A PHONOLOGICAL AND GRAMMATICAL STUDY

OF

LITERARY XXOSA

A. C. JORDAN

VOL. II

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Chapter 10.

THE VERB.

10.1. The Verb will be considered under two main headings, (1) varieties of the verb-stems and (2) conjugation.

Varieties of Verb-Stems.

10.2. The verb-stems found in Xhosa fall into two main categories, primitive and derivative. The derivative stems fall into two groups, as follows:

Group 1: Those derived directly from other parts of speech. These may be deideophonic (from ideophones), denominative (from nominal and adjectival stems), deinterjective (from interjectives).

Group 2: Those derived from already existing verb-stems, whether the latter are primitive or derived from those in Group (1).

10.3. In this treatise the derivative stems will be dealt with in the order indicated above. In Group (1) we describe the methods whereby originally non-verbal stems are made into verbal stems. In Group (2) we describe the various ways in which existing stems, whether primitive or derived from those in Group (1), give rise to yet other verbs.

10.4. Most Bantuists have given little or no attention to Group (1), (e.g. Bennie in Nguni). Those who have given this group some attention (e.g. McLaren and Doke in Nguni) have treated it after Group (2). But this arrangement is misleading, because it gives the impression that the stems in Group (2) are derived exclusively from primitive stems.

10.5. A simple verb-stem is a primitive or derived stem which, as a verb-stem, has not added any derivative suffix to modify its meaning as a verb. E.g. *thetha* (speak), which is presumably primitive; *tsiba* (spring) which is derived from the ideophone. *tsi* (of jumping). A verbal derivative species is a verbal stem that is derived from any simple verb-stem.

/ e.g. thethela ....
354

9.5. thetha (speak for), -th-theke (be speakable) < thetha
tsihela (spring upon), tsibisa (cause to spring) < tsiba

Primitive Verb-stems

10.6. Most primitive verb-stems (i) are disyllabic,
(ii) commence with a consonant and (iii) end in -a. (But
see 10.10. below)

Examples

thetha (speak), bopha (bind)
hamba (go), onda (understand)

10.7. But there are a few monosyllabic stems, the commonest of
which are the following:

-na (rain), -nya (excrete), -la (die), -va (exceed)
-se (down), -sa (be naughty), -pha (give), -tha (pour)
-tve (eat), -dia (eat), -pha (pluck), -be (be, become)
-tha (burn), -va (fall), -va (go to), -lwa (fight)

10.8. A few seemingly monosyllabic stems have a latent
initial vowel / which reveals itself only when the stem follows
immediately after a formative ending in -a (cf. 2.4.)

The latent / stems in Xhosa are as follows:

-(I)ma (stand, bolt), -(I)va (bear, feel), -(I)za (corn)
-(I)bhe (descend), -(I)pha (pluck by roots),
-(I)bhe (dig), -(I)he (steal)

10.9. There is a fairly large number of stems commencing in a
patent vowel. These will be known as vowel verb-stems.

Vowel verb-stems in Xhosa commence in /, /, or / - . There
are none commencing in /- or /-

Examples

-ona (be dense or overgrown with grass or bush)
-nda (do, make), -ala (winnow)
-enda (got married - woman), -etha (subside)
-nda (divide), -oga (embrace), -ala (refuse)
-onca (nurse), -onda (feed), -aja (roast)

/10.10.
10.10. There are three stems ending in a vowel other than -a. These are -na (know), -fi (say) and -tibo (say so).

10.11. There are between twenty and thirty implicative verb-stems (see Chapter 13), most of which end in -o or -g, e.g. -da or -do (do at last), buya or buyo (do again), -bho or -bho (do early), mana or mano (do continually).

10.12. There are some polysyllabic stems which are in all probability derived from simpler stems, but since the primitive forms are lost entirely, such stems will be treated as primitive for purposes of this treatise.

**Examples**

nohanda (work), furana (find), khumbhula (remember)  
khathala (care), khuthala (be energetic), libala (forget)

The prominent stress in all polysyllabic stems commencing in a consonant as in the examples above, is on the first syllable. On the other hand, in polysyllabic verbal stems such as -omlaba (be happy), -clyka (fear), -ayana (learn), -akhana (yawn), the prominent stress is on the second syllable (cf. 2.121.).

10.13. Any disyllabic or polysyllabic verb-stem commencing in a consonant is capable of standing alone as a complete word in the active form, imperative mood. In this treatise all such verb-stems will be known as regular verb-stems. A monosyllabic or vowel verb-stem cannot constitute a complete word by itself and needs at least one other formative to make a complete word. Ordinarily a verb-stem in the passive voice cannot constitute a complete word. But there are a few that can stand alone, as complete words. These are essentially active in meaning, e.g. khlyva (believe), nyanza (thirst) (cf. 12.108)

If any verb-stem cannot stand alone as a complete word, this is indicated by a hyphen immediately before that stem.

**Examples**

-tva (eat), -sthula (be startled), -ba (be), -hambha (perfect stem of hambha (go))

/Do-icoadicomic/
De-ideophonic Verb-stems

10.14. There is a very close relationship between the verb and the ideophone. As will be shown in Chapter 18, the ideophone in Bantu is really a kind of primitive, interjectional predicate, and not a descriptive. It is therefore in the nature of things that the ideophone should, more than any other part of speech, form the basis of verbs. In Bantu there is a much greater number of verb-stems derived from ideophones than from any other part of speech.

10.15. Verb-stems are derived from ideophones in the following ways:

1. By suffixing -lo to form transitive verb-stems.

   Examples:
   nyiki (of pinching) > nyikila (pinch)
   ntsum (of diving) > ntsumila (dive)
   tsum (of springing sqrtly) > tsumila (spring sqrtly)
   cho (of picking up) > chula (pick up)
   nflu (of snatching) > xhula (snatch)

2. By suffixing -lo to form intransitive, and -lo to form transitive verb-stems.

   Examples:
   funau (of rising bodily or raising bodily);
   funaku (be raised bodily) and funula (raise bodily)
   funu (of turning round):
   funuku (turn round) and funula (turn something round)
   aothu (of overturning)
   aothuka (be overturned) and aothula (overturn something)
   chuma (of chipping off);
   chusuka (be chipped off) and chusula (chip something off)

*or xul xula
examples cont.
being
now (of cutting or of cutting):
> naumuko (be cut) and naumela (cut something)

now (of peeling off):
> sebuka (pool off) and sebulu (pool something off)

shavu (of getting broken or of breaking)
shavuka (got broken) and shavu (break something)

(3) By suffixing -ja to form intransitive, and -sa to form transitive verb-stems.

Examples
huba (of being pressed together or of pressing together): something
> hubake (be pressed together) and huba (press/together)
chake (of being cracked or of cracking):
> chakoko (be cracked) and chakana (crack something)
tyupa (of getting squashed or of squashing):
> tyuka (be squashed) and tyupa (squash something)

(4) By suffixing -ba to form transitive verbs.

Examples
di (of mixing together): diba (mix together)
nahu (of bumping against): nahubu (bump against)
tai (of jumping):
> totha (jump)

(5) Intransitive and transitive stems are derived from some quadrasyllabic ideophones ending in -ulu. Intransitive stems are formed by substituting -ba, and its transitive ones by substituting -ja for the final -lu.

Examples
combhululu (of being disentangled or discontan-
ing):
> combhuluko (be disentangled) and combhulula (disentangle)

thukululu (of being unwound or unwinding):
> thukuluko (be unwound) and thukulula (unwind) something

thabululu (of being stretched out or stretchen-
ing out):
> thabuluko (be stretched out) and thabulula (stretch something out)

vuthululu (of being shaken or shaking out):

vuthuluko (be shaken out) and vuthulula (shake something out)
(6) Intransitive verb-stems are formed from some quatrainsyllabic idoophones ending in -lija or -lala by substituting -tu for the final -li or -lo.

Examples

Nyhibited (of rolling) > nyhibited (roll)
Gangaela (of rolling along) > gangaela (roll along)
Hilibili (of sliding down) > hilibili (slide away)
and transitive

(7) Intransitive/verb-stems are formed from some quatrainsyllabic idoophones ending in -lala, -lala, -lili, -lalo and -lulu by substituting -tn for the final syllable.

Examples

dandale (of lying spread out) :
> dandale (lie spread out)
> kandalelo (of taking a circuitous route) :
> kandalela (take a circuitous route)
Bhinivil (of wriggling) > bhinivil (wriggle)
Concorolelo (of gulping liquid) > concorolelo (gulp liquid)
Cuncularlu (of lying flat, exposed, stark naked) :
> cuncularlu (lie flat, exposed, stark naked)

(8) Intransitive verb-stems are formed from some simplex disyllabic and from some reduplicated locysyllabic stems by suffixing -ta.

Examples

Nyiki (of trembling) > nyikiti (tremble as in an earthquake)
Nyaka (of coring one’s face up) > nyakata (curl up one’s face up)
Rish (of rising) > rashala (rise)
Ghuru (of moving) > ghurala (move)
Bha-bha (of raging) > bhahbara (rage)
Du-du (of bashing) > duruda (thud)
Rau-plu (of overflowing) > rauplu (overflow)

(9) Intransitive verb-stems are derived from some reduplicated moraysyllabic stems by suffixing -rhha.

Examples

dha-dha (of splitting or bursting open as a pod) :
> dha-dhrahha (burst open)
(10) Intransitive and transitive verb-stems are formed by sufffixing -ma to certain simple disyllabic and to certain reduplicated monosyllabic stems.

**Examples**
- khiphi (of dripping, as tears) > khiphima (drip, as tears)
- labba (of flitting past) > labhima (flit past)
- mep-mep (of gushing out) > mepmep (gush out)

(11) Intransitive and transitive verb-stems are formed by reduplicated sufffixing -ma to certain simple disyllabic and to certain monosyllabic stems.

**Examples**
- henge (of shining) > hengesala (shine)
- guda (of staggering) > gudasala (stagger)
- mewe (of flashing) > mevesala (give out flashing light)
- ntate (of running hither and thither) > ntateatasa (run hither and thither)
- nhtaasala (run hither and thither)
- mbha-ebha (of yatt) > mbhombhima (pat)
- cu-cu (of bustling about) > cucessala (bustle about)

(12) Transitive verb-stems are formed by sufffixing -tha to certain reduplicated monosyllabic stems.

**Examples**
- nti-eri (of sucking) > ntipitha (suck)
- nti-eri (of gnawing) > ntipitha (gnaw)
- nti-eri (of biting repeatedly with front teeth) > ntipitha (bite repeatedly with front teeth)

(13) Intransitive verb-stems are formed by sufffixing -thaka to certain reduplicated monosyllabic stems.

**Examples**
- bi-bi (of sobbing) > bibithaka (sob)
examples cont.

*chil* (of shaking with laughter) > *chilitho* (shakes with laughter)

*chil* (of being agitated with pain) :

*chilitho* (be agitated with pain)

But there are numerous verb-roots formed in this way whose derivation remains unsolved.

**Example**

*chilitho* (pain weight, continue to grow)

*akumukutho* (gradually lose weight)

*mpemapho* (have a strong desire for something - especially tobacco - after being without it for some time)

*thetho* (run about in a panic)

*mpemapho* (get out of control, long in moderately)

(16) From disyllabic verb ending in -ili, -ole, -ula, transitive verb-roots are formed by repeating the first syllable with its vowel changed to -a.

**Examples**

*phili* (of rubbing) > *philibile* (rub)

*phili* (of breaking partially) > *phili* (break but not wholly through)

*phili* (of shaking rudely) > *philibile* (shake rudely)

*phili* (of poking provokingly) > *philibile* (poke provokingly)

*phili* (of shaking bottle or calcash containing liquid) :

*philibile* (shake bottle or calcash containing liquid)

*phili* (of rinsing out mouth) > *phili* (rinse out mouth)

*phili* (stir up strife)

It will be observed that the verb-roots derived as described in (16) indicate repetitive action of some kind or other. In fact, the ideophones themselves from which they are derived are normally used repetitively e.g. *likili-likili*, *likili-likili*, *likili-likili*, *likili-likili*.
10.16. The writer is of the opinion that further investigation would reveal many more ways of deriving verb-stems from ideophones. There are cases where the examples are too few to justify the formulation of a rule. For instance, there is the suffix -raya which, so far, has been discovered in two stems only, namely sraya (sit in a perched-up position) < sraya (of sitting in a perched-up position) and sraya (sit bolt upright) < sraya (of sitting bolt upright). There is also araya (sling across shoulders) < araya (of slinging across shoulders). But there are other suggestive pairs of verb-stems and ideophones:

- caiba (copulate) cf. goi (of going right through)
- ncaiba (mend) cf. nqa (of fitting in perfectly)
- alna (be firm) cf. nca (of being firm)
- xima (squeezo) cf. xima (of squeezing)

10.17. The close semantic relationship between the ideophone and the verb will have been noted in the foregoing pages. This relationship is even more striking in the syntactical treatment of the ideophone in Chapter 15. The theory upheld by the writer is that the ideophone is a relic of the isolating stage in the evolution of the Bantu language-family. It was a crude form of interjctional predicative by means of which the speakers indicated actions and states, and it is from that primitive interjctional predicative that the Bantu verb has evolved, and that explains do-ideophonic verb-stems are so numerous. The two kinds of predicative exist side by side to-day - the ideophone limited in its application but full of dramatic effect, and the verb, less dramatic but far more highly developed and therefore far more capable of expressing thought.

