve, and is in the Participial Mood, Present Tense. Since the main verb takes the subjectival concord in the Participial Mood, the concord is optional before -ve. Thus, in the first person, for instance, the form is either aye ndi + main verb or andive ndi + main verb.

* All predicatives following -ve, whether verbal or non-verbal, are always in the Participial Mood.
The forms are therefore as follows:

Sing. Plur.

1st P. a(ndi)ve ndikhamba (I am not going) a(sI)ve sikhamba
2nd P. a(wu)ve ukhamba (you are not going) a(ni)ve nikhamba
3rd P.1 a(ka)ve ekhamba (he is not going) a(6a)ve 6ikhamba
     2. a(wu)ve ukhamba (it is not going) a(yi)ve ikhamba
     3. a(li)ve likhamba (it etc.) a(wa)ve ekhamba
     4. a(si)ve sikhamba (it etc.) a(ti)ve tikhamba
     5. a(yi)ve ikhamba (it etc.) a(ti)ve tikhamba
     6. a(6u)ve lukhamba (it etc.) a(ti)ve tikhamba
     7. a(6u)ve 6ukhamba (it etc.) a(ti)ve tikhamba
     8. a(6u)ve kukhamba (it etc.)

In a simple statement, this form, like the corresponding positive, is employed when the verb is followed by an adjunct in the form of object or adverbial extension. e.g. A(sI)ve 6enytatsa ngokwesiko (They are not drinking according to custom); A(sI)ve si6uta leyo ntfo (We are not asking that); Lo mas6enti a(wu)ve ukhamba kahle (This work is not going on well); Inchaza enkul6 u(yi)ve inyatshe6a kahle (A big pot is not comfortable to drink from).

With or without an adjunct, this form is used to express exclamation. e.g. A(ka)ve eyiyatshe6a indlam! (How bravely he treads the war-dance!); A(ka)ve ekhamba! (What a vagabond he is!)

The Perfect Tense (Long Form)

The concords are the same as those employed in the Present. The table is as follows:

Sing. Plur.

1st P. ndikhambile (I have gone) andikhambanga
2nd P. ukhambile (you have gone) avukhambanga
3rd P.1 ukhambile (he has gone) akakahmbanga
     2 ukhambile (it has gone) avukhambanga
     etc. avukhambanga

The Perfect Tense (Short Form)

The form is always used when the verb has an adjunct. Its negative is also characterised by the defective verb -ve, which is followed by the main verb in the Participial Mood, Perfect Tense, Short Form. -ve employs the subjectival concord in exactly the same way as in the Present.

Sing. Plur.

1st P. ndikhamba ndedzi (I went alone) a(ndi)ve ndikhamba
     ndedzi
2nd P. ukhamba wedzi (you went alone) a(wu)ve ukhamba wedzi
3rd P.1 ukhamba yedzi (he went alone) a(ka)ve ekhamba yedzi
     2 ukhamba wedzi (it went alone) a(wu)ve ukhamba wedzi
     3 likhamba lodzi (it etc.) a(li)ve likhamba lodzi
     etc.
Further examples: A(ndi)ve ndibeke wena (I was not looking at you); A(6a)ve 6efike itolo (It was not yesterday that they arrived); Le mbuuti a(yi)ve wihintelwe wena (It was not in your honour that this goat was slaughtered);

The Long Form may follow -ve when the negative is used in an exclamatory sense. E.g. A(ka)ve ebobile lowo mfo! (How well that man spoke!); A(6a)ve 6ec6ile la6a 6antwana 6akho! (How healthy these your children are!)

The Past Tense (Simple)

The concords are the same as those of the Present, Short Form, as employed before vowel verbs. The negative of the Past Tense is characterised by the defective verb ta. This seems to be the only function of this verb. It is not preceded by any concord, but is followed by the suffixal negative formative -nage; tange is followed by the main verb in the subjunctive mood.

The table is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st P. ndakhamba (I went)</th>
<th>tange ndikhambe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd P. wakhamba (you went)</td>
<td>tange ukhambe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1 wakhamba (he went)</td>
<td>tange akhambe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wathamba (it went)</td>
<td>tange ukhambe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 lakhamba (it etc.)</td>
<td>tange likhambe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Past Tense has only one form in its primary form, and this form is employed whether the verb has an adjunct or not.

(iv) The Future Tense (Immediate).

This is characterised by the verb -ta, to which is prefixed the subjunctive concord as for the Present Tense: -ta is then followed by the simple verb.

The negative is formed in two ways, one the well-known way by negatives -ta as for the present Tense, eliding the final vowel of -ta (which is -i in the negative) followed by the main verb in the Infinitive with -k- elided. E.g.

ndita khamba (I am about to go) andit'uuukhamba

tita khamba (they are about to go) attit'uuukhamba

The positive form above is used whether or not the verb has an adjunct. The corresponding negative is used when the verb has no adjunct. The other form of the negative is characterised by -ve. This verb is preceded by the prefixal negative formative a- with or without the concord after it, in exactly the same way as in the Present, Short Form. aye is then placed before the positive form above, and this changes into the Participial Mood.

The table is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st P. ndita khambanae (I shall go) a(ndi)ve ndita khambanae with you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd P. uta khambanae (you will go) a(wa)ve uta khambanae with him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1 uta khambanae (he will go) a(ka)ve eta khambanae with you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further examples: A(6a)ve 6eta hlintelwa mbuuti (No goat is going to be slaughtered in their honour); Ave ndita boba into endinyati (I shall not say what I do not know); Leli jiki ave lita nyashowa huwe wezi (This beer is not going to be drunk by you alone).

Without an adjunct, this form is used in an exclamatory sense. E.g. Ave 6eta kh/ixh/wa! (What a hiding they are going to get!)

Further examples: A(6a)ve 6eta hlintelwa mbuuti (No goat is going to be slaughtered in their honour); Ave ndita boba into endinyati (I shall not say what I do not know); Leli jiki ave lita nyashowa huwe wezi (This beer is not going to be drunk by you alone).

Without an adjunct, this form is used in an exclamatory sense. E.g. Ave 6eta kh/ixh/wa! (What a hiding they are going to get!)
The Future Tense (Remote)

The Remote future is formed as follows:

(i) Prefix the subjectival concord to -ya as in the Present Indicative, long form, e.g. ndiya. (ii) Let the main verb follow in the Infinitive Form minus the initial vowel of the infinitive e.g. ndiya kukhamba. (iii) Elide the vowel of the subjectival concord if the concord has a consonant, as well as the y of -ya. e.g. adiga nda. (iv) Elide the k- of the infinitive, e.g. kukhamba ukhamba. (v) Insert -w- between -a and u- to avoid hiatus e.g. ndawukhamba. This is the Remote Future, positive.

The negative is formed in two ways. The first, which is used when the verb has no adjunct, is formed by negating -ya in the regular way: e.g. ndiya andiya. Final -i is elided, and y is followed by the infinitive form of the main verb minus initial uk-, e.g. andiyakhamba. The forms are therefore as follows:

**Positive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndawukhamba (I shall go)</td>
<td>ndiya ndawukhamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyawukhamba (you will go)</td>
<td>ndiya uyawukhamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiyawukhamba (they will go)</td>
<td>ndiya tiyawukhamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>andiyakhamba</td>
<td>ndiya andiyakhamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awuyakhamba</td>
<td>ndiya awuyakhamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atitukhamba</td>
<td>ndiya atitukhamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second form of the negative, which is employed when the verb has an adjunct, is characterised by a-ve which is followed by the main verb in the Participle Mood, Future Tense. The forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndawukhamba naye (I shall go with you)</td>
<td>ndiya ndawukhamba naye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyawukhamba naye (you will go with him)</td>
<td>ndiya uyawukhamba naye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyawukhamba naye (he will go with you)</td>
<td>ndiya uyawukhamba naye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Secondary Tenses of the Indicative.

Except for the negative in -ve, the Secondary Tenses do not differ from the Xhosa Secondary Tenses. Since the use of -ve has been made clear in connection with the Primary Tenses, details are no longer necessary. All that will be done therefore is to give the tables, the negative forms in -ve being given below the regular forms.

(v) The Recent Past Continuous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6endikhamba (I was going)</td>
<td>6endingakhambi 6endingeve miikhamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u6ukhamba (you were going)</td>
<td>u6ungakhambi u6ungeve ukhamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6elikhamba (it was going)</td>
<td>6elingakhambi 6elingeve likhamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.
(vi) The Recent Past Perfect
Gendikambile (I had gone)  
Gendikhamba  

U6ukambile (you had gone)  
U6ukhamba  

Selikambile (it had gone)  
Selikhamba  

etc.