It is no mere coincidence that the Bantu language-family shares the ideophone, as a linguistic feature, with the isolating Sudanic family of languages. (See Westermann: *Die Sudanproclamation*, quoted by Turner: *Language-Families of Africa*, pp. 47-8).
Denominative Verbs

10.16. Verb-stems derived from nominal and adjectival stems are known as denominative verb-stems.

10.19. Verb-stems are derived from nominal and adjectival stems by means of suffixes as follows:

(1) By suffixing -pt to the nominal stem. Some of the verb-stems so formed are intransitive, and others are transitive.

**Examples**

- **blakanâ (disciple)** > blakasirha (be wide awake)
- **bukhalâ (sharpness)** > bhalipha (be brave)
- **vilâ (lazy person)** > vilapha (work lazily)
- **smanâ (sweetness)** > smanipha (taste sweetness)
- **si (little)** > sijipha (diminish in size or quantity)
- **rubnî (reverence)** > blonipha (regard with reverence)

(2) By suffixing -phala to the nominal stem, to form intransitive verb-stems.

**Examples**

- **bunângu (grief emotion)** > munukuphala (be apprehensive)
- **bili (sound, resourceful, artful man)** > nilipha (be sound, resourceful, artful)

From (lu) bili (dimens) we derive nilipha (become dim), which suggests that -lili is a reduplicated stem.

The stem -sânhala (become worn out with age) is related to the noun galukâst (old woman).

The verb khukâbala (become big). -kulu (big) is found in Lunda, Bwondoise and Shilu, though not found in Khoza.

(3) By suffixing -de to the nominal stem. Some of the stems so formed are intransitive, and others are transitive.

**Examples**

- **bhabu (asthma)** > befula (breathe heavily, as if asthmatic)
- **bimâ (regard person)** > bimula (go about in rage)

/sidtovwana ..........
examples cont.

(sil)divenca (one who violates a woman) >

(divenca) (violate, rape)

(sil)lima (cripple) > lima (become crippled)

neko (conversation) > nekola (converse)

(4) By suffixing -en to the nominal stem. The stems so formed are intransitive.

Examples

(m)thene (sister's child) > thene (demand privileges of sister's child)

(li)cilo (great orator) > cilosa (speak eloquently, sing well)

(li)lirho (paramour) > lirhoswa (commit adultery)

(li)kuvelo (jealousy) > kuvelo (be jealous)

(sil)khotha (hoarse voice) > kithotha (speak in a hoarse voice)

(sil)nkani (obstinacy) > nkuna (be obstinate)

(5) By suffixing -ela to the nominal stem. The stems so formed are transitive.

Examples

(sil)kungu (uncertain loneliness) > kungubala (become anxious, lonely, uncertain)

(bu)thuntu (bluntness) > thuntu (become blunt)

(6) By suffixing -ba to the nominal stem. Only two such stems have been discovered so far, and they are both intransitive;

phokho (grandparent) > phokhoa (go bent from ago)

(li)holo (anxiety) > holabo (be anxious)

(7) By substituting -ola for the final vowel of the nominal stem. These verb-stems are applicative, and transitive.

Examples

(li)phodana (rogue, hypocrite) > phodanala (defraud)

(li)thosana (good luck) > thosanala (bless, wish well)

(li)velone (trick, fraud) > veloneola (play, trick upon)

(li)chuko (pettiness) > chukela (subject to pettiness)

(li)nwendwe (visitor) > nwendwela (pay visit to)
(8) By substituting -oka for the final vowel of the nominal stem. The verb-stems are intransitive.

Examples

(m)funca (dark red) > funoka (turn dark red)
(la)mwam (pauver) > mwamoka (be impoverished)
pfam (blind person) > pfamoka (be blinded)

Note the retention of non-syllabic prefix nasal of Class 9 in
mfamoka.

(9) By substituting -a for the final vowel of the nominal stem. These verb-stems are intransitive.

Examples

(sii)sebe (lowd person) > sbe (be low)

noso (gray) > noso (become gray with
mildew)

-khulu (big) > khula (grow)

From (sii)cini (gap between teeth) we derive nina (lowe teeth)

Here it would seem that the -a is not substituted for the
final -i but suffixed to it:

cini-a > nina  (cf. ni - aniso, nyana - meet)

(10) By substituting -sela to the nominal stem. Some of the
verb-stems so formed are intransitive and other are transitive.

Examples

(bu)bolo (kindness) > bolonolo (show kindness to)

(la)roha (nettle) > rohosenola (itch)

It is doubtful if the suffix -sela has the same meaning in
these two verb-stems. In the first one the -sela is certainly
applicative, and the -a would seem to be the -za in (4) above,
so that -sela in this case is a compound, -za -sela. In the
second stem -sela would seem to have a persiciive meaning,
significance, as in some of the de-ideophonic stems in
10.16, (11) e.g. ntantusala (run hither and thither)

(11) By suffixing substituting -anu for the final vowel of
the nominal stem. These verb-stems are transitive.

Examples

(bu)blunca (pain) > bluncana (make sore)

-sutuhane (short) > sutuhenanu (make short)
It is rather puzzling that in Zulu denominative verb-stems should be "extremely rare", when in Xhosa they are so numerous, and are formed in so many different ways (see Dake Eu. Gr., §207).

De-interjectiva Verb-Stem

Only three de-interjectiva verb-stems have been discovered so far. They all have the same basic meaning, and their phonetic make-up suggests that they are of Khoisan origin:

- *kungu* (be appeased) > *kunguhu* (appease)
- *nhol* (be reconciled) > *nhonhena* (reconcile)
- *tshul* (have mercy) > *tshushung* (beg for mercy)

The paucity of de-interjectiva verb-stems and the probable Khoisan origin of the three that have been discovered would seem to suggest that the derivation of verb-stems from interjectives is a recent development.

Vocal Derivative Species

(i.e. Verb-stem derived from other verb-stem)

Introduction

Verb-stems can be derived from most of the simple verb-stems. A verb-stem so derived belongs to one or other of several *vocal derivative species*, each of which will be dealt with in more detail below. By means of a derivative suffix, the meaning of the original verb-stem is modified. In some species, the suffix gives the verb-stem a new force. Thus, a verb/that is intrasitive in the simple form may be transitive in some of its derivative forms; and a singly-transitive verb-stem may give rise to a doubly-transitive derivative form, and a verb-stem that cannot be modified by a certain type of adverbial may give rise to a form whose meaning makes it possible for it to have such an adjunct.

The meaning conveyed by a *vocal derivative species* very often covers what in Indo-European languages would require an adverb or proposition. That is one reason why adverbs and
propositions are comparatively few in Shona (and, in fact, in all Bantu languages of which the writer has knowledge).

10.24. In some cases a single species has a principal manner of formation, and one or more subsidiary ones. The subsidiary forms may convey exactly the same meaning as the principal, or they may convey other shades of meaning. The principal form itself may convey various meanings, depending on the context. It may also have a single specified meaning.

10.25. Implicative verb-stems have no derivative stems, because they do not indicate action or state themselves, but merely modify the actions or states indicated by other verbs (see 13.39).

10.26. A verb in any species may be in the active or in the passive voice.

10.27. The defective stem -Lilo (say so) has irregular forms, and will require special mention throughout.

The Reciprocal Species

10.28. The reciprocal species signifies mutual action. There is only one manner of formation of this species, and that is to substitute -man for the final vowel of the simple stem.

**Examples**

* bona* (see) > *bonam* (see each other, one another)
* fiinga* (seek) > *fiingaman* (seek each other, one another)
* thandwa* (love > *thandwaman* (love each other, one another)

- *ndi* (know) > *ndi man* (know each other, one another)

10.29. The most straightforward use of the reciprocal species is to be found where the subject of the verb is either a plural or consists of one or more singulars and/or plurals, and has therefore itself to be in the plural form.

**Examples**

* ndi bantu bvanthanda* (these people love each other)
* ndi bupa ndi liso bvanhana* (Sipho and Liso see each other)
10.30. But there are some constructions which, though quite natural to the speakers of the language, are nevertheless very difficult to translate, or to explain to the foreigner. For instance, the idea conveyed by the English sentence, "Sipho and I know each other", can be rendered in at least six different ways in Xhosa, as follows:—

(1) 

Lit. "I know each other with Sipho.

(2) 

Lit. "Sipho I know each other with him".

(3) 

Lit. "We know each other with Sipho.

(4) 

Lit. "I and Sipho we know each other".

(5) 

Lit. "I and Sipho know each other".

(6) 

"Sipho we know each other we two".

10.31. There are some verbs of this species whose simple stema have been lost. The commonest are *fom* (resemble), *blomana* (meet), and *limana* (be equal).

10.32. The stem *dibana* (intimacy) is derived from *dibo* (make different things to be one) which, in present-day Xhosa, is seldom used with this meaning. Where the simple stem *dibo* would be logical, the speakers of the language prefer *dibanica*, which is a reciprocal-causative form, e.g. *dibanica u mbhona nce nhbotyi* (I make the mico and the mico), instead of *dibo u mbhona nce nhbotyi*. But the form *dibo u mbhona nce nhbotyi* (add the micoles to the beams) is still used.

10.33. From *phambha* (go in opposite direction) is derived *phambhama* (go in opposite directions, cross each other). The reciprocal form also means "become and", i.e. be at cross purposes with one's own self.

10.34. From *thetha* (opack) and *bhungana* (hold council) are derived *thethama* and *bhungana* respectively. But *thethama* does not, as one might expect, mean "discuss each other". Both *thethama* and *bhungana* mean "discuss together" or "confer".

/Examples...
Examples

lana khuthathana ngale nda (We are going to confer on this matter)

A mphakathi abungane (The councillors conferred)

10.35. The verb stem -lana gives the reciprocal stem -thone
(calling each other so), e.g. nthone (They call each other so)

The Causative Species

10.36. The causative species signifies 'causing and/or
helping the performance of the action, or causing and/or
helping to bring about the state, indicated by the simple
stem. The principal manner of formation is to substitute -isa
for the final vowel of the simple stem.

Examples

bona (see) > bonisa (cause to see, show)
funa (seek) > funisa (cause to seek, help to seek)
bulula (kill) > bululisa (cause to kill, help to kill
shwana (carry) > shwanisa (cause to carry, help to carry)

10.37. There are subsidiary manners of formation as follows:
(1) Many simple stems ending in -la change -la to -sa (cf. 5.48)

Examples

cela (drink) > sesa (cause to drink, offer

buyla (converse) > byusa (cause to converse, ask)

bithale (care) > bithase (trouble, annoy)

nondela (draw near) > nonsa (bring near)

In a few instances the close of suffix -ye exerts influence
on an -a in the preceding syllable, changing it to a by
assimilation.

Examples

rufwone (be warm) > rufwone (cause to be warm)

Thutubale (become blunt) > thutubale > thutubale (make blunt)

From these we make the deduction that bhlangabere (go to meet)
is probably derived from bhlangabale, which does not exist any
more in those.
(2) Simple stems ending in -ka with the intonation-pattern high-low, form the cauditive species by substituting -ga for the final -ka (cf., p. 46.)

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Cauditive Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dūka</td>
<td>dūgas (remove, take away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuñka</td>
<td>tuñgas (remove, help remove)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wūka</td>
<td>wūgas (wake up, intr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But with the intonation-pattern low-high i.e. -ka, the principal manner of formation is observed.

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Cauditive Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gūka</td>
<td>gūgas (help to tan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūla</td>
<td>gūlas (cause to get lost)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūla</td>
<td>gūlas (be glorious)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) In some verb-stems either the principal or one of the subsidiary forms is used without any difference in meaning.

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Cauditive Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>roka</td>
<td>roka or roka (help to cross, take across)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhabhuka (stray)</td>
<td>rhabhukas or rhabhuna (lead astray)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) In some verbs either the principal or subsidiary form is used with a difference in meaning.

**Examples**

(1) -ambahtha (cover oneself with something)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Cauditive Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ambahthika (help cover one with something warm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But -ambahga, also derived from -ambahtha, means "provide with clothes".

(ii) phala (to finished) - phalika (exhaust, bring to an end)

But phalga - phalya means "doist".

(iii) From thala (carry) we derive thvalika (cause to carry, help to carry), and thsen (confer honours, provide with advice)

(iv) From -vyila (fear) we derive -vyilikha (cause to fear, frighten). Probably -vyila (overcomes, defeat) is also derived from -vyila.
(5) The suffix -isa exerts the same influence as the ya in some instances.

**Examples.**

libale (forget, delay) → libazisa (detain)
phola (be cool, heal) → pholisa or phozisa (heal or cool)

10.38. The stem -ya (go to) gives rise to the patent form -sa (cause to go, take to) instead of visa. The full form, visa, is found in Zulu. In Xhosa, there are indications that while the y of visa has disappeared altogether, the succeeding i has become latent. Hence we find such forms as kwesa and lesa (kwa + sa and la + sa respectively).

The following illustrations come from one of Tiyo Soga's writings (see Imibenge, p. 46):

kwada kwesa e Khobongaba (as far as the Khobongaba)
lesa lesa phezulu (right up to the upper regions)

10.39. Some verbs in the causative species have developed specialized meanings.

(i) thethisa, thetha (speak), does not mean "cause to speak" but "reprimand", "expostulate with".

(ii) xokisa, xoka (tell lies), does not mean "cause to tell lies" but "tell lies to"

(iii) neokolisa, neokola (chat) means "chat or play flirtingly with one of the opposite sex"

(iv) veza, vela (appear) means "produce" in some dialects, but in Xhosa it means "reveal the pudenda".

(v) dlia, dla (eat) means "poison".

10.40. When preceded by the reflexive affix zi, many verbs in the causative species convey the meaning of "feigning the action or state" indicated by the verb.

**Examples.**

u kulala (sleep) → u kuzilalisa (to feign sleep)
u kufa (to die) → u kuzifisa (to feign death)
u kuhleka (to laugh) → u kuzihlekisa (to feign laughter)
u kgula (to be ill) → u kuzigulisa (to feign illness)

(Pho and Brono / unfortunately .......
Unfortunately there is no rule to guide the student here. It is just a question of knowing/idiom of the language. There are many verbs in which this same form has a literal meaning.

**Examples.**

- **u konwaba** (to be happy) > **u kuzonwabisa** (to make oneself happy)
- **u buvuuka** (wake up) > **u kuzivusa** (to rouse oneself)
- **u kusuhula** (to rest) > **u kuziphumza** (to rest oneself)

**Uses of the Causative Species.**

10.41. The causative suffixes make an originally intransitive verb transitive, and a singly transitive verb doubly transitive. **lala** (go to sleep) is intransitive, but **lalisa** (put to sleep) is transitive.

**Examples.**

- **Ndialala ngoku** (I am going to sleep now)
- **Ndilalisa u mntwana** (I am putting the baby to sleep)
- **Ndibona i ndlu** (I see a house)
- **Ndibonisa u nhambhi i ndlola** (I am showing the traveller the way.)

10.42. The irregular stem **-tjibo** becomes **-tjhisio** in the causative form.

**The Applicative Species.**

10.43. The applicative species has various significations e.g. "doing for", "doing on behalf of", "doing towards some end". It is formed by substituting **-ela** for the final vowel of the stem.

**Examples.**

- **-endza** (do) > **-endzela** (do for)
- **bhala** (write) > **bhalela** (write for, or to)
- **funa** (seek) > **funela** (seek on behalf of, towards some end)
- **buya** (return) > **bysela** (return to)
10.44. A verb in the applicative species indicates that the action or state occurs for, on behalf of, some other object.

Examples

Siya kunifunela u kutya (We shall seek some food for you)
Edithethela a basobendzi bonke (I speak on behalf of all the workers)

(2) that the action or state is applied to or against some object.

Examples

Xelela i nkosi oko ukubonilayo (Report to the chief what you saw)
Bafuna u kuvukela u mbuso (They want to rise against the law)

(3) that the action or state is directed towards some end or purpose.

Examples

Undibizela nto ni? (What are you calling me for?)
Ndámohlayela i siphoso sakhe (I punish him for his misdeed)

(4) motion towards, or a state of affairs existing in relation to, a certain object.

Examples

Akavi kubuyela apha ngo mso (He will not return here to-morrow)
Musani u kumela kude nave (Do not stand far away from him)
Wagulela e Kapa, wafela khona (He fell ill in Cape Town and died there)

10.45. Some applicative stems have specialized meanings in certain contexts. Thus (i) bukela < buka (fondle, prize, admire) has the general meaning "admire for", e.g. Uyibukela ni i nto e mbhi kangaka? (What are you admiring such a bad thing for?), and also the specialized meaning "look on as spectator", e.g. Be sibukela u mdalo we gakambha (We were watching a game of cricket); (ii) khwelela < khwela (climb, mount) has the general meaning "mount for", e.g. Ube ulikhwelela nto ni eli bashe? (That did you mount this horse for?), and also

/the specialized ...
the specialized meaning "make room, gang away". e.g.
Kha nikhwelele a bantu bahlale. (Please make room so that the
people may sit).

(iii) lalela, lala (lie down, sleep) has the general meaning
"lie/sleep for", e.g. Ulalela nto ni e mini? (For what purpose
do you sleep during the day?), and also the specialized meaning "waylay". e.g. A mabhada aya kulalela xa ubuyavo (The robbers will
waylay you when you return).

(iv) sukela, suka (remove oneself), has the general meaning
"move away for" e.g. Andizi kusukela loo nto e sihlalweni sam.
(I am not going to move away from my seat for that), and also the
specialized meaning "chase". e.g. Luka u kusukela a mabhathane
(Don't chase butterflies).

10.46/ Some applicative stems have no apparent applicative
force.

Examples.
landela (follow) < landa (trace to source)
cimela (close eyes) < cima (extinguish)

10.47. Some applicative stems seem only vaguely related in
meaning to the simple stems to which they presumably correspond.

Examples.
bulela (express thanks) < bula (give information)
fanela (suit, become) < fana (resemble)

10.48. There are many stems that are applicative in form but
cannot be traced to any living simple stem, nominal, ideophonic
or verbal.

Examples.
-eyela (fall into)
fulela (thatch with grass)
mamela (listen)
nyandzela (force)
sondele (approach)
zimela (hide oneself)

/ uses of the ........
Uses of the Applicative Species.

10.49. An applicative stem based on an intransitive stem may be transitive. Thus lila (cry) is intransitive, as in u sana lylumila (the baby is crying), but lilela (cry for) is transitive, as in u sana julilela u nina (the baby is crying for its mother).

10.50. An applicative stem based on a transitive stem is capable of taking an additional object directly related to the applicative stem. Thus funa (want) is a transitive stem, as in ndifuna u kutya (I want food), and the applicative stem funele (want for) is capable of taking a second object, as in Ndifunela a bantwana u kutya (I want food for the children) or ndibafunela u kutya (I want some food for them).

10.51. As the above examples show, both objects may be indicated by substantives, or one of them may be indicated by a substantive and the other by an object concord. But the object concord is admissible even if both objects are indicated by substantives. This may refer either object depending on the emphasis.

Examples.

Ndibafunela u kutya a bantwana.
(I want food for the children)

Ndikufunela a bantwana u kutya.
(I want the food for the children)

It will be noted that the object concord refers to the non-emphasized substantial object. This is more fully dealt with in the treatment of the object concord. (11.30 et seq.)

10.52. The non-substantial object may be the reflexive affix zi, e.g. Ndizifunela u kutya (I want food for myself), Zifuneleni i zihlalo (Find yourselves seats).
The Neuter Species

10.51. The neuter species indicates a state of being, without making any direct reference to an agent causing the state. It has to be distinguished from the passive voice. To illustrate the difference in meaning, a comparison may be made of -thandeka (be lovable) and -thandwe (be loved), both derived from thanda (love);

A thing may be lovable (-thandeka) without necessarily being loved (-thandwe) by anyone or anything at any time. The form -thandeka indicates the mere state of being lovable, without suggesting that the object is actually loved by any person or persons. This is the neuter species, which some of the old grammarians termed the stative. The form -thandwe indicates that the object is actually loved by some person or persons, without suggesting that the object necessarily has any lovable qualities. This is the passive voice.

10.52. The principal manner of formation of the neuter simple species is to substitute -eka for the final vowel of the stem.

Example:

thanda (love) ➔ -thandeka (be lovable)
sumana (obtain) ➔ -sumaneka (be obtainable)
una (desire) ➔ -uneka (be desirable)
libale (forget) ➔ -libaleka (be forgettable)
thembhe (trust) ➔ -thembhekha (be trustworthy)

Sentence illustrations:

Olu nama luyathandeka (This baby is lovable)
I cuba liyo-furaneka enha? (Is tobacco obtainable here?)
Lufuneka nhencabha kweku (It is desirable that we go now)

10.53. A few neuter verb- stems use the suffix -ekala instead of -eka. The component of these are the following s-

boma (see) ➔ bonukala (be visible, be seen)
-ona (spoil) ➔ onukala (be spoiled)
-vu (hear) ➔ vakala (be heard, be audible)
But -aka and -chaka are not quite equivalent. There are some verb-stems that employ both -aka and -chaka with a difference in meaning.

(i) fihle (conceal) -fihleka (be capable of concealment) and
fihleka (be in a state of concealment, be mysterious)
(ii) ondwa (understand) \-ondwaka (be intelligible) and
ondwaka (be evident, be brought to light)
(iii) oyisa (overcome, conquer) -oyitaka (be yielding)
and -oyitaka (be overcome)
(iv) shitla (spill, scatter) -shitleka (be spilled)
and shitleka (disperses)

10.55. Some neuter stems show no relation in meaning to the simple stems from which they seem to be derived.

Examples

(i) -endakala (be hurt) would seem to be derived from -enda
(do, make).
(ii) khealaka (be cruel) would seem to be derived from
khele (handicap, escape one's mind)

10.56. Some neuter stems cannot be traced to any simple stems.

Examples

nyemuka (be conscientious)
thembaka (slopes)

10.57. In general the neuter suffixes make transitive
verb-stems intransitive. Thus tumana (obtain) is transitive,
but inyansaka (be obtainable) is intransitive; bona (see)
is transitive, but bonakala (be visible) is intransitive.

Examples

I cuba sigqalifumana maba.
(s can obtain tobacco here)
I cuba liyaumanga maba.
(tobacco is obtainable here)

\text{\textbackslash}busuku simshisho if nkwakwesi.
(at night we do see the stars)
\text{\textbackslash}busuku if nkwakwesi simshemkala.
(at night the stars are visible)

/10.56...........
10.50. But some stems are neuter in form but active and transitive in meaning. They cannot be traced to any simple forms.

Examples

ba³@u (run, shun)
be@alnu (tether)
sind³@u (make preparations for someone's arrival)

The Reversive Species

10.50. The reversive species indicates undoing of the action or state indicated by the simple stem. This species is comparatively rare in Zulu, but there is evidence that it was more extensively used once upon a time. Besides simple stems with directly corresponding reversive stems in Zulu, there are stems with corresponding reversive stems that have a slightly non-reversive meaning in Zulu though a strictly reversive meaning in some cognate dialect or other. Then there are reversive stems whose simple stems do not correspond in meaning in Zulu but do so in some other dialect. Last, there are reversive stems whose corresponding simple stems have been lost entirely.

10.60. The reversive species is formed mainly by substituting -u³@u or -u³@uva for the final vowel of the simple stem. But there are also neuter-reversive stems formed by substituting -u³@u for the final vowel. The stems ending in -u³@u and -u³@uva are transitive. Those ending in -u³@u are intransitive, but from them we derived transitive verbs in the causative species by substituting -u³@u for -u³@u (cf., 10.37. (2))

10.61. Reversive stems with suffix -u³@u

-ganda (be or ground hard to make it firm)

-randa (dig hard ground)

-bala (count, include in counting), balu³@u (single out, except except

-bala (fondle, caress) > bala³@u (raepect baby or young = by mother)

-unu³@u (dip in liquid, immerse) > unu³@u (take out of liquid)
Examples' cont.:

- thi (sey) > thula (be silent, leave of speaking)

Probably also landa (trace to source) > landula (disown, deny)

The verb phaka (dish out food) has the reversive form

phakula which in Shona means "remove dishes and scraps after meal", but in Xhosa means "rob bees of honey".

10.62. Instead of substituting the reversive ending for the final vowel, some verbs ending in -ala substitute -ula for -ala

Examples

-andula (spread out bedding on retiring)

> -andula (roll up bedding on rising)

vala (close) > vula (open)

thvula (carry > thula (unload)

The v of thvula is elided because the combination thu is not found in Igbo.

10.63. Reversive stem with suffix -ulula

-tha (pour liquid into calabash or bottle)

> -thulula (pour liquid out of calabash or bottle)

thunda (see) > thungulula (unstitch, open eyes — of newly-born puppy or kitten)

10.64. In llubi phahla means "pack goods together neatly".

The Xhosa noun mpahla (goods, effects) is related to this verb-stem, although the verb-stem itself does not exist. But the reversive stem phahlulula does exist. It means "upset and turn upside down what was packed up neatly".

10.65. In Zulu we find the verb-stem vimbha (close up) to which is related the Xhosa noun simvha (lid, cover).

Although vimbha is not found with this meaning in Xhosa, but with the meaning "be stingy" or "refuse to give", nevertheless the reversive stem, vumhulula (uncover, bring to light) is to be found. (The stem vowel i becomes u by assimilation, as pointed out in 2.95. (ii).

10.66. Reversive stems with suffixes -buka and -busa

(i) The verb-stem -(i)ma (stand) has the intransitive reversive stem -(i)mula, which in Xhosa has become -(i)muka

/zooming
meaning "go away". From *muna* and *mwa* we have the causative stems *muna* *mula* and *mwa* *mila* respectively, the defective verb used in the formation of the imperative negative, e.g. *muna* *pithan* (don't speak), lit. "cause the speaking to be removed".