(vii) The Recent Past Contemplated
Gendita khamba (I was about to go)  
Genditakhamba  

U6uta khamba (You were about to go)  
U6ungatukhamba  

E6eta khamba (he was about to go)  
E6engatukhamba  

etc.

(viii) The Remote Past Continuous
Ndandikambha (I was going)  
Ndandikhamba  

Wawukhamba (you were going)  
Wawungakhamba  

Wayekhamba (he was going)  
Wayengakhamba  

etc.

(ix) The Remote Past Perfect
Ndandikambile (I had gone)  
Ndandikhamble  

Ndandita khamba (I was about to go)  
Ndanditakhamba  

Wawuta khamba (you were about to go)  
Wawungatukhamba  

Wayeta khamba (he was about to go)  
Wayengatukhamba  

etc.

N.B. It will have been noticed that in all the Secondary Tenses the negative formative before -ve is nga-, whose final -a becomes -e by assimilation.

(d) The Subjunctive. This mood has two tenses, the Present and the Past.

(i) The Present. The Table of the Present Tense is as follows:
ndikhambe (that I may go)  ndingakhambi
ukhambe  (that you may go)  ungakhambi
akhamb (that he may go)  angakhambi
etc.

The Imperative use of the Subjunctive. The Present Subjunctive, with the help of the prefixal formative ma-, is used imperatively in the 1st and 3rd Persons. e.g. ma 6akhambe! (let them go!); ma isuya! (Let it come back!).

If the subjectival concord is that of the 1st Person Plural, two different forms are possible. One is the regular one, like the examples given above, and it signifies "we two". e.g. ma sikhambe! (Let you and me go); ma siyi6ambeni! (Let us two seize it!)

The other is a kind of inclusive plural, such as is found in Sotho, and it signifies "you others and myself". This is formed by sufficing -ni to the "exclusive" form. e.g. ma sikhambeni! (Let you others and myself go!); ma siyi6ambeni! (Let you others and myself seize it!). But in the negative there is only one form. Both ma sikhambe and ma sikhambeni become ma singakhambi (let us, two or more, not go).

(ii) The Past. The Past Subjunctive, positive, is formed in the well-known way found in Zulu-Xhosa. The negative, on the other hand, is formed by inserting -nga- before the verb stem, and changing the final vowel into -i. The table is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>2nd P.</th>
<th>Cl. 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>ndakhambe (I went)</td>
<td>wakhambe (you went)</td>
<td>wakhambe (he went)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>ndangakhambi</td>
<td>wangakhambi</td>
<td>wangakhambi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: Usavo watshi ma ndiye, kodwewe ma ndangyi (My father told me to go, but I did not go); Nadambu, ndangamoni (I look for him (but) did not see him); Inkomo talaleka, nabo ngoba wasuka wangi6ebeki kahle. (The cattle went astray because he did not look after them properly).

This form of the Negative Past Subjunctive is common to several of the Nguni dialects spoken in the Transkei, e.g. Hlu6i, Pondombe and Pondombe, and has often annoyed sad teachers and examiners as "poor Chosa!"

The Participial Mood. This has four tenses, viz.: Present Perfect (Long & Short), Past, Future. Before consonant verbs, the concords are the same as those found in Zulu-Xhosa; before monosyllabic and vowel verbs Xhosa forms are identical with those found in Zulu. That is, the -s- or -si- inserted in Xhosa before the verb-stem is not found in Xhosa. In the Present, the Perfect and the Future, Xhosa has two forms in the negative conjugation, the first being the ordinary one, and the second being the form in -ve. The Past employs the verb -ta in the negative, followed by the negative formative -enge as in the Indicative.

- Found also in Hlu6i and Pondombe
### The Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>ndikamba (I going)</th>
<th>ndingakambhi</th>
<th>ndingeve ndikamba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ukhamba (you going)</td>
<td>ungakambhi</td>
<td>ungeve ukhamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P.</td>
<td>ekhamba (he going)</td>
<td>engakambhi</td>
<td>ungeve ekhamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**etc.**

### The Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>ndikambile (I having gone)</th>
<th>ndingakambanga</th>
<th>ndingeve ndikambile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ukhambile (you having gone)</td>
<td>ungakambanga</td>
<td>ungeve ukhambile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1</td>
<td>ekhambile (he having gone)</td>
<td>engakambanga</td>
<td>ungeve ekhambile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**etc.**

### The Future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>ndita khamba (I, about to go)</th>
<th>ndingatuukambha</th>
<th>ndingeve ndita khamba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>uta khamba (you, about to go)</td>
<td>ungatuukambha</td>
<td>ungeve uta khamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1</td>
<td>eta khamba (he, about to go)</td>
<td>engatuukambha</td>
<td>ungeve eta khamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**etc.**

**Examples:**

- *Sifike a6afati etsa yova ijiyi.* (We arrived when the women were about to strain the beer; *Eta khanyela nje kucedza ni ukumwuta?* (Since he is going to deny what is the use of asking him?); *Nitakambira nje, ndingave niita boba into engelhanga nje* (You labour in vain, since I am not going to say what has not happened). *Undingamilele, ndingeve ndita boba kakhulu* (You have cut me short although I was not going to speak at length).

### The Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>ndakhamba (I was going)</th>
<th>ndingatange ndikambha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ukhamba (you were going)</td>
<td>ungatange ukhambha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1</td>
<td>ekhamba (he was going)</td>
<td>engatange ekhambha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**etc.**

**Examples:**

- *Sifike uyuho-mkholo wafa kudzala* (You arrive long after your grandfather's death); (Lit. you arrive, your grandfather having died long ago). *Sifike tabuna inkomho yahlinwa ngweveki edululile* (We arrived a week after the beast had been slaughtered) (Lit. We arrived, the beast having been slaughtered in the previous week); *Leti ndza6a sitiva kudza's tadzulu* (We learn this news long after it has passed).

### The Potential

There are three tenses of this mood, viz. Present, Recent Past, Remote Past. This tense is characterised by the formative nga- which precedes the verb-stem.
(i) The Present Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>ndingakhamba</td>
<td>I can go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ungakhamba</td>
<td>you can go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>angakhamba</td>
<td>he can go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ungakhamba</td>
<td>it can go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st P. ndingakhambi (I can go)
2nd P. awungakhambi
1 angakhambi
2 awungakhambi

(ii) The Recent Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>gendingakhaba</td>
<td>I could have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>esungakhaba</td>
<td>you &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1</td>
<td>eesungakhaba</td>
<td>he &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>eesungakhaba</td>
<td>it &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st P. gendingakhambi
2nd P. uisingakhambi
Cl. 1 eisingakhambi
2 uisingakhambi

(iii) The Remote Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>ndingakhaba</td>
<td>I could have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>wawungakhaba</td>
<td>you &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1</td>
<td>wayungakhaba</td>
<td>he &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wayungakhaba</td>
<td>it &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st P. ndingakhambi
2nd P. uawungakhambi
Cl. 1 eawungakhambi
2 uawungakhambi

(g) The Contingent. This mood is characterised by the formative age which is prefixed to the subjectival concord. The subjectival concord is the same as that of the Participial Mood, except for certain modifications in recognition of vowel laws. The Contingent Mood has four tenses, viz.: Present, Perfect (Long & Short), Recent Past Perfect, Remote Past Perfect.

(i) The Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>ngendikamba</td>
<td>I should go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ngewukhamba</td>
<td>you should go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1</td>
<td>ngeyekhamba</td>
<td>he &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngeyekhamba</td>
<td>it &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st P. ngendikhambi
2nd P. ngewukhambi
Cl. 1 ngeyengakhambi
2 ngeyengakhambi

(ii) The Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>ngendikhambi</td>
<td>I should have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ngewukhamba</td>
<td>you should have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1</td>
<td>ngeyekhamba</td>
<td>he &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngeyekhamba</td>
<td>it &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st P. ngendikekhambi
2nd P. ngewungakhambi
Cl. 1 ngeyengakhambi
2 ngeyengakhambi

(ii) The Recent Past Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>ngendikhambi</td>
<td>I should have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ngewukhamba</td>
<td>you &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P.</td>
<td>ngeyekhamba</td>
<td>he &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngeyekhamba</td>
<td>it &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st P. ngendikhambi
2nd P. ngewukhambi
3rd P. ngeyekhambi
2 ngeyekhambi

(iii) The Remote Past Perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>ngendikhambi</td>
<td>I should have gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>ngewukhamba</td>
<td>you &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st P. ngendikhambi
2nd P. ngewukhambi


Examples of the use of the Contingent Mood:

Agendikhamba khona manje u6a sendihewe (If I were you I should go now); Agendikhamba naye u6a sendinemali (If I had had money I should have gone with him); u6a sendikhona ngendikhmikhekile (If I had been there I should have given him a hiding); u6a ngendikhona u6a sendenamsha I ngensenge ngenyenawo (If they had horses they should not have come on foot); u6a sendisani ukutshi uyu yifuna ngendenie nayo. (Had I known that you needed it I should have brought it); ngweyeteke kudzala u6a a6eneekomo (If he had cattle he should have been married long ago); u6a umana we a6enephila ngendigenge ndikideli kangaka ha6afana (If my son were still living I should not be concerned so much by young men); u6a yayingeko imitshi yakhe ngweyekele kuleyo a6awo. "Had his herbs not been there he should have died on the spot); u6a sendiyati imbabumu yenu ngendigenge ndikidela kwe (If I knew the cause of your quarrel I should not be asking you).