(ii) From *-va* (go to) we derive the causative stem *viqa* (cause to go to, take to) which in modern Sanskrit has become *-va* *vina*. The transitive reflexive stem corresponding to *vina* *vina* (be removed) and this in turn has a corresponding causative reflexive stem *vina* (cause to be removed).

10.67. There are some verb-stems which are reflexive in form and meaning but do not directly correspond in form to the non-reflexive stems to which they are related in meaning and probably in origin.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>causative (bind, not free)</th>
<th>causative (bind, together)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (bind off cover)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (bind on cover)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.68. There are many verb-stems that are reflexive in form and in most cases in meaning too, but which cannot be traced to any simple stem. Some of these have/intransitive stem in *-va* and a transitive stem in *-ula*. There are also some transitive ones in *-ula* that have no corresponding intransitive stems in *-va*.

Examples

(i) Intransitive stem in *-ula* with corresponding transitive stem in *-va*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>intransitive (be around, different)</th>
<th>transitive (be around, differentiate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (be on ear, different)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (be on ear, differentiate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (not broken)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (break)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (be off)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (be off) and <em>uhlula</em> (not go)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (not going)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (not going)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Transitive stem in *-ula* without corresponding:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>transitive stem in <em>-ula</em></th>
<th>intransitive stem in <em>-va</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (move ear cover)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (move ear cover)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (move ear)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (move ear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (move from ear)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (move from ear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (warp ear)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (warp ear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (warp ear)</td>
<td><em>uhlula</em> (warp ear)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The transitive stem -obula (flay) has the corresponding causative stem -obuna. -obulya (cast off external skin, as a snake does).

The stem -aphula (mean) is obviously reverse-causative, but does not seem to be related to -aphula (got broken).

The Intensive Species

10.69. The intensive species indicates thoroughness of action. The stem is formed in two different ways:

(1) by substituting -alisa for the final vowel of the simple stem.

Examples

condo (understand) > condiscisa (understand thoroughly)
botha (best) > bothiscisa (best thoroughly)
puza (inquire) > pusiscisa (inquire thoroughly)
furu (sock) > fusiscisa (sock thoroughly)

(2) by substituting -ulula for the final vowel of the simple stem.

Examples

klambha (cleanse) > klambhulula (cleanse thoroughly)
khotha (lick, scrape) > khothulula (scrape thoroughly)
krupa (bring out) > kruptulula (bring out completely)
phadula (investigate) > phadlulula (investigate completely)
ganasa (rip open) > ganasulula (rip open completely)

Miscellaneous Verbal Derivative Species.

(1) Formed by reduplicating the simple stem

10.70. By reduplicating part or the whole of a simple verb-stem a new verb-stem may be formed. The reduplicated stem thus formed may signify either of the following:

(a) Diminution of the action:

Examples

dila (play) > dila-dila (play a little)
la (sleep) > la-la-la (sleep a little)
thebha (speak) > thebha-thebha (speak a little)
with this diminutive significance, this form may also indicate that the action is done diffidently or half-heartedly.

*Examples*

*bleka (laugh) > bleka-bleka (laugh half-heartedly)*
*neema (smile) > neema-neema (smile diffidently)*

(b) Frequent repetition of action.

*Examples*

*phinda (repeat) > phinda-phinda (repeat again and again)*
*bhaka (look) > bhaka-bhaka (look about)*
*bamba (go) > bamba-bamba (go about)*
*khabe (kick) > khabe-khabe (kick repeatedly)*

10.71. There are rules governing this formation, depending on the variety of simple verb-stem upon which it is based:

(1) Regular disyllabic verb-stems are repeated, as shown in the examples in 10.70 (a) and (b).

(2) Regular polysyllabic stems, not derived from disyllabic simple stems prolong the first two syllables to the full form.

*Examples*

*phakana (rise) > phaka-phakaka (rise a little)*
*baleka (run) > bale-baleka (run a little)*
*fudumene (warm up) > fudu-fudumenu (warm up a little)*
*khokhotha (bark) > khako-khokhothe (bark a little)*
*nunduca (push) > nundu-nunduca (push about)*
*xorolose (strive) > xorolose-xorolose (strive a little)*

(3) Regular polysyllabic stems derived from existing disyllabic simple stems prolong the simple disyllabic stem to the polysyllabic stem.

*Examples*

*funda (teach) > funda-fundisa (teach a little)*
*bonibona (show each other) > bona-bonibona (show each other a little)*
*fundetana (read to one another) > funda-fundetana (read to each other a little)*
*nukonana (talk each other)*
*nuka-nukonana (talk each other a little)*
But where the derivation is no longer clear to the speakers of the language, even stems that are derived from existing stems repeat the first two syllables as in (2) above. Thus phamkhula (stray, deviate) becomes phamkhu-phamkhula (deviate here and there), although the simple stem phamkhla (cross) still exists. On the other hand, khangela (look) may become khanga-khangela or khanga-khangela (look a little), the former being the regular form as in (2), since khanga does not exist. (4) Mono-syllabic simple stems are repeated, the second element being reinforced by prepacing yi-.

**Examples**

- *jwa* (fight) > *jwa-yi jwa* (fight a little)
- *abha* (dig) > *abha-yimba* (dig a little)

(5) Di-syllabic simple vowel stems are repeated, the second element being reinforced by prepacing yi-.

**Examples**

- *gela* (roast) > *gela-ya jela* (roast a little)
- *enda* (do) > *enda-yenda* (do a little)

(6) Tri-syllabic simple vowel stems repeat the stem minus the initial vowel in the second element.

**Examples**

- *ahlula* (divide) > *ahlula-blula* (divide round)
- *ayuma* (lean) > *ayuma-ya juma* (lean in various places)
- *arhula* (break) > *arhula-rhula* (break here and there)
- *onwaba* (be happy) > *onwaba-pwaba* (be happy a little)

(7) Vowel stems of more than three syllables prepulse the simple stem to the poly-syllabic stem minus the initial vowel.

**Examples**

- *ahlula-lama* (share with one another)

  > *ahlula-blula-lama* (share and share about with one another)
(11) Formed by suffixed -oleo, -oleole and -ole

10.72. -oleo: In certain instances, this is indisputably a reduplicated form of the applicative suffix, -ole, with a single/double applicative significance. But just as -ole itself does not always have an applicative significance, so the reduplicated suffix may have a significance other than applicative. The suffix -oleo may have the following significance:

(1) Simply applicative significance:

-Ita (draw, pluck) > kholole (draw, pluck for)

The form kholole is not found in Shona.

-hombho (hold) > hombholo (hold on to)

(2) Doubly applicative significance:

kotho (speak) > kothholo (speak to someone on behalf of)

honza (see) > honzoleo (be considerate towards, lit. "see on behalf of someone towards same end"

luncho (put straight) > luncholelo (put straight on behalf of someone towards same end)

vuyo (rejoice) > vuyoleo (take advantage of, lit. "rejoice against someone towards same end"

(3) Intensive or comparative significance:

finco (drain) > fincelo (drain completely)

rondo (stamp down) > ronelo (stamp down completely)

reiba (finish up) > reibo (finish up completely)
phuma (come, go out) > phumalola (succeed, lit. "come or go out completely")

(4) **Primitive significance:**

yola (leave off) > yokalola (leave off a little)

(5) **Repetitive significance:**

rhinon (repeat) > rhinolola (repeat again and again)

buna (return) > bunolola (return again and again)

But bunolola also means "journey to a place and return on the same day".

10.75. -ololola: This suffix may have a repetitive or a doubly applicative significance.

**Examples**

(1) **Repetitive significances**

-tbu (draw) > -thololola (draw repeatedly)

(2) **Doubly applicative significances**

-tondro (do) > -tondololola (take allowance for)

-ant (know) > azololola or azololola (be considerate towards, lit. "be aware of something in favour of someone towards some end")

The form -anololola is explained by Dennis as a probable case of dissimilation (cf. of tr., p. 23). It could just as well be a case of coalescence, the initial -g of -golola being attracted to the g in the preceding syllable.

The suffix -ololola has a doubly applicative significance in

-tthololola (prodest interest with on behalf of someone),

especially in a love affair. -thololola > -ttho literally means "say so on behalf of someone towards some end".

10.76. -molola: This suffix is related to -olola and is not to be confused with -solol, co-solol, which is found in de-ideophonic and denominative verb-stem; as described earlier, e.g. homosolol (shine) < boma (of shining) and bololola (show affection to) < (bu)bolola (affection).

/...
-ezela is an applicative-causative-applicative made up as follows: -el(a) + θ(a) + -ela > elēla > ezela.

E.g. phindezela (revenge) which is made up as follows: -phinda (return) > phinde (return to) > phindeza (cause to return to) > phindezela (cause to return to on behalf of)

10.75. Both -elela and -ezela are to be found in verb-stems that cannot be traced to any basic forms.

Examples:

*tyelela* (visit)

*cinozela* (press)

Concluding Remarks on the Derivative Species.

10.76. Verbal derivative suffixes can be added on to one another. We take the verb-stem gina (be firm) to illustrate the possibilities of such combination:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gina</td>
<td>(be firm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisa</td>
<td>(make firm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisana</td>
<td>(make each other firm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginela</td>
<td>(be firm towards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginelana</td>
<td>(be firm towards one another)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisisa</td>
<td>(make quite firm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisisana</td>
<td>(make each other quite firm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giniseka</td>
<td>(be certain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisekela</td>
<td>(be certain about)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisekisa</td>
<td>(make certain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisekisana</td>
<td>(make each other certain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisekisisa</td>
<td>(make quite certain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginisekisisana</td>
<td>(make each other quite certain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.77. But there is still a great deal that needs to be investigated about the Nguni derivative verbal species. A comparative study of that alone would produce a voluminous treatise. Here we can only indicate a few of the numerous problems still to be solved.

/ 10.78. (1) commonly.....
Commonly-used derivative suffixes would seem to be empty of force and meaning after certain roots, and (a) the derivative stems they form are used interchangeably within the same dialect, or (b) the derivative stems correspond in meaning to a simple stem in a cognate dialect, or (c) the derivative stem may have the same basic meaning as the simple stem, but be applied to specific situations.

Thus (a) in Zulu both ngaca and ngamva mean "help", (b) Xhosa uses borohela where Xhosa uses borda (fasten); Nkobe uses bongela where Xhosa uses bonge (sing praises); Zulu uses delela where Xhosa uses dela (despise).

(c) The verb-stem sella (give birth, beget) has the applicative verb-stem selilela (give birth/to, for etc.). But the form selilela is also used non-applicatively for "laying eggs".

With certain simple roots, commonly-used derivative suffixes cannot be used except in combination with other suffixes, or unless there is another suffix before the use of the simple stem.

**Examples**

(a) Thuma (come, go out) has the derivative stem phumisela (bring out completely), as in awkhala Wangulisela (he cried out audibly). The stem Wangulisela has the suffixes -isa and -ela, but the form phumisa never stands alone.

(b) -sa (die) has the derivative stems fela (die for, at) and felasola < fela-isa -ela (make the best of limited resources). But felasola, to which -ela is suffixed, never stands alone.

(c) (1) -sa has no existing independent derivative stem fisa. But we have masila -sifisa, as in yusifisi (to pretend to cause), formed by prefixing the reflexive affix si- to the verb-stem. (2) -sulisela < fisa -isa -ela does not exist without the reflexive affix. It is found in such forms as yusifisimela (to do to one's heart's content). The simple stem is fisa (arrive).

(4) ........
(d) The simple stem *buya* (return) has no such derivative stems as *buyeka* and *buyakela* in present-day Xhosa, but a combination of these with -ye gives the existing form *buyakeza* (compensate).

10.60. Very often a combination of suffixes adds up to a meaning very different from what would logically be expected.

**Examples**

(a) From bona (sea) we derive bonisela, which ought to mean "show for" or "show to", but in fact has the specialized meaning "preconberit" or "discover a bird's nest or beehive".

(b) From blaba (stab) we derive blabanisela, which is to stab blaba -ana -isa -sela, and would be expected to mean "cause each other for". But it has the specialized meaning "stab by throwing a weapon; with the intention to hit but not to stab".

(c) Related to futha (take a vapour-bath while covered with blanket) is futbanisela (another by covering with cloth or blanket).

(d) From bumba (hold) we derive bumbherela (detain), which seems to be bumba -ela -ya -ela, and would be expected to mean "cause to hold on to something towards some end".

10.62. Sometimes the suffix -isa is employed where the intensive suffix -iswa would be expected, and vice versa.

Thus (i) prothisa < protha may mean "cause to expea" or "expea altogether" or "rout": e.g. *afuna amabhanga amprothisa, avulaza kunene loo mini nyetsu cavo* (the Ngwane line of battle was broken, and the Ngwane were routed, and they were slaughtered in great numbers that whole day and night). (Geza : Isijemayo, p. 100)

10.62. There may be an infix which separates the syllables of the simple stem. The only instance of this that has been discovered so far is the infixing of -ono between the two syllables of the simple stem *conda* (understand) and suffixing iswa to form *konononiswa* (cause to understand clearly).

10.63............
The Passive Stem

10.83. The passive stem is being treated separately and after the derivative species for two reasons, viz.:

(1) The present writer does not regard the passive as a derivative species but as a voice (see 11.2, et seq.).

(2) It seems more convenient and logical to discuss the rules for the formation of passive stems after the derivative stems, because constant reference has to be made to the varieties of derivative verb-stems in formulating the rules.

Rules for the formation of the passive stem

10.84. (1) Regular active disyllabic and polysyllabic consonant stems form the passive stem by inserting -wa- before the final vowel.

Examples

chitha (spill) > -chithwa (be split)
ncanda (prevent) > -ncandwa (be prevented)
sila (grind) > -silwa (be ground)
biza (call) > -biza (be called)

Exception: bulala (kill) > -bulawa (be killed)

This is a case of elision (cf. 2,82).

10.85. (2) Mono-syllabic active stems, including those with a latent I, insert -iw- instead of -wa-.

Examples

-pha (give) > -phwa (be given)
-tva (eat) > -tiva (be eaten)
-(I)mbha (dig) > -(I)mbhwa (be dug)
-(I)iva (read) > -(I)iwawa (be heard)

But -lwa (fight) becomes -liwa instead of 1 -lwawa. The w of the active stem is elided, most probably for purposes of dissimilation.

The regular disyllabic stem hila (stay) may become -hialwa or -hialiwa. (see Imidenge, p. 142)

The irregular stem -tho becomes -thiwa.

10.85........
10.86. (3) Disyllabic vowel stems insert -iw-, but polysyllabic vowel stems follow Rule (1).

Examples:
- akha (build) > -akhiwa (be built)
- endza (make) > -endziwa (be made)
- oja (roast) > -ojiwa (be roasted)

But:
- alusa (herd) > -aluswa (be hardened)
- endzela (make for) > -endzelwa (be made for)
- oylie (fear) > -oyikwa (be feared)

10.87. (4) In a consonant stem, any bilabial consonant occurring in any syllable other than the first undergoes phonetic changes as described in 2.50. If there are more bilabials than one in such syllables, all are affected by the changes. Since a bilabial in the first syllable is never affected, and since in monosyllabic stems no such changes take place.

Examples:
- lumla (bite) > -lunywa (be bitten)
- funmana (obtain) > -funyanwa (be found)
- phazamisa (disturb) > -phazanyiswa (be disturbed)
- ngumamisa (cause to pause) > -ngunanyiswa (be caused to pause)

But -wa (stand) > -miwa (be stood)

Stems that elide the u after m in the active voice, retain the u in the passive voice.

Examples:
- lumla (wean) > -lunyulwa (be weaned)
- phumza (cause to rest) > -phumyuswa (be caused to rest)
- ngumla (cut) > -ngunyulwa (be cut)

(i) phu > tsh
- bopha (bind) > -botjhwaw (be bound)
- hlonipha (reverence) > -hlonitjhwaw (be reverenced)
- neiphisa (make small) > -nejitjiswa (be made small)
- chaphazela (spatter) > -chatjhaselwa (be spattered upon)
- chaphazelisa........


examples cont.

-chaqhezela (cause to) > -chatjhezela (cause to be)

- (spatter upon)

-phuphumela (overflow onto) > -phutjhumvela (be)

(overflowed onto)

But -pha (give) > -phiwa (be given)

(iii) bh > j.

gxobha (muddle) > -gxojwa (be muddled)

-xhabhela (spoil) > -xajwelva (be spoilt)

-qoobhonzela (penetrate into) > -qojrzela (be penetrated)

-bhabhanele (rage against) > -bhajanyelwa (be raged against)

(iv) mp > nj.

-krhwempa (scratch) > -krhwentiwa (be scratched)

-mpumputha (grope) > -mpuntjuthwa (be groped)

-mpompozisa (cause to gush out) > -mpontjoziswa (be

(caused to gush out)

(v) mbh > nj.

-bambha (seize) > -banjwa (be seized)

-khumbhula (remember) > -kunjulwa (be remembered)

-bambhaxela (detain) > -banjzelwa (be detained)

-combhalukela (unwind onto) > -conjulzelwa (be unwound

(onto)

But -Jmbha (dig) > ![j]mbhiwa (be dug)

(vi) b > ty.

-klaba (stab) > -klatywa (be stabbed)

-dubula (shoot) > -detyula (be shot)

-libazisa (delay) > -lityaziwa (be delayed)

-tjhabalalisa (destroy) > -tjhatyaziwa (be destroyed)

But -(I)ba (steal) > ![i]biwa (be stolen)

A bilabial in the second syllable of an active

vowel stem is never affected. But any bilabial occurring in any syllable

after the second is subject to the changes in (4).

10.28. (5) A bilabial in the second syllable of/
Examples
-amelea (strengthen) > -amelewa (be strengthened)
-arhula (break) > -arhulwa (be broken)
-amahatha (wear) > -amahathwa (be worn)
-amahula (uncover) > -amahulwa (be uncovered)
But:
avana (lean) > avanywa (be leaned against)
onvamela (supervise) > onvamelywa (be supervised)
-aluchaza (cause to grow old)
> aluchizawa (be caused to grow old)
onvamahiza (make each other happy)
> onvamahizawa (be made happy by each other)

10.80. (a) Reciprocal act. active stems that cannot be traced
to any existing simple stem or that are no longer felt to be
derivatives even though corresponding simple stems exist,
form the passive stem regularly by inserting -g- before the
final vowel, but reciprocal active stems with recognised
simple stems corresponding to them insert -g- before the
reciprocal suffix.
Examples
dibana (meet together) > -dityuwana (be met together)
fana (ramble) each other) > -funwa (be assembled by each other)
blangana (assemble) > -blanganywa (be assembled)
funana (obtain) > -funanywa (be obtained)
But:
bambana (hold each other) > -banywa (be held by each other)
tabana (jump over each other) > -tanywana (be jumped over
each other)
tyblilana (reveal to each other) > -tybilylwana (be revealed
to each other)
-evnana (fear each other) > -evilwana (be feared by each other)

10.90. In forming the passive stems from reduplicated act.
ive stems the rules are as follows:
(a) Monosyllabic active consonant stems insert -iw- in both
elements, e.g., funa-funa (seek a little) > -funwa-funwa
(b) Monosyllabic active stems drop yi- and insert -iy- in
both elements, e.g., (ibbhu-ibbha) (dig a little). phbwa-
mbhulwa.
(c) Disyllabic vowel stems insert -iw- in both elements, and drop also the "reinforcing" y, and the initial vowel of the stem in the second element.

e.g. -ojo-yoa (roast a little) > -ojiwa-jiwa

(d) Polysyllabic stems insert -y- before the final vowel of the second element.

e.g. funda-fundisa (teach a little) > -funda-fundiswa

-omele-meleza (strengthen a little) > -omele-melezwa

(e) In disyllabic and polysyllabic stems containing a bilabial consonant in both elements in a position in which it is subject to the phonetic changes described in (4), the bilabial undergoes these changes in both elements.

Examples.

shuma-shumayesza (preach to somewhat) > shunya-shunyayezwa

bopha-bopha (bind a little) > botjowa-botjowa

grxaba-grxabisa (do hurriedly) > bixa-grxajiswa

dubu-dubula (shoot a little) > dutyu-dutyulwa

-ayama-yanisa (cause to lean) > -ayanya-yanviswa

-onwaba-nwabisa (make happy a) > enwatyana-nwatyiswa

The Perfect Stem.

10.91. The perfect stem of the verb is derived from the present stem, or derivative. In general, there is a long form and a short form of the perfect stem. These are formed by substituting for the final vowel of the present stem.

The Active Perfect Stem.

10.92. The general rule for the formation of the active perfect stem is to substitute -ile and -e for the final vowel of the present stem to form the long perfect stem and the short perfect stem respectively.
Examples

thatha (speak) > -thathilo, -thatho
hono (soo) > -honoilo, -hono
funfa (learn) > -funfilo, -funfa
-tyn (eat) > -tyilo, -tyo
-evika (fear) > -evikilo, -evika

This applies to the majority of verb-stems. But there are numerous other stems that follow subsidiary rules. In general these have only one form of the perfect stem.

The subsidiary rules are as follows:

10.33. Stems ending in -alo, -ano, -atha, with the tone-pattern high-low, form the active perfect stem by changing -alo, -ano, -atha to -alo, -ano, -atha respectively.

Examples

lalo (sloop) > -lalo
bulalo (hill) > -bulolo
libalo (forget) > -libolo
funako (find) > -funako
blancano (meet) > -blancan

-honano (see each other) > -bunano
siranto (rest on lap) > -siranto
vatha (be arrayed) > -vatha

Exceptions: fono (rescuable) > -fono

-aloto (point out) > -alotilo, -alato
tha(ba)tha (take) > -tha(ba)thilo, -tha(ba)tho

The verb-stem phatha has the perfect stem -phathilo and -phatho when it means "touch", but the perfect stem -phatho when it means "carry", hold in hand" or "rule".

But stems in -alo, -ano, -atha with any tone-pattern other than high-low, follow the general rule.

Examples

(a) Pattern: low-high

dalo (create) > -dalilo, -dalo
bolan (count) > -bolilo, -bolo
valo (close) > -valilo, -valo

/sono .......
overleaf cont.

done (be disappointed) > -donilo, -dono
straha (shout) > -strahilo, -straho
matha (be stupid) > -mathilo, -matho

(b) Pattern 1: High-falling-low

bhala (write) > -bhailo, -bhala
khala (cry) > -khalilo, -khala
calo (begin) > -calilo, -calo
cuna (hit) > -cunilo, -cuna

Stems ending in -tha have pattern (b).

10.94. Active stems ending in -ala, -ala, -ula, with tone-pattern high-low, form the active perfect stem by substituting -g for final -g.

Examples:

calo (drink) > -calo
khala (mont) > -khalo
hukalo (chose) > -hukalo
cbala (pick up) > -cha
lobalo (ray bride-tribute) > -lobalo
rhunulo (deduct) > -rhunulo
cubulo (chose) > -cubulo

Stems ending in -ala, -ala, -ula with any tone-pattern other than high-low, follow the general rule.

Examples:

(c) Pattern 2: Low-high

calo (appear) > -calilo, -calo
calo (call) > -calilo, -calo
calo (rot) > -calilo, -calo
zalo (be calm) > -zalilo, -zalo
culo (sing) > -culilo, -culo
vulo (open) > -vulilo, -vulo

(b) Pattern 1: High-falling-low

calo (bag) > -calilo, -calo
rhodo (be cool) > -rhodilo, -rhole
khulo (grow) > -khulilo, -khulo
10.95. The following stems have certain irregularities of behaviour:

1. -be (be, become) has only the short form -be.
2. -thi (say) has both -thile and -the, but the long form -thile is now used exclusively as a weak adjectival stem, meaning "certain", e.g. u mfo o thile (a certain man).
3. -(I)ma (stand, stop) has the regular forms -(I)mile and -(I)me, and also the irregular form -(I)mi.

10.96. The following have irregular perfect stems: -bile (sit, stay) > -bile, -bile, -blelile, -bile

- blutha (be replete) > -bluthi, -bluth
ditha (be pregnant) > -dithi, -ditha
-tibo (say so) > -thile, -tibo

The Passive Perfect Stem

10.97. Just as the passive present stem is derived from the active present stem, so the passive perfect stem is derived from the active perfect stem.

10.98. The general rule for the formation of the passive perfect stem is to insert -w- before the final vowel of a corresponding active stem, and to slide the 1 or -ile where it exists. All the sound changes involved in the formation of the passive present stem, as described in 10.67, are effective in the formation of the corresponding perfect stem.

Examples

-thathile (\thatha - speak) > -thathiwe
-thathe (\ " " ) > -thathwe
-bambhile (\ bambha - hold) \ -banliwe
-barbhe (\ " " ) \ -babiwe
-fumene (\ fumane - obtain) \ -funyenwe
-lobole (\ lobola - pay bride-tribute) > -lotyolve

10.100. Monosyllabic active stems insert -iw- instead of -w-

Examples

-fe (.fa - die) \ -fiwe
-tye (- tya - eat) \ -tyiwe
Chapter 11.

11.1 In the conjugation of the verb, the general principle, though it does not hold in every case, is that every positive verbal form, in every mood, has a corresponding negative form, and vice versa. For this reason the verb has to be treated as fully in the negative conjugation as in the positive conjugation.

Voice

11.2 There are two voices, the active and the passive.

11.3 Some of the best known of present-day Bantuists regard the passive in Bantu as one of the verbal derivative species, but the passive does not modify the meaning of the verb in the same way as a derivative species does. The meaning of a sentence with a verb in the passive voice is substantially the same as it would be in the corresponding active. All that the passive does is to shift the emphasis from one substantive to another, by altering the syntactical relationship of some of the words in the sentence. To illustrate this point, let us consider the following sentences:

(1) U Thaka akazane wablasela u Bhungane (Thaka never attacked Bungane). In this sentence Thaka is the subject, and represents the man who never attacked Bungane, or the man by whom Bungane was never attacked. Bungane is the object, and represents the man whom Thaka never attacked, or the man who was never attacked by Thaka.