(b) The Relative Construction. Without any suggestion that the Relative is a mood, but for convenience, I discuss the Relative Construction in this chapter.

It has to be noted that Baka has a relative suffix -ko, corresponding to Zulu-Xhosa -yo, and to Sotho -ng. This suffix is employed in the Present Tense. e.g. Andiyleye no6e oyibobako (I do not hear what you are saying); Wenta into avitshandzakho (He does what he likes).

But -ko is not suffixed in the following circumstances:

(i) When the verb has an adjunct and no objectival concord. That is, when emphasis is laid on an adjunct. e.g. A6afana a6alda ijiiki andifefshandi (I do not like young men who drink beer); u6o otete intrombi enhle! (A man who is engaged to a "fine girl!"

(ii) When the verb has a progressive or exclusive implication. e.g. a6afatu a6asasina (people who still dance); indvonz e6alila (the man who is already preparing to sleep).

(iii) In the negative conjugation, irrespective of adjunct or implication. e.g. a6afatu a6anganyatsh1 (people who do not drink); Huye umbem endingamati (He is the fellow I don't know).

The uses of the various Tenses in the Relative Construction:

(i) k. ekwa...
Simple Implication

umntfu okhambako (the man who is going) umntfu ongakhambi
umntfu okhambako manje (the man who is going now) umntfu ongeve ekhamba man going now

Progressive Implication

a6afatu a6asasanyatsha (women who still drink) a6afatu a6angasanyatshi
a6afatu a6angaseve genyatshe

Note: Owing to the adverbial colouring of -sa-, the negative in -ve is possible in the progressive implication whether the verb has an adjunct or not.

Exclusive Implication
Exclu•tive Implication

umfana one esedenta (a young man who is already working)

Note: The negative in -ve is not used in the exclusive implication of the Present.

(ii) The Perfect

Simple Implication

indvodza elele (the man who is sleeping)

Progressive Implication

indvodza esalele (the man who is still sleeping)

Note the negative in -ve in spite of the absence of an adjunct.

Exclusive Implication

indvodza ese ilele (the man who is already indvodza engekalali um sleeping)

One informant told me that the form engeve se ilele is acceptable even if there is no adjunct.

(iii) The Future

Simple Implication

ašantfu əšata fika (people who are about ašantfu ašangatuu fika to come)

Progressive Implication

ašantfu ašasata fika (people who are still to come)
ašantfu ašasata fika lapha (people who are still to come here) lapha

Note that the negative in -ve is acceptable even if there is no adjunct.

Exclusive Implication

ašantfu ašase əšeta (people who are ašantfu ašangekatuu fika already about to come)

One informant told me that the negative form ašangeve se əšeta fika is acceptable even if there is no adjunct. In an adjunct, of course, the negative in -ve is acceptable. This would be ašangeve se əšeta fika manje (who are not yet about to come now).
**(iv) The Past**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Progression of Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6ekhamba (the man who was going)</td>
<td>umntfu obengaseve ekbamba nawe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6esakamb1e (the man who had gone)</td>
<td>umntfu obengaseve ekbamba nawe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note that the negative in -ve is acceptable in the progressive implication.**

**(vi) The Recent Past Continuous**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Progression of Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umntfu obekhamba (the man who was going)</td>
<td>umntfu obengasekamb1e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6esakamb1e (the man who was still going)</td>
<td>umntfu obengaseve ekbamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exclusive Implication**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Progression of Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6eseyekhamba (the man who was already going)</td>
<td>umntfu obengasekamb1e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6eseyekhamba (the man who was already going with you)</td>
<td>umntfu obengaseve ekbamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(vii) The Recent Past Perfect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Progression of Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6ekhambile (the man who had gone)</td>
<td>umntfu obengasekamb1e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6ekhambile (the man who had not yet gone with you)</td>
<td>umntfu obengaseve ekbamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exclusive Implication**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Progression of Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6eseyekhambile (the man who had already gone)</td>
<td>umntfu obengasekamb1e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umntfu o6eseyekhambile (the man who had not yet gone with you)</td>
<td>umntfu obengaseve ekbamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(viii) The Recent Past Contemplated

Simple Implication

umntfu obeta khamba (the man who was about to go)

umntfu obesata khamba (the man who was about to go with you)

Progressive Implication

umntfu obeseta khamba (the man who was still about to go)

umntfu obesata khamba nawe (the man who was still about to go with you)

Note the absence of the negative in -ve.

Exclusive Implication

umntfu obeseyeta khamba (the man was already about to go)

umntfu obeseyeta khamba nawe (the man who was already about to go with you)

(viii) The Remote Past Continuous

Simple Implication

umntfu owayekhamba (the man who was going)

umntfu owayekhamba nawe (the man who was going with you)

Progressive Implication

umntfu owayesakhamba (the man who was still going)

umntfu owayesakhamba nawe (the man who was still going with you)

Exclusive Implication

umntfu owayeseyekhamba (the man who was already going)

umntfu owayeseyekhamba nawe (the man who was already going with you)

(ix) The Remote Past Perfect

Simple Implication

umntfu owayekhambile (the man who had gone)

umntfu owayekhambile nawe (the man who had gone with you)
Progressive implication

umntfu owayesakhambile
(the man who was still away)

umntfu owayesakhambile nawe
(the man who was still away with you)

Exclusive Implication

umntfu owayeseyekhambile
(the man who had already gone)

umntfu owayeseyekhambile nawe
(the man who had already gone with you)

(a) The Remote Past Contemplated

Simple Implication

umntfu owayeta khamba
(the man who was about to go)

umntfu owayeta khamba nawe
(the man who was about to go with you)

Progressive Implication

umntfu owayesakhamba
(the man who was still going)

umntfu owayesakhamba nawe
(the man who was going with you)

Note the absence of the negative in -ve.

Exclusive implication

umntfu owayeseyekhamba
(the man who was already going)

umntfu owayeseyekhamba nawe
(the man who was already going with you)

As far as the classification of the use of the Relative Construction is concerned, Baca has nothing new to reveal. Illustrative examples of the divisions will therefore suffice.

(i) Substantive qualified as subject of the relative predicate: Hmtntfu okhulele kulonina a kalungi (A person who is brought up by his mother's people never does well); Hini le engene l'endlini? (What is this that has entered the hut?); Naali iha! elingakwelwa humntfu (Here is a horse that can be ridden by a fellow).

(ii) Substantive qualified as object of the relative predicate in effect: Hinkanyana endandiyati (She is a girl I used to know); A6anttu endingakwondzi kahle hala6o u6at/hoko (The people whom I do not understand well are those you mean); Kwakuhumbem endimatiko (It was a fellow I knew).
(iii) Substantive qualified brought into possessive relationship with the relative predicate: 
Adisene idlanga elimaphiko | madze lindings eti kwam (I saw a vulture whose wings were long flying above me); Safika eligzeni elimafakhi mikhulu (We came to a forest whose trees were big); U nkosi cha / lihlati /we ngubu? (Who is the chief whose horse has been stabbed?).

(iv) Substantive brought into copulative relationship with the relative predicate: Nasani inyanga endelat/hwe hiyo (Here is the doctor by whom I was healed); Umfati afa / ut /we huye humokololama (The woman by whom they have been finished i.e. bewitched is the daughter-in-law); Hlalo iqhiba esancedzwa hilo (That is the plan by which we were made successful).

(v) Substantive brought into adverbial relationship with the relative predicate: Naka
Locative: Tha /i endikwa sele kwilo lifwe (The horse on which I am riding is brown)
Instrumental: Umkhondo swabhat / wa ngawo uNophayi kwakuhokwabhe (The spear with which Nophayi was stabbed was his own)
Conjunctive: Lindlaba afiko nato tshhlangu (The news he has brought is sore, lit. with which he has come)
Manner-comparison: wanting.
Positional: Ilivi endime eti kwalo hileli (My contention is this, lit. The word on which I am standing is this).