(2) U Bhungane akazane wablasela ngu Thaka (Bungane was never attacked by Thaka). Bhungane is now the subject of the sentence, but Bungane still represents the man whom Thaka never attacked, or the man who was never attacked by Thaka. Thaka is now part of the adverbial expression ngu Thaka, but Thaka still represents the man who never attacked Bungane, or the man by whom Bungane was never attacked. Whether the action is represented by blasela (attack) or by -blasela (be attacked), it is Thaka who does not attack Bungane, and it is Bungane who is not attacked by Thaka.

The change from the active to
the passive shifts the centre of the interest from Tjhaka to Bhungane, but substantially the meaning of the sentence does not change.

Compare the sentence in the passive (2) with: (3) U Tjhaka no Bhungane abazanga bahlaselana (Tjhaka and Bhungane never attacked each other), or (4) U Tjhaka akazanga wenzelaselana u Bhungane (Tjhaka never caused Bhungane to be attacked), in which the meaning is completely altered by the derivative suffixes -ana and -ina.

11.4. If the term "derivative species" is to be applied with its literal meaning to all verbal forms that are derived by means of suffixes, then the passive is a derivative species. But then, to be consistent, we shall have to regard all such derived forms as derivative species, including the perfect with suffixes -ile and -anza. The reason why the perfect stem is not regarded as a species is that it modifies relationship in respect of time only, there being no modification of the meaning of the verb indicating the action or state. It is on the same grounds that the passive is not regarded as a species by the present writer. It is true that "not to attack" and "not to be attacked" sound the opposite of each other. But it only does so if we consider these in isolation and lose sight of the fact that the change of syntactical relationship prevents the meaning from changing. Tjhaka not attacking Bhungane and Bhungane not being attacked attacked by Tjhaka are substantially one and the same thing.

Hood

11.5. There are six moods, viz.:-

(1) the Infinitive, which merely names the action or state indicated by the verb, e.g. u kuthetha (to speak), u kubanda (to be cold). It has substantival as well as verbal qualities.

^ See 12.318.
(2) the Imperative, which expresses direct commands. It has separate forms for the singular and the plural.
   o.g. thebal! (speak!), theban! (speak ye!)
(3) the Conative (see 12.10. et seq.)
   o.g. Yabhal! i ntamhili! (There goes the ball!)
      Sopa vi ndila! (I die of hunger!)
(4) the Indicative, which expresses direct statements and questions as to what was, is, or will be.
   o.g. Edanathana (I spoke), Dyathotha? (Are you speaking?),
      Taka nthotha (They are going to speak).
(5) the Subjunctive, which, inter alia, expresses indirect wishes and demands as to what ought to be, or a purpose, or a sequence of actions or states.
   o.g. Uthaththo bakhulu (You are to speak aloud), khona u buse
      uathatho (so that he may speak), Mambe uathatho (Get up and
      speak).
(6) the Potential, which expresses possibility, likelihood or
      permissibility of action or state.
   o.g. Anathotha haga (He can speak till dawn)
      Incano nombo-majo (It is likely to rain to-day)
      Dinsahathha necakhu (You can go now)

Primary and Secondary Modality

11.6. The modal forms found in the conative, indicative
      and potential moods subdivide themselves into primary and
      secondary. Primary modality expresses a complete thought, i.e.
      it is capable of constituting a grammatical sentence.
   o.g. Mathatha mphulile (he speaks now!), Dyathetha (he is speaking)
      Amathatha (he can speak).
Primary modality is incapable of expressing a complete
      thought and therefore does not constitute a complete
      grammatical sentence, but must be subordinated to a primary
      modal form. Secondary modality may be participial:
   o.g. athatha (he speaking), or relative, o.g. a thathana
      who is speaking).

/ 11.7..............
11.7. Some of the participial modal forms in the indicative mood, non-specific and perfect aspects, e.g. ombhile (he going), omambile (he having gone), omashambwe (he having gone - long ago), omothembu (he being about to go) have been recognized by some linguists and regarded as "the participial mood". But participial modal forms are to be found not only in other aspects of the indicative mood, but also in the comitative and potential moods. In the sentence: " vhiala phantai nio, ombhoni u kuba buyanayembe?" (That you sit down as you do, don't you see that there is work going on?), vhiala phantai nio is a participial phrase, the verb vhiala being in the comitative mood, participial modality. A form like omashambwe (he being likely to) is in the potential mood, participial modality. There is therefore no justification for picking on any particular participial form in any particular mood and classifying them as "the participial mood" as McLaren-Calah (Shona) and Doko (Zulu) do.

11.8. "Participials", as Jasperco points out, "are really a kind of adjectives formed from verbs". If we substitute the more comprehensive term "qualificatives" for "adjectives", it is not surprising to find that the relative predicative in Shona is based on the participial modality.

Compare:

(1) ethotho kumandhidi lo molo (low pleasantly this man speaks)
   (i) ethotho kumandhidi (the day he spoke pleasantly)
   (ii) diyabwana bsta ethotho (I do hear then speaking)
   (a) diyabwana bsta ethotho (I do hear then the speaking)

(2) omuno bse ethotho (the people being likely to speak)
   (a) omuno bse ethotho (the people the are likely to speak)

In the above pairs, the forms assumed by ethotho are all in
in secondary modalities, the first in each pair being participial
and the second relative. But in (1) they are in the comitative
mood, in (?) in the indicative, and in (3) in the potential.
There is therefore no "relative mood" in Shona, but relative
modality, which may be comitative, indicative or potential.
11. In this treatise, therefore, participial and relative modalities are treated as sub-divisions of the moods in which they occur.

Aspects

11.10. In addition to indicating assertion, negation, mood and modality, the verb may also indicate aspect. That is, it may indicate whether the action or state indicated by the verb was, is, or will be:

(1) in progress - this is the continuous aspect.
(2) completed - this is the perfect aspect.
(3) still to come - this is the intentional aspect.
(4) hypothetical - this is the conditional aspect.

In the indicative mood, which has a full range of tenses, all the above-mentioned aspects are to be found. In addition to these four, there is (5) a non-specific aspect, used when there is no specification of continuity, perfection, intention or condition. The connective, the subjunctive and the potential mood have no specific aspects.

Tenses

11.11. Any event is regarded as occurring at a point or period of time regarded as before the present, the present, or after the present. These are the three main divisions of time - past, present and future - which Jespersen (Philosophy, p. 257) represents by a straight line.

11.12. The tenses in which fall into these three main divisions. But there are further subdivisions representing the following:

(1) long before the present - this is the remote past.
(2) not long before the present - this is the recent past.
(3) not long after the present - this is the near future.
(4) long after the present - this is the remote future.

/These ................
These subdivisions may be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
<td>Recent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative mood has multi-purpose tense forms (see 12.10. at sec.), in the subjunctive mood there are tenseless forms (see 12.109.).

**Implication**

11.13. The action or state indicated by a verb may have a specific implication as to manner, frequency, habituality, progression, reason, continuity, etc. Such an implication is expressed by means of an **implicative verb** preceding the verb that indicates the action or state, or by an implicative formative placed to the stem of the verb indicating the action or state. There is evidence to suggest that the implicative formatives are in fact attenuated implicative verbs (see 12.46. at sec.).

The term **implicative verb** is used in this treatise in preference to Polio's "deficient verb", which the present writer considers an unsuitable term (see 15.1. at sec.). In this treatise implicative verbs and implications are treated apart from the regular conjugation of the verb, after all conjugational forms have been dealt with.

**Verbal formatives**

11.14. The main verbal formative is naturally the verb-stem, this may be simple or derivative, active or passive. Besides the stem there are other formatives, some common to both conjugations, some in the positive conjugation with corresponding forms in the negative conjugation, some in the positive conjugation with no corresponding forms in the negative, and vice versa. Some are common to all moods, and some characterize characterize certain moods only.
Classification of verbal formatives other than the stem

11.15. (1) Formatives found in the infinitive mood and in other modal forms based on the infinitive.

ku- the infinitive prefix, with or without the article.

a. *ku luthatha (to speak)

b. dizi kuthatha (I am not going to speak)

11.16. (2) Formatives found in the imperative mood only.

a. xi- a prefix to monosyllabic and vowel stems respectively.

b. *vitva (eat), vonwaba (be happy)

c. *vitvoni (eat you)

vonwaboni (be you happy)

*nuuni ku luthatha (do not speak)

11.17. (3) Formatives found in the indicative mood only.

a. -wv- the formative found in the long or emphatic form in the positive conjugation, primary modality, present tense only.

b. *vitvithatha (You are speaking)

c. -w- is replaced to monosyllabic and vowel stems respectively in the positive conjugation, participial modality, present tense.

b. *witiNitwa (I eating)

basebha (they building)

c. -lim. z is substituted for the final vowel of the positive present stem in the formation of the perfect aspect.

b. *nitithilwa (I have spoken)

nitithilwa nave (I spoke to him)

*anwa is substituted for the final vowel of the negative present stem in the formation of the negative of the perfect aspect.

b. *widithithanga (I have not spoken)

11.18. (4) Formatives found in the potential mood only.

a. *waw- is replaced to the stem in the positive conjugation.

b. hangatinga (they can speak)

b. *naw- is replaced to the stem in the negative conjugation.

*hangathi (they cannot speak)
11.19. (b) Formatives that are common to the xhosa, the
indicative and the potential mood.

- 1 : prefixed to the subjectival concord in the negative
conjugation in certain tenses.

*example* 

- slubandla (how cold it is), slubandla (it is not cold)

11.20. (c) Formative that are common to the indicative and the
potential mood.

- sluselwane (it is not likely to be cold)

11.21. (d) Formatives that are common to all moods except the
 imperative and the xhosa.

- sambalwa (survives of the sbea in certain tenses in/participial
and the relative modality.

- example* 

- a buntshwe (those who spoke - language)

a buntshwe (those who can speak)

11.22. (e) Formatives that are common to the xhosa, the
indicative, the subjunctive and the potential mood.

These are the subjectival predicative concords, which may vary
according to conjugation, mood, modality, and tenses, e.g. nda-
or ndi- in the following expressions:

- ndifihla (here I couc), ndifihla (I have come)

- ma ndifihla kusaca (I must come in the morning)

- ma ndifihla husaca (I can come in the morning)

(See Tables 11.16 - 11.37)

11.23. (f) Formatives that are common to all moods.

(a) The objective verbal concords, of which bu in the following
expressions is an example:

- u bulabona (tose them), babona (see them)

- ndabulabona (here I see they), ndabulabona (I see them)

- ma ndabulabona (I had better see them)

- ndingakabona (I can see them)

(See Tables 11.18, 11.21, 11.38)
(b) **-si**: the reflexive affix.

- **-usibona** (to see oneself)
  - **sibona** (see yourself)
  - **ndusibona** (here I see myself)
  - **ndiyusibona** (I see myself)
  - **ndisibona** (I had better see myself)
  - **ndiyasibona** (I can see myself)

11.84. (16) Implicative formations. These are probably attenuated implicative verb- stems (see 13. 45.):  
  - **-sa-**: e.g., **ndisaththa** (I am still speaking)
  - **-ka-**: e.g., **ndikaththa** (I am not yet speaking)

The Subjectival Predictive Concord

11.85. The **subjectival predictive concord** (subject concord for short) is part of the verb in the presentative, the indicative, the subjunctive and the potential mood. Formally, it refers to whatever explicit or implicit substantive expression is the subject, and it agrees with that substantive in person, number and class, except for purely phonological reasons as described in 10.35., a verbal predicate in any of the moods mentioned above always has a recognizable subject concord, whether the substantive-expression to which it refers is expressed or merely understood.

**Examples**

- **a bantuwa halala** (the children are asleep)
  - **halala** (they are asleep)

The **ba** of **halala** is the subject concord referring to the substantive expression **a bantuwa**, which is the subject. The noun **bantuwa** is in the third person, plural number, Class 2. By means of the subject concord **ba**, the verb **halala** agrees with the subject in person, number and class.

**Impersonal Subjectival Predictive Concord**

11.86. But there is also what may be termed "impersonal reference" to a substantive expression, and for this un
an impersonal subjectival concord is used. In non-copulative predicative expressions the impersonal subjectival concord used in ku-, kum-, or kum-, most probably the subject concord of Class 17.

Examples

kupinda (it is cold)
kuuduruolo (it is warm)

Strong and Weak Subject Con ecstatic

11.27. In an earlier chapter, a weak prefix was defined as "a prefix that contains no consonant other than a nasal". A weak subject concord is one that consists of a vowel only, e.g. ə-, əə-, ə. Weak subject concords are found only in the second person singular and in the weak-prefix classes of the third person.

11.28. Consecutival forms of the subject concord are used when the concord comes immediately before a vowel. It is to be noted that (i) in the consecutival forms the weak concords ə and əə become strong by accucing the forms y and y respectively, and ə is completely absorbed by the initial vowel of the verb-stem, whatever the quality of the initial vowel. (See 11.30.) (ii) in the indicative and the potential mood, the negative conjugation has weak subject concords, (iii) of the subjunctive mood, positive (iii) in the purposive use of the subjunctive mood, positive and negative, only strong concords are found.

11.29. The position of the subject concord is before the verb-stem. But other formatives may come in between.

Examples

(i) ədiibona ə na (I see a dog)
 idi- is the subject concord and na- the verb-stem

(ii) ədiiviribona (I see it)
 Fore the auxiliary formative -v- and the object concord vi-

/ separato......
separate the subject concord from the verb-stem.

11.30. In the positive conjugation, the subject concord is always the first formative of the verb. In most negative forms, on the other hand, it is preceded by the negative formative a. In fact, where this particular negative formative is admissible, it always precedes the subject concord.

Examples.

andiyiboni (I do not see it)
akaflkanza (he has not arrived)
sasingemboni (we are not likely to see him)

The negative formative -nga-, on the other hand, always comes after the subject concord.

Examples.

bengathethi (they not speaking)
u kuza angathethi (so that he may not speak)

The Objectival Verbal Predicative Conords

11.31. The objectival verbal concord ("object concord" for short) may be part of a transitive verb in any mood. It refers to what-explicit or implicit substantive expression is the object, and agrees with such expression in person, class and number.

Example.

Ndibalalisile a bantwana. (I have put the children to bed)
The ba in ndibalalisile is the object concord referring to the substantive expression a bantwana, which is the object. If the substantive expression is understood, the object concord stands without it.

Example.

Ndibalalisile (I have put them to bed)
All locative substantive expressions employ the object concord of Class 17, ku-
11.32. Consonantal forms of the object concord are used before vowel verb-stems.

**Examples.**

(i) **Ndizabo nga a bantwana** (I nurse the children) b- is the consonantal form of the object concord of class 2, referring to a bantwana.

(ii) **Ndizalwazi u khozi** (I do know the eagle) lw- is the consonantal form of the object concord lw- referring to u khozi.

11.33. The position of the object concord is always immediately before the verb-stem. If the object concord is admissible, no formative may intervene between it and the verb-stem, not even the infinitive prefix.

**Examples.**

**Ndizalubona u lundi** (I do see the horizon) **Ndisalubona u lundi** (I still see the horizon) **Ndya kulubona u lundi** (I shall see the horizon)

**The Reflexive Affix.**

11.34. Closely related to the object concord, semantically and syntactically, is the reflexive affix -zi- .

**Examples.**

u kuzibona (to see oneself) Zincadeni (Help yourselves) un kazibuze (I had better ask himself)

The reflexive affix is a kind of object. It therefore has the same invariable position as the object concord, immediately before the verb-stem.
The object concord and the reflexive affix are mutually exclusive. For instance, we can say *u kuzifunela u msebendzi* (to seek work), *wu* being the object concord referring to *u msebendzi*, and we can say *u kuzifunela u msebendzi* (to seek work oneself). But if we want to express the idea "to seek it for oneself", we replace the object concord *wu* by a substantive expression, in this case the corresponding absolute pronoun:

*e.g.* *u kuzifunela wona* (to seek it for oneself)

**Explanation of Concord Tables.**

11.36. In the following tables

(i) the figures 1, 2, and 3 indicate primary, participial and relative modality respectively.

(ii) the round brackets indicate that the sound in question is omitted in certain circumstances.

For example, the *k* of the subject concord *ka* of class 1 in the subjunctive mood appears only when the verb is preceded by the implicative verb *ma*.

*Cf.* *khona u kuze abambhe* (in order that he may go)

*Ma kahambhe* (he had better go)

(iii) the symbol *A* indicates that the subject concord, which is normally *a*, merges with the initial vowel of the verb-stem if the concord comes immediately before the verb-stem.
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| *Flur.* sa-sa-     | si-si-si-  | saa-
| *2nd Pers.* (Sing.)| wa-wa-     | u-(nu-u-  | waa-
| *Flur.* pa-pa-     | ni-ni-ni-  | naa-
| *3rd Pers.* Classes 1 & 1a | wa-wa-     | u-(we-u- a- | waa-
| 2 & 2a             | ba-ba-     | be-be-be-   | baa-
| 3                 | wa-wa-     | u-(wu-u-   | waa-
| 4                 | wa-wa-     | i-(ti-i-   | vaa-
| 5                 | la-la-     | li-li-li-   | lea-
| 6                 | a-(wa-     | a-(we-a-   | (waa-
| 7                 | sa-sa-     | si-si-si-  | saa-
| 8                 | za-za-     | zi-zi-zi-  | za-
| 9                 | ya-ya-     | i-(yi-i-   | vaa-
| 10                | za-za-     | zi-zi-zi-  | za-
| 11                | kwa-kwa-   | lu-lu-lu-  | lwa-
| 14                | ba-ba-     | bu-bu-bu-  | ba-
| 15                | kwa-kwa-   | ku-ku-ku-  | kwa-
| **Locative**       | kwa-kwa-   | ku-ku-ku-  | kwa-
**Conjugation**

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*These consonantal forms are common to the conjunctive, the indicative, and the subjunctive mood.*
### Subjective Predicative Conords

#### Negative Conjugation

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#### Notes on the Conords

1. The present indicative, primary modality, past tense, has no corresponding negative forms. The participial and the relative modality use the same concords as for the positive conjugation.

2. The participial and the relative modality in the potential mood use the same concords as for the positive conjugation.

Common to the indicative and the commentative mood...
### Objective Verbal Conords

All moods and tenses, positive and negative.

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<td>1st P. Sing.</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
<td>si-</td>
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<td>2nd P. Sing.</td>
<td>ku-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a.</td>
<td>m-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>ba-</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>wu-</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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<td>zi-</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>lu-</td>
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<td>14.</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>ku-</td>
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<td>Locatives:</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vowels before Vowel Verb-Stem


(1) As subject concord ı becomes ə before the initial ə, ə or ə of a verb-stem.

Examples

(i) A rədəa akha < e-akha i ndlu.
   (The men are building a hut)

(ii) A rədəa ondzə < e-ondza nto ni?
    (What are the men doing?)

(iii) A rədəa ovila < e-ovila nto ni?
     (What are the men afraid of?)

(2) The final ə of any other formative is elided before the initial ə, ə or ə of a verb-stem.

Examples

(i) A rədəa onqıhə < onq hyster.
   (The men can build)

(ii) A rədəa onqıvi < onq ovıla.
    (The men are likely to be afraid)

(iii) A rədəa onqıdzə < onq onqıdzə nto ni?
     (What can the men do?)

(3) As subject concord, ı becomes ə before the initial vowel of a verb-stem.

Examples

(i) I rəbo ovila < i-ovila nto ni?
    (What do the men see?)

(ii) I rəbo ondzə < i-ondza nto ni?
    (What do the men do?)

(iii) I rəbo ovıla < i-ovıla nto ni?
     (What do the men see?)

(c) The final vowel ı of any formative is elided before a verb-stem.
(1) I nica-ke melha < ni-pelha i melu.
(2) The servant is building a hut.

(1) I nica-ke mendera < ni-pendera i mendo.
(2) Bold the servant doing?)

(iii) I nica-ke noviya < ni-povivi i noviya.
(2) Other in the servant afraid of?)

(i) The subject concord, y becomes y before the initial vowel of a verb-stem.

Example

(1) I reko uletha < u-uletha i melu.
(2) This man is building a hut.

(2) I reko ulegha < u-ulegha i melu.
(2) What is this man doing?)

(iii) I reko ovivi < u-ovivi i melu.
(2) The final y of a formative becomes y before initial a or o, but is elided before initial o, of a vowel verb-stem.

Example

(1) U moko lelha < lueletha i melu.
(2) The family is building a hut.

(2) U moko legha < luelegha i melu.
(2) What is the family doing?)

(iii) U moko lovivi < lueLovivi i melu.
(2) What is the family afraid of?)

Verb Stem before Initial-I Stems

11.40. The vowel a/, whether standing alone or as final vowel of a formative, normally coalesces with initial 1, and the resultant is o, e.g. voc: I (There be coales) < Voc-110. (1) When functioning as a tense-forming auxiliary verb, the stem -(I)ma does not behave like a Initial-I stem, in that a preceding a remains a, whereas it becomes o when -(I)ma functions as an independent verb indicating action.
Compare the following:

(1)  
(2)  
(3)  

The following illustrations come from African:

"unia, un--ilia, iulila"  
(he erected a church building)

"unila (< kas-ila)" (they were heard)

...tulamu, p. 10 and 13.

"eulila, un--oca, unila" (< kas-ila)

(they have heard or heard)

"uila luthia and sala (< o--iihula) no?"  
(Aren't there any who are said to have been buried?)

Tiyo Soga, p. 490

"uiva (< ena--iva) rau"  
(which is not heard by anyone)

"loko cilia (< ca--iilo) uyuuka-a-anukale"  
(nevertheless they learnt from yufaras)

...tulamu, pp. 60 and 100

"uivwevakivo (< ena--iva) kivo"  
(who do not understand each other)

...tulamu, p. 111

"uwa ena--ihadana (< o--ihadana)"  
(because they had not visited)

"univa (< uwa--iva)"  
(though they have been heard for the time being)

...tulamu, p. 177
On the other hand, Solilo writes lyphosion ( < lyphos-losion) (it is stolen).

op. cit. p. 221
as well as the positive conjugation. Thus, if there is an object concord or the reflexive affix, the full prefix is employed.

**Examples**

- u kuvakha (to build it)
- u kusoyikha (to frighten oneself)

12.4. The literal meaning of the negative infinitive is "to not ....", e.g. u kungathethi (to not speak). It is important to stress this, because to understand it is to understand the conception underlying the existence of a negative as well as a positive conjugation. "Not-doing" a thing is as conceivable as "doing" a thing; "not-being" is as conceivable as "being". nor is this conception a peculiarity of the supposed primitive Bantu mind, aserner suggests.

*] (Bantu Languages, p. 131). To disagree is as conceivable as to agree; to dislike is as conceivable as to like; to disobey is as conceivable as to obey. Only, in the genius of the Bantu languages, this conception manifests itself over a much wider range than in the genius of English.

Consequently, in verbal constructions involving the infinitive, this conception can be employed to convey important shades of meaning that English can sometimes convey only by circumlocution, if at all.

**Examples**

- Iwana u kungathethi naye (don't not-speak to him)
- Andizi kungazithathalali (I won't not-speak for myself)

Note also the difference in meaning between the two sentences in each of the following pairs :-

- (Andizi kungathethi naye (I am not going to help you)
- (Ndizia kungazithathalali (I am going to not-help you)
- (Andifuni kubonha xa ndimakhe (I do not want to be seen when I leave)
- (Ndifuna u kungazithathalali (I want not to be seen when I leave)

- (Nzizinaala kuhamba nxapha bula migabo (We do not intend to participate in these celebrations)
- (Nzizinaala u kungazitha nxapha bula migabo (We intend not to participate in these celebrations)
Chapter 12.

THE CONJUGATION OF THE V-TH

The Active Voice

The Infinitive Mood

12.1. The characteristic of the infinitive mood is the infinitive prefix ku- (kv- before a and e, k- before o), which, as a noun prefix, is preceded by the article u, making u ku- (u kv- before a and e, u k- before o). This prefix is prepended to the verb-stem.

Example

u kuthetho (to speak) u lubone (to see)

u kwalha (to build) u kwenda (to make)

u kovika (to fear) u kopo (to rest)

12.2. The negative of the infinitive mood is formed from the positive by infixing -nga- (-na- and -nqa- before vowel stem and latent-A stem respectively) immediately after the prefix, and changing the final vowel of the positive stem into -i.

Example

u kunqathethi (not to speak) u kunqaboni (not to see)

u kunqakhi (not to build) u kunqendai (not to make)

u kunqoyika (not to fear) u kunqosi (not to come)

(1) The stem -va may end in -a or -i, depending on the meaning. With the meaning "hear" its final vowel remains -a, u kunqave (not to hear), but with the meaning "feel" its final vowel changes into -i, e.g. u kunqvi kalubi (not to feel sore). In the finite moods too this distinction is maintained, e.g. undiva (I do not hear), undivi kalubi (I do not feel sore)

(ii) The final vowel of -tsha does not change in the negative; u lutsha (to say so) > u kunqatsha (not to say so). In fact, the final -a of -tsha does not change in any mood or tense.

12.3. As u kunqakhi, u kunqendai etc. show, even the vowel stems have the full prefix when some other formative comes between the prefix and the stem. This applies to the negative
Properties of the Infinitive

12.5. The infinitive is at the same time a noun of Class 15 and a verb. As a noun, it can be used (1) as subject before a verb, (ii) as object after a verb, (iii) as complement to a copula, (iv) to indicate (a) the possessor (b) the possessor in possessive construction.

Examples

U lunyana a bonya vi zunggo yake (To help others is your duty)
Tiva kumula piti u kubenda? (When will you begin to work?)
U kubuda ku kuhona kinto (To grow is to see things)
U kuthona kwa janga (at sunset - lit. "at the setting of the sun")
E awa to kubenda (after working)

As a noun, it drops the article in the circumstances in which nouns drop the article.

Examples

Antithi kuthethi nayo (I do not want to speak to him)
Antithathi aki kuthetha (I do not like this manner of speech)

As a verb, it can have verbal adjuncts, i.e., one or more substantival objects, an object concord and/or one or more adverbial extensions.