Chapter VIII
The verb (continued)
Deficient Verbs
The majority of the deficient verbs in Baca are followed either by the Subjunctive or by the Participial Mood, but a few are followed by the Infinitive.

(1) Deficient Verbs followed by the Subjunctive:

-ka, -ke: The form -ka is used persuasively to indicate "if you please", "just this once", "for the time being". e.g. Ka undit /koni inyani (Just tell me the truth); Ka uyibambe; ndiyeza (hold it for the time being; I am coming).

The form -ke is used in direct statements or questions to indicate "happening at some time or other". e.g. Nkile ndizqene laso efa /ati (I sometimes see those women); sake guta / no na ukutshi ngena? (Did they at any time ask you to come in?).

-dze: indicating "to happen at last". e.g. Kwadze kwadzona umkhondo wekambi (At last the track of an ox was discovered); Uvelendlamini madze watoka? (Did Velendlamini get married at last?).

* t/ena (inform) corresponds to Zulu t/ela.
-t/het/ha: indicating "happening sooner than expected, or prematurely". e.g. Inwele sti60phwa ngeqwa tit/het/ha tiquatsheke (Hair that is dressed with brown clay falls prematurely); Leto ntombi tenu tit/a heth/ha tendze niselapha eGoli (Those girls of yours will quickly get married while you are still here in the mines).

-suye: indicating "to happen again", "to happen subsequently", or "later". e.g. "Ushi ma ndluye ndinyatshe" (He invites me to have another drink); Sita suye sityhlahule leyo nton (We shall make compensation for that later on).

-fane: indicating "to happen at random, or in vain". e.g. junkane ubobe (Do not speak at random); Ifane yahlintwa le mbuti (This goat has been slaughtered in vain).

-suke: "to happen unexpectedly", "to do unwisely". e.g. Yasuke yafa leyo nkomo ingekatali (That cow unexpectedly died before it had had any young); Yasuke u6alekane na6antefu 6ed6ala (You unwisely avoid the senior people).

-hle: "to happen to do, or to happen". e.g. Aqaphale afoke namlhi; nje ntsebhama (He may arrive this afternoon, very likely); Singaphle sikukh/ikh/e tabhisile namlhi; nje! He may happen to give you a hiding while you are still laughing!)

The verb -hle is always in the Potential Mood.

(2) Deficient Verbs followed by the Participial Mood:

-loko: indicating "to do or happen continually, or often". e.g. "Uloko cukala hisifuda (He often suffers from a sore chest); Nliko nillokotlkwab a6ehleka nje! (Why do you continually cast your eyes this way?)

-mame: indicating "happening or doing at intervals". e.g. "Endamene eyikh/ikh/e stethangeni aqoswati (He at intervals gave it a whack on the thigh with a switch); Mame ubeka imbuuti leto ndidze ndisuye (Now and again cast an eye on the goats until I return).

-phetsha: indicating "to happen or do finally". e.g. Lo mbem ndita phetsha adilkh/ikh/le (I shall hit this fellow at last); Na ungalo6oli nje, le ntombi iyamaphetsha icacqise he6anye aqebem (If you do not lobela this girl will finally be abducted by other fellows).

Note that -phetsha is always followed by the Perfect Tense, when used as a deficient verb.

-as: indicating "to happen or do overnight", lit. "dawn". e.g. Intombi kwase icat/hile (The girl absconded overnight) lit. It dawned the girl having absconded); Na kuaa u6ha la6ha lika6a? (If you die here overnight who will be responsible?)

Note that as a deficient verb -as is always followed by the Perfect Tense.

(3) Deficient Verbs followed by the Infinitive:

-vama: indicating "to happen or do as a rule". e.g. Akayami kukhwelec (He does not usually ride); Abafati xavama ukumemana na 6e6ova iijiki. (As a rule women invite one another when they strain beer).

Note (1) the elision of the initial vowel of the infinitive in
absolute negation, kukhwelela instead of ukukhwelela. (11)
The regular negative is used interchangeably with the nega-
tive in -ve in certain deficient verbs. The rule, however, is
not clear, for certain deficient verbs never take -ve.

-tshandisa: indicating "to partake somewhat or a certain action
or state". e.g. Litshandisa ukuna-yina (It is raining somewhat);
Le silwana sitshandisa ukuba mhlope, kodwa asi/asi (This
animal partakes somewhat of whiteness, but is not quite white;
lit. but does not finish "whiteness").

In conclusion reference may be made to those defective
verbs which are used "deficiently" exclusively in the negative
conjugation. Besides -ve and -ta, which have already been met
with in the chapter on conjugation, there is one indicating
"never". It is often used in reference to future time, and is
often employed instead of the regular future Tense in emphatic
negation. e.g. sote nditkhamba! (Go! Never!)

Probably the verb-stem is -te, or the same -ta that is
used in the negative of the Past Indicative. Some of the
other Nguni dialects in the Transkei e.g. Xhosa, have the
forms soza, andisoze (linked te) and soze, antisoze (remote),
and literary Xhosa has the form sayi kusa. The Form soze
would therefore seem to be an extreme case of elision.

sa(yi) kusa > sauze > soze (a + u > o). The corresponding
Besi form would then, of course, be sote.

Chapter IX

The Copulative

(1) Copulatives from nouns. The rules for the formation of
impersonal copulatives are as follows:

(1) Nouns of all classes, that take the full prefix of their
class, preplace h- to the noun-prefix. Thus: umfati (woman) >
humfati; saafati (women) > haafati; umtshi (tree) >
huntshi; imitshi (treea) > himitshi; ilive (country) >
hilive; amave (countries) > hamave; isilima (cripple) >
hisilima; itilima (cripples) > hitilima; inja (dog) > hinja;
je inja (dogs) > hitinja; ulutshi (rod) > hulutshi;
itintsi (rods) > hitintsi; usuhla (beads) > nsuhlabula;
ukudla (food) > nukudla.

(2) Nouns of Class 3 sing. and Nouns of Class 6 sing. that take the contracted prefix i- and
nouns of Class 6 sing. that take the contracted prefix u-
preplace i- with h-. Thus ia/i (horse) > xha/i; igookwe
(chicken) > ligoookwe; ukhuni (firewood) > luhkuni; uhlaka
(doors) > nhlaka.

(3) Nouns of Class 5 plur. and Class 6 plur. that take the con-
traced prefix i/N, preplace t- to the prefix. Thus:
inkomo (catle) > tiinkomo; intfombi (maiden) > tiintfombi;
inkuni (firewood) > tiinkuni; uhlaka (doors) > nhlaka.

Examples of the use of Copulatives "from" nouns: Thabisike
wasulwa hasaThembu (Thabisike was slain by the Thembus); Le
nkomo hisilima (This beast is a cripple); Ukuila nita kuphiva
boonyoko (You are going to be fed by your mothers); Gcelfelele
liihli (They delayed in a beer-drink).

The rule "for the formation of the negative is as follows:
To the positive form prefix ku-, and let this be preceded by ave.
Thus: umfati ave kuhumfati (it is not a woman);
himitshi ave kuhimitshi (it is not trees);
lukhuni ave kulukhuni (it is not firewood)
Personal Copulatives are formed from nouns by prefixing, to the impersonal copulative forms, the subjectival concord of the noun implied by the concord. Thus: humfati, uhumfati (she is a woman); haafaSafi, sehaafafati (they are women); hisilima, ihisilima (it is a cripple); tihitilima, atiVetve tihitilima (they are cripples).

The negative is formed by prepacing a-ve, with or without the concord of the noun implied by the concord, to the personal positive form in the Participial mood. Thus: uhumfati, a(ka)ve humfati (she is not a woman); sehaafafati, a(yi)ve sehaafafati (they are not women); hisilima, a(yi)ve hisilima (it is not a cripple); tihitilima, atiVetve tihitilima (they are not cripples).

The recent and remote past forms of the impersonal copulative are formed by prefixing 6ekuu, kwaku respectively to the impersonal positive forms. Thus: humfati, 6ekuhumfati (it was a woman); kwakuhumfati; hitinja, 6ekuhitinja (it was a chief);

The personal is formed by prefixing the subjectival concord of the noun implied by the concord to the auxiliaries -6e, -ye according to tense. This is then prefixed to the simple impersonal forms. Thus: hinkosi, 6ehinkosi (he was a chief); wayehinkosi.

The impersonal negative recent and remote past are formed by prepacing 6e-ve, kwak-ve respectively to -ngeve. This is followed by ku- plus the simple impersonal form. Thus: 6ekuhumfati, 6ekungeve kuhaafati (it was not a woman); kwakuhumfati, kwakungeve kubaafati (it was not women); 6ekuhitinja, 6ekungeve kuhitinja (it was not dogs); kwakuhitinja, kwakungeve kuhitinja (it was not dogs); 6ekulhuni, 6ekungeve kulhuni (it was not firewood).

The negative is formed by prepacing a-ve without any concord, to the positive form. e.g. kukemtini, ave kukemtini (it is not at the village); kuhaka, ave kuhaka (it is not home); kukuMbono, ave kukuMbono (it is not Mbono); kukaMsali, ave kukaMsali (it is not Msali's place).

The Recent and remote past, positive, are formed by preplacing 6e-, kw- respectively to the positive. Thus: kukeemtini, 6ekukeemtini (it was at the village)

kukuMbono, 6ekukuMbono (it was Mbono)

kukuMsali, 6ekukuMsali (it was Msali's place)

Impersonal copulatives are formed from nouns in the locative form by prefixing ku- to the locative. To avoid hiatus -k- is inserted between the subjectival concord ku- and initial e- of the locative. Thus: entini (at the village); kukeemtini (it is at the village); ekhaya (at home); kuhaka (it is home); kukuMbono (at Mbono); kukuMsali (at Msali); kickatini, 6ekickatini (it was at the village)

kukuMsali, 6ekukuMsali (it was Msali's place).
The Recent and Remote Past, negative, are formed by
preplacing 6eku- kwaku- respectively to -ngeve, and letting
this precede the Present, positive. Thus:

Gekukemtini > Gekungeve kukemtini (it was not at the village)
kwakukemtini > kwakungeve kukemtini

Gekukekhaya > Gekungeve kukekhaya (it was not home)
kwakukekhaya > kwakungeve kukekhaya

Gekukwibonda > Gekungeve kuku-bonda (it was not Ubonda)
kwakuku-bonda > kwakungeve kuku-bonda

GekukwaMsali > Gekungeve kukwaMsali (it was not Msali's place)
kwakukwaMsali > kwakungeve kukwaMsali

Personal copulatives are formed from nouns in the loca-
tive form by prefixing the subjectival concord to the noun
in the locative form, the concord being that of the noun
implied. To avoid hiatus, -k- is inserted between the sub-
jectival concord and initial e- of the locative. Thus:

emtini > ndikemtini (I am in the village).
ekha a > 'ukekhaya (he is at home)
emfuleni > tikemfuleni (they are on the riverside)
kukwibonda > nikukwibonda (you are at Ubonda).
kwakwaMsali > gekwaMsali (they are at Msali's).

The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve, with or without
the concord of the noun implied, to the positive form. Thus:

ndikemtini > a(ndi)ve ndikemtini (I am not in the village)
'ukekhaya > a(ka)ve ekkekaya (he is not at home)
nikukwibonda > a(a)ve nikukwibonda (you are not at Ubonda).
GekwaMsali > a(6a)ve gekwaMsali (they are not at Msali's).

The Recent and Remote Past, positive, are formed by the
use of the auxiliaries -6e, -ye respectively with the concords
of the noun implied. This is prefixed to the personal positive
form. Thus:

ndikemtini > Gendikemtini (I was in the village
nda(ye)ndikemtini

Gakekhaya > Gekakekhaya (they were at home
Gakakekhaya

Tikemfuleni > Getikemfuleni (they were at the riverside
Ta(ye)tikemfuleni

The Recent and Remote Past, negative, are formed by the
use of the auxiliaries 6e, ye respectively with the concord
of the noun implied. This is preplaced to Ɲ-ngeve, which is
followed by the positive form. Thus:

Gendikemtini > Gendengeve ndikemtini (I was not at in the
village)

Getikemkhaya > Getingeve tikemkhaya (they were not at home)
GakwakwaMsali > a(ye)Gengengeve GekwaMsali (they were not at
Msali's)

(Ib) Copulatives from Nouns in the Possessive Form. Here we
find only the impersonal* form. It is formed by prefixing h- to
the noun 'in the possessive form. Thus

elika6awo (my father's) > helika6awo (it is my father's)
a6womntwana (the child's) > hawomntwana (it is the child's)
o6ukaMsali (Msali's) > ho6ukaMsali (it is Msali's)

* Personal copulatives are possible in the 1st & 2nd persons,
sing. e.g. ndikowa Mchisana (I am Mchisana's); uhoka6a?
(Whose are you?)
The negative is formed exactly like the negative of the impersonal form with nouns in their simple form. In the possessive form, however, -ve is never preceded by the subjectival concord. E.g. helikašawo > ave kuhelikašawo (it is not my father's); hawenkosi > ave kuhawenkosi (they are not the chief's). The Past Tenses are also formed quite regularly like those of the simple form. Examples

Gekuhelikašawo (it was my father's) > gekungeve kuhelikašawo  
Gekuhawenkosi (they were the chief's) > gekungeve kuhawenkosi  
Kwakuhelikašawo (it was my father's) > kwakungeve kuhelikašawo  
Kwakuhawenkosi (they were the chief's) > kwakungeve kuhawenkosi

(II) Copulatives from Pronouns

(a) From Absolute Pronouns. The rule for the formation is as follows: To the Absolute Pronoun minus the suffix -na, prefix h- followed by a vowel as follows:

(i) in the 1st person singular, u
(ii). in all other cases the vowel of the subjectival concord (Present Indicative) of the class of the noun implied by the pronoun.

The forms are therefore as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hum</td>
<td>hitashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwe</td>
<td>hini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huye</td>
<td>hafó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huyo</td>
<td>hiyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilo</td>
<td>hawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiso</td>
<td>hito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hio</td>
<td>hito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulo</td>
<td>hito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hudo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huko</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal copulatives may be formed by prefixing the subjectival concord of the 1st and 2nd persons and class 1 sing. and plnr. to the above forms. e.g. ndihuye (I am he), sihafó (we are they), shito (they are they). The formation of the negative is now so clear that illustrative tables will be sufficient.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ave kuhum</td>
<td>ave kuhitashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ave kuhwe</td>
<td>ave kuhini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ave kuhuye</td>
<td>ave kuhfó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ave kuhwo</td>
<td>ave kuhiyó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emphatic pronominal copulatives are formed by prefixing h- to the emphatic pronoun. Thus: oyena > hoyena, elona > helona, obona > hobona.

The negative is formed in the same way as that of the Simple Absolute. Thus: hoyena > ave kuhoyena helona > ave kuhelona; hobona > ave kuhobona. The Past Tenses are quit plain and need not be explained.

Examples: Ñekuhum (it was I)  
Kwakuhitishi (it was we)  
Gekuhesona (it was the very one)  
Kwakuhesona do.

Gekungeve kuhum  
Kwakungeve kuhitishi  
Gekungeve kunesona  
Kwakungeve kuheyona
(b) **Formation of Copulatives from Demonstrative Pronouns**

The rule for the formation is as follows: To the full demonstrative, prefix a syllable with h- as initial phone. The vowel following h- is the same as the vowel of the subjectival concord (Present Indicative) of the class of the noun implied by the pronoun. The table is therefore as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl.</th>
<th>1st Position</th>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. s.</td>
<td>hulo</td>
<td>hulowo</td>
<td>hulowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>halala</td>
<td>halawo</td>
<td>halawo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. i.</td>
<td>hilo</td>
<td>hileyo</td>
<td>hileya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>hileli</td>
<td>hileto</td>
<td>hiletya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. i.</td>
<td>hile</td>
<td>hale</td>
<td>halawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>hale</td>
<td>haleo</td>
<td>haleiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. s.</td>
<td>hileli</td>
<td>hileto</td>
<td>hiletya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>hile</td>
<td>hileto</td>
<td>hiletiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. i.</td>
<td>hile</td>
<td>hileyo</td>
<td>hileya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>hileli</td>
<td>hileto</td>
<td>hiletiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. i.</td>
<td>hile</td>
<td>hileto</td>
<td>hiletiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>hileli</td>
<td>hileto</td>
<td>hiletiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>hulolo</td>
<td>hulolo</td>
<td>hulolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>hulolu</td>
<td>hulolo</td>
<td>hulolo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation of the negative is clear.

Examples: Ave kuhile ndvodza (it is not this man); Ave kuhala6aya ganf'um (It is not yonder people); Ave kuhileto tinta; (it is not those rods).

(c) **Formation of Copulatives from Possessive Pronouns**

These are formed by prefixing h- to the pronoun in the possessive form. Thus: elam > helam; elethfu > helethfu owakho > howakho; owenu > howenu.

Negative: ave kuhelam (it is not mine); ave kuhelethfu (it is not ours); ave tuhowakho (it is not yours); ave kwakungowamu (it is not yours).

Past Tenses

GXI 6ekuhelam (it was mine) 6ekungeve kuhelam 6ekuhelethfu (it was ours) 6ekungeve kuhelethfu kwakukwakho (it was yours) kwakungeve kuhowakho kwakungowamu (it was yours) kwakungeve kuhowenu

(d) **Formation of Copulatives from Numerative Pronouns.**

In the positive Basa does not differ with Zulu-Xhosa. But in the negative Basa employs a-ve with or without the subjectival concord. Examples:

**Present**

| sisonke (we are all there) | a(s)i've sisonke |
| iyonke (it is all there) | a(y)i've iyonke |
| ndindodzi (I am alone) | a(nd)i've ndindodzi |
| lilodi (it is alone) | a(li)'ve lilodi |
| titombini (both are together) | a(ti)'ve titombini |
| awomahlanu (all five are together) | a(we)'ve awomahlanu |
Immediate Past

6esisonke (we were all there) 6esingeve sisonke
16iyonke (it was all there) 16ingeye iyonke
6endindodzi (I was alone) 6endindogeye ndindodzi
6elilodzi (it was a one) 6elingeve lilodzi
6661ombini (both were together) 6etingeve titombini
6ewomahlanu (all five were together) 6engeve ewomahlanu

Remote Past

6esisonke (we were all together) 6esingeve sisonke
ndandindodzi (I was alone) ndendingeve ndindodzi
tatitombini (both were together) tatingeve titombini
ayewomahlanu (all five were together) ayengeve ewomahlanu

(III) Formation of Copulatives from Adjectives and Relatives

These do not differ from those of Zulu-Xhosa. The only difference is again in the negative. A few illustrative examples will therefore suffice.

mkhulu (he is big) a(ka)ve emkhulu
inhle (it is fine) a(yi)ve inhle
matshathu (there are three of them) a(we)ve ematshathu
u6ovu (he is red) a(ka)ve a6ovu
i6uhlungu (it is sore) a(yi)ve i6uhlungu
amanti (they are wet) a(we)ve amanti
amashini (there were two) a(we)ve emashini
tatimandzi (they were nice) tatingeve titimandzi.

(IV) Formation of Copulatives from Numerals. Of the three numerals -phi?,-ni? and -mbe only the first has complete copulative forms. These are formed by prefixing h- to the numeral concord. Thus: omuphi? omuphile
homphi? homphile (which one is he?); amaphile? amaphile? (which ones are they)?

Copulatives may be formed from -ni? when the preceding concord implies a noun of Class 1 sing. or Class 3 plur. or Class 5 sing. This is done by prefixing h- to the concord. In Class 5 sing. h- is prefixed to -ni? Thus: umni? > humni? (of which tribe is he?); amani? hamanani? (what tribe are they?): -ni? hini? (what is it)?

The other classes do not permit o" copulatives. If a copulative has to be formed, the noun is made copulative, and -ni? is used as a qualifier. e.g. hamanani? Gani? (what people are they?); humshi umni? (what wood is it?).

-mbe too can only function as qualitative. e.g. hamasini wambe (they are different lands); hambuso sumbe (it is a different face).

Naturally there can be no negative forms of numeral copulatives.

The Immediate and Remote Past are formed by preplacing 6eku-, kwak- to forms of the Present. e.g. 6ekuhelaphi? (which one was it?); kwakuhamani? (what tribe were they?); Personal copulatives may be formed by prefixing the subjectival concord of the noun implied to the impersonal forms. e.g. humni? uhumi? (to what tribe do you belong?); houphili? houphili? (which one are you?)
(V) Formation of Copulatives from Adverbs. Impersonal copulatives may be formed from certain adverbs by prefixing ku- to the adverbial form. Thus: apha> kulapha (it is here); ku;/fi/hane, kukurí/hane (it is near).

Adverbs commencing in e- insert -k- after ku-. e.g. etulu> kuku.tulu (it is on the top); a/udzeni> kuku.kudzeni (it is far). The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve without the subjectival concord. Thus: apha> ave kulapha (it is not here), kuku.tulu> ave kuku.tulu (it is not on the top).

Past Tenses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copulative</th>
<th>1st Position</th>
<th>2nd Position</th>
<th>3rd Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gekulapha (it was here)</td>
<td>Gekungeve kulapha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gekukurí/hane (it was near)</td>
<td>Gekungeve kuku.kurí/hane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gekuku.kudzeni (it was far away)</td>
<td>Gekungeve kuku.kudzeni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwakuku.tulu (it was on the top)</td>
<td>Kwakungeve kuku.tulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal copulatives may be formed by prefixing the subjectival concord of the noun implied to the adverbial form. e.g. ndilapha (I am here), gekurí/hane (they are near); setikuku.tulu (they were at the top); wayekuku.dzeni (he was far away).

The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve, with or without the subjectival concord, to the positive forms. e.g. a(ndi)ve ndilapha (I am not here); a(6e)ve gekulapha (they are not at the top).

Past Tenses:

Setikuku.tulu (they were at the top) Getiengyeve tikuku.tulu wayekuku.dzeni (he was far away) wayengeve ekuku.dzeni

(Vi) Locative Demonstrative Copulatives

1st position | 2nd position | 3rd position
---|---|---
Ol.1 S. nangu | nango | nanguya
P. naña | naingo | našuya
2 S. nangu | nando | nandiyá
P. nandi | nalo | aš naliyá
3 S. nali | nanko | nankaya
P. nanka | nasi | nasiyá
4 S. nasi | nato | natiyá
P. nati | nando | nandiya
5 S. nandi | nato | natiya
P. nanti | nalo | natiyá
6 S. nalú | našo | našuya
P. nati | nako | našuya
7 S. nañá | nako | nako
P. nako | nako | nako
8 S. naku | nako | nako

(VI) Formation of Copulatives from Conjunctions. Copulatives are formed from conjunctions by prefixing the subjectival concord ku- to the conjunction. e.g. Nkungha lo mpati elidíkasi kumuhela na? (Is it because this woman is a mere concubine?) Nko, wa na kumula uma wa Nko. (My voice is when darkness begins); Letto me ngasesiphamandla ku kutu shi ndhuba aše ebhobet. (What I object to is that he should speak while I am speaking); Kwazulu kulekho saqhashaka khome (Zululand is where we came from); Kukhona kusengwako lapha? (Is it only now that you are walking here?)

The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve without a concord to the positive form. e.g. Ave kungoba elidíkasi (It is not because she is a concubine); Ave kukhona kusengwako (It is not only now that we are walking).
(VII) The Copulative use of the Conjunctive Formative as to signify possession, and existence.

Personal copulatives are formed by replacing the conjunctive formative na- to a noun, and prefixing the subjective concord of the noun signifying the possessor. This signifies possession, the possessee being indicated by the noun to which na- is replaced. e.g. ndisemali (I have money): unamandla (he is strong).

The negative of the above would be andisemali, akanamandla respectively if the copulative predicative had no adjunct. If, however, there were adjuncts, the negative would be a(ndi)ve ndisemali, a(ka)ve onamandla.

Impersonal copulatives are formed by prefixing ku- to na-X noun, to signify "there is". e.g. kumuemali lepha (there is money here); kunešantu ašanyhenti (there are many people).

The negative is formed by replacing a-ve, without any concord, to the positive form. e.g. Ave kumuemali lepha (There is no money here); Ave kunešantu ašanyhenti (There are not many people).

If the copulative predicative has no adjunct, the initial vowel of the noun following na- is elided in the impersonal negative, and a-ve is not employed, e.g. akunešantu (there are no people); akumalali (there is no money).

Chapter X
The Copulative (continued)

The copulative verb -6a. So far we have been discussing non-verbal copulatives. We now come to the verb -6a (be) which in Basa, as in other Bantu languages, is used in conjunction with the non-verbal copulatives.

Conjugation of the verb -6a

Infinitive

ukunza (to be)

ukungasi

Imperative

Sing. (y)i6(a) (be)

Plur. (y)i6eni

Mus’um6a

Mus’n’um6a

Present Indicative

1st P. ndi6a (I am/become)

2nd P. u6a (you are/become)

Cl. I. ‘u6e (is/"")

e tc.

andisi/a(n)di)ve ndi6a

awa61/a(wo)ve u6a

aka6i/a(ka)ve e6a

e tc.

Perfect Indicative

1st P. ndi6e (I was/become)

2nd P. u6e (you were/become)

Cl. I ‘u6e (he was/become)

e tc.

andilanga/a(n)di)ve ndi6e

awu6anga/a(wo)ve u6e

aka6anga/a(ka)ve e6e

e tc.
Past Indicative
1st P. nda6a (I was/became) tange ndi6a
2nd P. wa6a (you were/became) tange u6a
Cl. 1 'wa6a (he was/became) tange a6a
etc.

Immediate Future Indicative
1st P. ndita 6a (I am about to be) a(mdi)ve ndita 6a
2nd P. uva 6a (you are) a(wu)ve uva 6a
Cl. 1 'uva 6a (he is) a(ku)ve eta 6a
etc.

Remote Future Indicative
1st P. ndawu6a (I shall be) a(mdi)ve ndawu6a
2nd P. uya wu6a (you will be) a(wu)ve uya wu6a
Cl. 1 'uya wu6a (he will be) a(ku)ve eya wu6a

Recent Past Continuous Indicative
1st P. gendi6a (I habitually was/became) gendiingeve ndi6a
2nd P. uwu6a (you " were" ) uwuingeve u6a
Cl. 1 'wu6a (he " was" ) 'wuingeve e6a
etc.

Recent Past Contemplated Indicative
1st P. gendiyya wu6a (I should have been/become) gendiingeve ndiyya wu6a
2nd P. ugu6ya wu6a (you would ) " uguingeve u6ya wu6a
3rd P. e6eya wu6a (he ) " e6ingeve eya wu6a
etc.

Remote Past Continuous Indicative
1st P. adami6a (I habitually was/became) adamiingeve ndi6a
2nd P. awu6a (you " were" ) awuingeve u6a
Cl. 1 'aw6a (he " was" ) 'awingeve e6a
etc.

Remote Past Contemplated Indicative
1st P. adamiyya wu6a (I should have been/become) adamiingeve ndiyya wu6a
2nd P. a6u6ya wu6a (you would ) " a6uingeve u6ya wu6a
Cl. 1 'aweya wu6a (he would have been/become) 'awingeve e6ya wu6a
etc.

Present Subjunctive
1st P. ndi6a (that I may be/become) ndianga6i
2nd P. u6a (you ) " unanga6i
Cl. 1 a6a (he ) " anganga6i
etc.

Past Subjunctive
1st P. nda6a (and I became) ndangadi
2nd P. wa6a (and you ) " wangadi
Cl. 1 'wa6a (and he ) " 'wangadi
etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>Form 3</th>
<th>etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Participial</td>
<td>ndiga6i</td>
<td>unga6i</td>
<td>enga6i</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Participial</td>
<td>ndinga6anga</td>
<td>unga6anga</td>
<td>enga6anga</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Participial</td>
<td>ndingatange ndiga6e</td>
<td>unga6e uga6e</td>
<td>enga6a etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Participial</td>
<td>ndingave ndita 6a</td>
<td>ungeve uga6a</td>
<td>engave etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Potential</td>
<td>andinga6i</td>
<td>unga6i</td>
<td>enga6i</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Past Potential</td>
<td>cendinga6i</td>
<td>unga6i</td>
<td>enga6i</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past Potential</td>
<td>ndandinga6i</td>
<td>unga6i</td>
<td>enga6i</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Contingent</td>
<td>agendinga6i</td>
<td>ngewanga6i</td>
<td>ngeyeng6a</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Perfect Contingent

1st P. agendisa (I should have been/become) agendingasanga
2nd P. negwansia (you) " ngewangaensanga
Cl. 1 negyebsa (he) " ngyebsaensanga
e.tc.

Recent Past Perfect Contingent

1st P. agendisa (I should have been/become) agendingasanga
2nd and 3 person same as for Simple perfect above.

Remote Past Indefinite Contingent

1st P. agendisa (I should have been/become) agendingasanga
2nd P. age,waDsa (you) " ngewangaensanga
Cl. 1 age,waDsa (he) " ngyebsaensanga
e.ta.

Remote Past Perfect Contingent

1st P. agenda’sa (I should have been/become) agendingatanga
2nd P. negwawwa (you) " ngewangatanga uye
Cl. 1 negwayabes (he) " ngyebyengatanga ase
e.ta.

Illustrative examples of the use of the copulative verb -sa.

Na adikwempondweni ndlisa hinkosi
(When I am in Pondoland I become chief; lit. I am greatly re-
spected.)

Ave nita 6a humkhosi kuleli live!
(‘You are not going to be rulers of this land!’)

Ndita 6a hisisaka kudse kulele nini?
(How long am I going to be servant?)

Wayata 6a hinkosi na kufe upsi
(He was going to be ruler after his fther’s death)

Na sikhamba ngemvelo esaba humkhotheli
(When we travelled by ox-wagon he used to be leader)

Umntu owaDa hisikubula kuCombi
(The person who was foolish was Combi)

Na wemba ukakhathini wethu idla iyangama, uDle libaga
(While you are in our midst eat meat, and be a Baca)

Uma aye adikuthandza ukudha hinkosi
(I do not like to be chief)

Saqala saDa mathidala na esuta lowo msuto
(we began to have misgivings when he asked that question)

Wangemi naphloni na wena, na efumokatseka sakho sakubona
upot’iwe? (And were you not ashamed when your daughters-in-law
found you drunk?)

Kaleku, akosi, umntu aye esaba naphloni na eyot’iwe
(Remember, 0 chief, that one has no sense of shame when one is
drunk)

Agenda khona ekhaya aye, waca
(He may be at home in the evening)

Agenda N’uwall aje ukugijima ukufunela ni ukulwa?
(Since he would be the first to run away why does he want to fight

*This particular example brings up the question whether we are
right in regarding nsa as potential-mood-forming. This, as it
stands, is definitely Participle Mood!
Amakholwe atshi ave kuta 6a nanchube manje kuphetshe umxolwe nj! (The Christians say there is not going to be any first-fruit ceremony at all now that umxolwe is chief).

Asati ukutshi at/ho ngani, NGO6a noyise umxolisa 6b6a nayo isushe tshi elikhohla. (We do not know why they say so, for even his father umxolisa used to hold the first-fruit ceremony, in spite of his being a Christian)

Chapter XI

Adverbs

Adverbs may be classified as follows:

(1) Primitive Adverbs. e.g. layi? (where?), lee (far away), futshi (too long/again), la (here), nje (so), phi? (where?), nini? (when), njani? (how?)

These may be subdivided into Time, Place and Manner.

Adverbs of Time:

futshi (too long/again). e.g. mas'uhlaulela futshi endlani (Do not remain too long indoors).

nini? (when?) e.g. Oomana 6akho Gafike nini? (When did your sons arrive?)

Adverbs of Place:

layi? (where?) This is an interrogative adverb, used exclusively in copulative predicatives. e.g. Iinkomo takwini tilayi? (Where are the cattle of your village?)

phi? (where?). An interrogative adverb used as a descriptive in verbal predicatives. e.g. Le mvedza yakhe phi? (Where does this man live?)

lee (far away). e.g. Mdibeka lee (I am going far away).

la (here). e.g. Leyo atsambo ma 1la (Let that rope come here).

Adverbs of Manner:

nje (so) e.g. (Y)ima nie (Stand so). This adverb has three positional forms: nje, njalo, njaya.

njani? (how?) An interrogative adverb. e.g. Nikhambe njani? (How did you fare?)

(2) Nouns stems belonging to locative classes 16 and 17, now with purely adverbial function. e.g. lapha (here), lapho (there), phaya (yonder), phandle (outside), phasi (below), khona (there).

e.g. Yiseke phasi (Put it down). Sivela khona (we have been there).

(3) Nouns now used exclusively as adverbs without any modification in form. e.g. itolo (yesterday), umphelo (altogether). e.g. Oomana 6akhe Gafike itolo (His sons arrived yesterday); 'Umke umphelo (He has gone away for good).
(4) Nouns taking the locative initial vowel e- and most of them used now exclusively as adverbs, e.g. egamele (on the left), eawa (behind), endle (in the open veld), esensi (at the bottom), e/yes (across), embi (in front), etulu (at top), ekhatashi (inside), ehlantane (at midday), emini (at day-time), ekudzeni (far away).

Adverbs in (3) and (4) are mostly adverbs of Place. A few are adverbs of time, e.g. Lelo mutiti ltditi/iyane ekhatashi (I left those goats inside); Kuta sengwa ehlantane (Milking will be done at midday).

(5) Nouns modified by dropping the initial vowel, and used adverbially, e.g. egamele (recently), egamele (aside), kugala (at first), mantswampama (in the afternoon), kwaphela (only), mpela (entirely), egamele (restlessly), emini (altogether not).

These are mostly adverbs of Manner, but a few are adverbs of Time or Place. e.g. Tonke etakwitsi tieke egamele (Put all those belonging to us aside); Malo jiki salinyatsa egamele (Even that beer we drank restlessly); Tange ndizone egamele (I did not see him at all); amahlungu arike egamele rule' live (The Hubis arrived here quite recently).

(6) Noun stems preceded by the formative nge- and in this form used exclusively as adverbs: e.g. ngemese (at twilight), ngemese (to-morrow), ngemese (at midday). Unongane is the Baza word for the tinky. The idea is "when the tinky is heard overhead".

All the adverbs in this class are adverbs of Time, e.g. Le' gefane gefike ngemese (These young men arrived at twilight; Sisutu eyhaya ngemese (We left home at midday).

Note: The nge- considered under (6) is not to be confused with the indefinite prelocative formative nge- (in the neighbourhood of) which may be prefixed to locatives in e- e.g. ngembi, ngetulu.

(7) Qualificat­ives preceded by the formative ka-. These are all adverbs of manner: e.g. kakhulu (gently), kafle (badly), kahle (well), kanyhenti (many times), kafizini (twice), karatu (late), kangaka (so much), kancani (a little). e.g. Mus' wondi kaqenhle! (Don't tell lies so much!); 'Undikh/ikhe kanyhenti (He struck me so many times).

Chapter XII

The Ideophone

Baza ideophones may be classified as follows:-

(a) According to syllables. According to this classification we have four classes, viz:

(1) Monosyllabic ideophones. e.g. tu (of silence), aya (of sudden disappearance), wu (of falling dead), wi (of sudde­nly sitting bolt upright), tehu (of pitch darkness), ggi (of sudden emergence), thima (of spotless whiteness).
(2) Dissyllabic ideophones. e.g. dlabu (of bursting), ba:a (of falling whole length), buvu (of stabbing with a spear), fuce (of settling down), laqa (of casting an eye).

(3) Trisyllabic ideophones. e.g. nyelele (of sneaking off), haseva (of beheading).

(4) Quadrisyllabic ideophones. e.g. galakadla (of making a sudden, noisy irruption), t/hedele (of gliding smoothly along), gedoriya (of sleeping peacefully).

(b) According to tone. In a dissertation of this nature it is neither necessary nor possible to give an exhaustive account of the shades of tone possible. All that will be done therefore is to indicate a few.

Monosyllabic.

(1) Low-rising: tu, mbe (of running in a straight level course) yna.
(2) Low-level: -u, tshu, t'vu (of the slow glide of a snake)
(3) Mid-level: -gqi, tshwe.
(4) Mid-rising: mbu (of hitting so as to produce a heavy round sound).
(5) High-rising: mkee (of hitting on the head).

Dissyllabic.

(1) Low-rising: zhele-zhele (of walking with a limp), laqa.
(2) Low-level: dlabu, buvu, ba:a
(3) Low-falling: qitsi (of a stone dropping), qaila (of falling ever), fuce.
(4) Mid-falling: gsumdu (of plunging into water).

Trisyllabic.

(1) Low-falling: Nyelele, haseva
(2) Mid-falling: gqadsa (of the smart gallop of a horse).

Quadrisyllabic.

(1) Low-falling: kwikikijji (of throwing a stick), galakadla, gedoriya.
(2) Low-level: t/hedele.

Illustrative examples of the use of ideophones

Lelo ba/i kwasa litshe yna (By the morning that horse had disappeared). Sembona aqetshá gox aqala kwelikja (We saw him suddenly emerging on the other side of the forest), Kwanake wawa j (Instantaneously he fell stone dead). Waala gedoriya nqokwentswana (he slept as peacefully as a child). Mankha buvu angekhontlo (I stabbed him deep with a spear). Galakadla set/he aqathshi! (With a sudden burst we went in!). Nankho etshi zhele-zhele eyawangana endlini! (See how he goes limping, limping into the mud).

The following are a few verbs derived from ideophonic stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ideophone (shuffled along)</th>
<th>as the cotho-cotho</th>
<th>deathfu (snap, of a string)</th>
<th>deathfu (be nipped)</th>
<th>deathfu (for him and the cf. Oh, I am 63 ps)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dlabu</td>
<td>qitshi</td>
<td>laqa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwikikijji (throw)</td>
<td>kwikikijji (drop)</td>
<td>qitshi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuce (make furtive glances)</td>
<td>laqa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The conjunction

There are three types of conjunctions, viz:

(a) Primitive conjunctions.

(b) Other parts of speech, unchanged in form, used with a
    conjunctive function.

(c) Other parts of speech modified in form.

Those under (a) are usually non-influencing. Examples:

kantsi (yet, whereas). Yena minga ukutshi andimoni, kantsi
kadsa adimbekile (He thinks I do not see him, and yet I have
been watching him for some time).

futshi (moreover, further). Futsi ndithandzwa ukwati
inyambo yale ndzasa. (Moreover I want to know the truth of
this matter).

Under (b) There are the following:

(i) Verbal infinitives. Examples:

ukusa (if). Ukusa uFke embi kwas, ut/ane leti ndzasa.
    (If he arrives before me, divulge this news to him).

ukutshi (that). Mdiya gendza ukutshi leto ukomo tafa (I realize
    that those cattle died).

(ii) Pronouns. Examples:

ikedwa (but). Mdiya lati igame lakhe, ikedwa ave miyati
eyona adamsa ahlala kwiyo (I know his name, but I do not know
the place where he lives). Ngendikumeeza kuloko ave
adikwatsheza kahle. (I should help you but I do not trust you
well enough).

(iii) Adverbs. Examples:

manje (now). Manje he utshi ma sive epiphiri? (And now which do
you expect us to accept?).

na (when). Ave kutshiwa "siqali" na kubojwa icala! (Ad-
    dressing anybody as "awser" is not permissible when trying cases.

(iv) Conjunctions. Examples:

kwa (it is when). Kwa safikako (it is when they arrive).

kukhona (all the better so that). Kukhona Gangayuuhlalela
    futshi (All the better so that they may not delay).

Under (c) we find the following:

(i) Noun derivatives. Examples:

nqasa (even if). Nqasa akakhwab iwa ndita khambe (Even if he
    is not going, I personally shall go).

This conjunction is used correlatively to signify either...
or. e.g., En ungqangoma nqasa beQeshi nqasa bs:hooyana ndite eto
lepna. (If you happen to see either Qeshi or Sihooyana, call him
here).
apôs (because). Inganikigama lula phela thaka we wifuthunye: (It was easily overtake me because I am already trembling).

ngi ngokul (according as, as). Nj kayakwazi ngokul izansi

gSeparile (Let things be done as the chief has commanded).

The above are all derived from umsha. As we have already

seen, the tendency in Bena is to elide the -ko- as the infinitive

prefix. Thus ngi + umsha > ngi + umsha > ngoko; ngi + umsha > ngi

umsha > ngoko.

Hela (the day when). Sita bonamela hela ndawuwa (We shall meet

on the day when I return).

Mayeka (the year when). Tonka ka' tintfo tiyawuluniswa

Mayeke (savuna kale) (All these things will be rectified the

year when we shall have a good harvest).

(ii) Pronominal derivatives.

Mayo (nevertheless). Njaka ke na ndu umntini kulelo gama

(nevertheless let them both withdraw that statement).

Kalaku (now). Kalaku ave uta kambala maye? (But now aren't you

going with him?)

Chapter XIV

The Interjection

Interjections may be classified as follows:

(1) Primitive interjections. e.g. avul! (hallo!); hayi! (I say!

ngaya-ngaya! (murrahl); ki-kili! (brave!); maye! (aali);

mamoe! (aali!)

(2) Other parts of speech used interjectively. These may be fur

ther subdivided as follows:

(1) Nouns used interjectively. These may be vocatives, e.g.

mfe! (man!); makhosi! (hail, chief!).

The vocative may be preceded by a primitive interjection,

e.g. we, mfe! (hi, man!); we, makhosi! (hail, chief!).

The vocative may be followed by the vocative formative

mvisi. e.g. we mvisi!

(ii) Pronouns used interjectively, e.g. wena! (you!)

(iii) The imperative of verbs used interjectively, e.g. suka!

(peach!); dsedza (get away!)

(3) Substantival phrases. e.g. adlu-akulu! (hail, O Gases),

lit. Big house!); thole lembunti! (hail, thou brave one!)

(lit. calf of a bull!)

(4) Imperative predicative phrases. e.g. Suka lephal! (besch)

lit. get away from here! Itshi gui (Gang away!)

(5) Subjunctival predicatives preceded by the subjunctive con-

cord of the 2nd person, e.g. wafa! (Danger! lit. You die!),

Manyetshelwe! (Danger behind! lit. you are being run over!)

These are the commonest types of interjections. It may be

mentioned that besides these, Bena, like all other languages,

may employ any part of speech as an interjection in certain

circumstances.