Examples

U kuthetha a siHosa (to speak Hosa)
U kuthetha a siHosa kankula (to speak Hosa well)
U kusitetha kankula a siHosa (to speak it well, Hosa)
U kubonkela i ndlela (to show them the way)
U kubonka a bantu i ndlela (to show the people the way)

Some further Uses of the Infinitive

12.6. The infinitive mood has several uses in Hosa. It is used as follows:

(1) Temporally, in the locative form:
   e kushunywa bokha (on his return) < u kubunya
   e kusumi (at dawn) < u kusa

(2) Temporally, followed by a possessive qualification:
   U kumonyo kubokha

("how greedy he is!")
(3) To express purpose, in which case it does not employ the article.

**Examples**

Ediza kuthumana ii phone em (I have come to fetch my cattle)
La aiya kuqela u xolo (Let us go and beg for peace)

(4) Absolutely, with a verb containing the same stem, for purposes of emphasis.

**Examples**

U kumbona gaimbona (As to going him, we did not see him)
U kubahlela sivukhabha (As to going, we are going
Uvacela no kuqela nqoko (We even drink now)

In its interrogative form, this construction is usually made more emphatic by the use of a demonstrative qualifying the infinitive.

**Examples**

Lo mfo ufilo u kufa oku? (Is this man really dead?)
Ndizana u kupa oku kwa Godlo? (Am I really going to Godlo's?)
Uvakhabha kumpha oku? (Are you really giving him?)
Vuthetha u kuthetha oku? (Did he really speak?)

(6) In the following verbal constructions:

(a) the negative imperative:

Muna u kuthetha (Don't speak)

(b) the future indicative:

Ediza kuthetha (I am going to speak)

(c) copulative, to express ability:

Ndize kuthetha (I can do to speak)

(6) In conjunctive constructions. Most subordinate conjunctives in these involve the infinitive of some verb or other (10.12. et sec.)
Example:
(i) Introducing substantival clauses:

u kuba (to be, that):
Lxalolo u kuba giyathamba neku (Tell him that we are going now)

(ii) Introducing adverbial clauses:

u kuba (in order that):

Incedo u kuso akuncedo noyo (Help him in order that he too may help you)

nxa ko kude (to such an extent that):

Ine nxa ko kude i silimo sifo (It rained to such an extent that the plants were ruined)

nxa phendle ko kuba (unless):

Andivi kuska nxa phendle ko kuba u mkohlwa nem afike.
(I shall not go away unless my elder brother arrives)

Uza kumbotholola nxa kuba uyathande.
(He is going to speak for him because he likes him)

The Imperative Mood

177. The following are the rules for the formation of the imperative mood, positive conjugation:

1. The singular of verbs with disyllabic and polysyllabic stems, without object concord or reflexive affix, consists of the verb-stem, without any inflexion.

Example:

thetha (speak), bona (see), nobanda (work)

hambe (go), baya (come back), khumthula (remember)

2. The singular of verbs with monosyllabic stems, without object concord or reflexive affix, is formed by prefixing yi- to the verb-stem. This rule holds even for those monosyllabic stems with a latent i.

Examples:

-lva (fight) > yilva
-tva (eat) > yitva
-(l)ca (come) > yica
-(l)va (hour) > yiva
(3) The singular of vowel verbs, without object concord or reflexive affix, is formed by prefixing -y- to the verb-stem.

-lying (pain) > piny
-rying (sow) > siny
-lying (rule) > runden
-arying (rout) > roye
-rying (food) > rondle

(4) The singular of vowel verbs stem end in -g, with an object concord or reflexive affix before the verb-stem, is formed by substituting -g for the final g of the verb-stem.

boring (see) with object concord ine- > bineon (see then)
burning (red) with reflexive affix nie- > niman (not yourself)
-ing (cat) with object concord ine- > luneo (cat it)
-spining (gives) with reflexive affix an- > manpo (give yourself)
-icing (rocket) with object concord nie- > noye (rocket it)
-arning (nurse) with reflexive affix nie- > narm (nurse yourself)

(5) The irregular -ing, -ing, -hine, and -tine do not change the final vowel.

boring Rand save the baby (know those people well)
burning Rand save the creeping (know your own self first)
-ting to a bunny (look him straight in the face)
-sing a baby to tinge (cover yourself with a blanket)
-arning a little itting (give that alarm clock)

(6) The imperative mood plural of any type of verb-stem, with or without object concord or reflexive affix, is formed by suffixing -y- to the corresponding singular form.

ting (go) > cling, with (cat) > cathy
ying (point) > willy, time (see him) > yimian
bining (not yourself) > binming, witty (any co) > wity
The Negative Imperative

There are no direct negative forms corresponding to the positive forms dealt with above. Since the negative form corresponding to u kuthatha is u kunqathethi, it would be expected that the negative form corresponding to theta (speak) would be nekathethi (do not speak).

(Cf. Southern Sotho: lo bwe (to speak), ho se bwe (not to speak).

bwe (speak), se bwe (do not speak).

This direct negative form is not used in the imperative mood in Sotho or in any other Igumbi dialect, as far as we know. Instead, direct negative commands are expressed by means of the positive imperative mood of the defective verb musa (remove), and the positive or negative infinitive mood of the verb indicating the action or state. The word indicating the action or state thus becomes the substantive object of musa, e.g., musa u kunqathethi (lit. "remove the speaking" i.e. do not speak).

musa u kunqathethi (do not refrain from speaking)

The rules for its formation are as follows:

(1) The singular of any type of verb, with or without object concord or reflexive affix, is formed by prefixing the positive or negative infinitive of the verb indicating the action or state.

Examples

musa u kuthatha (do not speak)
musa u kunqathethi (do not refrain from speaking)
musa u kusipha (do not give us)
musa u kumisibumi (do not refrain from asking yourself)

(2) The plural in all cases is formed by suffixing -ni to musa, to form musani.

Examples

musa u kuthatha > musani u kuthatha
musa u kunqathethi > musani u kunqathethi
musa u kusipha > musani u kusipha
musa u kumisibumi > musani u kumisibumi
129. A verb in the imperative mood,

(1) may stand alone, i.e. without indication as to who is being addressed:

Hululuzo! (Listen!), Nkwalosani! (Hurry!)

(2) may be preceded or followed by a substantive or substantives indicating the addressee:

ldoni, Hululuzo! (Young man, listen!)

Zintombi, Nkwalosani (Girl, hurry!)

"Hina be thuthu, thathan' u-Gangzibal

..........................

Hini be lwa Zulu, thathan' a madshazal" ("Ye Sotho people, take ye Canopus!

* * * * * * * * * * *

Ye of the House of Zulu, take ye Orion!

(Quhoyi: Columbia Gram Record AB 61

Fenunccan, ekhukakani, kulukoloni a bantuwa bonu! (Heads of families, mothers, take care of your children!)

"Thumani nonke! Thumani nonke nise kufanokisa!" (Come all! Come all and identify!)

(Quhoyi: Columbia Gram Record AB 60

Vuhuni, sis-e, mani niswana! (Arise, ye tribes, and ye tribelets!)

(3) may be modified by one or more adverbials:

Chetha Pakhulu, mfamni

(Speak out, young man!)

Bantuwa, mncwedi zinhle nooku

(Children, go into the house now)

(4) may have one or more substantial object(s):

Nyuwani a madoda kwe nooku.

(Choose one man at once)

Bantuwa, tsholani seyible nooyeke

(Children, obey your fathers and mothers)

Yipha a bantuwa u lutya

(Give the children some food)
It must be noted that in the "negative", the infinitive, though an object, can have its own adverbial maximisation and substantial adjuncts:

luva u kutha pa l o o m a d o d a
(Do not confer with those men)

luva u kujona mna
(Do not watch me)

lusani u kubaxelal u luba niyahambha
(Do not tell them that you are going)

lusani u kuchatha a bantu kanganha
(Do not cheat the people so much)

The Commen t at i ve Mood

12.10. The term commen tative mood is proposed in this treatise for the modal forms, positive and negative, that have been regarded by some Bantu grammarians as the past tense of the subjunctive mood. As the illustrations given later will show, there is hardly any reason for regarding these forms as subjunctive rather than indicative, or past rather than present tense.

12.11. The commentative mood has only one tense, with positive and negative forms. It has primary and secondary modality. The only difference between its primary and its participial modality is in intonation. Relative modality is possible only when the forms in question function in a dependent capacity as elements in certain circumstances, certain compound tenses, and also after certain temporal nouns. The only difference in concord is in Class in certain circumstances, which will be described later.

Positive

Primary and Participial

12.12. The positive forms, primary and participial modality, are formed by prefixing the subject concords as set out in 11.36. Column I to consonant stems and as set out in 11.36. Column VII to vowel stems.
10. The following are the personal and class forms with
(oral.)

thatho and -elha (built) as root verb-sterm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>JING.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. plur.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>2. plur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locatives: kuthetha, kuthha

(1) Before intent-2 stem, the vowel of the subject concords in
set (a) become g, e.g., mere, nova, ulehe.

(2) Before stems containing in g, the forms of the concords in
Classes II, 10 and the locative clauses in set (b) would be
1-1- and 1- respectively.

Locative

Class II. Nitihela

10. Nitihela

Locative: Nitihela

(cf. 11.56. (2))

Locative

10.14. The negative forms employ the subject concords as set
cut in 11.57., column I before conceptual stem, and as set
cut in column II before verbal stem. The negative forms
a- is yeploaced to the subject concord.

12.25. The personal and class forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st. Par.</td>
<td>ing. anathotha</td>
<td>endakha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plur. anathotha</td>
<td>anakha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd. Par.</td>
<td>ing. akwathotha</td>
<td>akwakha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plur. anathotha</td>
<td>anakha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd. Par., Cls. 1 &amp; 2a</td>
<td>akathotha</td>
<td>akakha</td>
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<tr>
<td>2a.</td>
<td>abathotha</td>
<td>abakha</td>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>ovathotha</td>
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<td>araathotha</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>avathotha</td>
<td>avakha</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>ezathotha</td>
<td>ezakha</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>elvathotha</td>
<td>alvakra</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>elvathotha</td>
<td>alvakha</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>elvathotha</td>
<td>alvakha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>elvathotha</td>
<td>alvakha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before latent-I stems the vowel of the concords in set (a) becomes ə, e.g. endaka, anakha, akwakha.

12.16. A verb in the commentative mood may indicate an action or state in one or two or all three divisions of time. In most cases only the context makes it clear whether the action or state indicated by the verb is to be regarded as past, present or future.

To illustrate this point, let us imagine that there is a horse-race and that there is a running commentary in Xhosa. Such a running commentary would be something like the following:

//Xhosa  .......
(The horses are getting into position. They're getting ready. Red-Gold gets out of position. He is coming back. He gets into position again. They are ready. They're off! They're taking the bend. Wireless is ahead. No, Milky way is covering up. Red-Gold is covering up too. No Wireless is well ahead.)

To the one who "listens in", the actions of the horses refer to the present. But if a race-course patron were to relate the same events, days or weeks or years later, he would use exactly the same tense forms.

12.16. Similarly, the following might refer to the present or to the past:

- Yakhal’i ntsimbhi.
  (There goes the bell! or, The bell rang)
- Wafik’u Maduna
  (Here come Maduna! or, Maduna came)
- Kwabanda
  (How cold it is! or, It became cold)
- Wabil’u mntwana
  (How the child perspires! or, The child perspired)
- Akavuya u Liziwe!
  (Isn't Liziwe delighted! or, Wasn't Liziwe delighted!)
- Ababaleka!
  (How they run! or, Didn't they run!)

12.17. In relative clauses, after temporal nouns, commentative predicatives may indicate the past or the future.

**Examples**

- Mhla ndaphila ndaambulela:
  (The day I recovered I thanked him) ir.
- Mhla ndaphila ndiwa kumbulela
  (The day I recover, I shall thank him)

/Hyakana
In all these examples it is the verb in the main clause that shows whether the event indicated by the verb in the commentative mood is to be regarded as past or future.

12.18. Again, these forms may indicate the present, the past, or the future. Consider the following sentences:

Matya, endatya, wikathala ni ni vena?

In this sentence madya and endatya may fall into any of the three divisions of time, and any aspect, as follows:

1. Present, non-specific:
   
   Whether I eat or not what does it matter to you?

2. Present continuous aspect:
   
   Whether I am eating or not what does it matter to you?

3. Present, perfect aspect:
   
   Whether I have eaten or not what does it matter to you?

4. Recent past, continuous aspect:
   
   Whether I have been eating or not what does it matter to you?

5. Remote past, non-specific aspect:
   
   Whether I ate or not what does it matter to you?

6. Remote past, continuous aspect:
   
   Whether I was eating or not what does it matter to you?

7. Dear future, non-specific aspect:
   
   Whether I am about to eat or not what does it matter to you?

8. Dear future, continuous aspect:
   
   Whether I am about to be eating or not what does it matter to you?

9. Dear future, perfect aspect:
   
   Whether I am about to have eaten or not what does it matter to you?
Remote future, non-specific aspect:

Whether I shall eat or not what does it matter to you?

Remote future, continuous aspect:

Whether I shall be eating or not what does it matter to you?

Remote future, perfect aspect:

Whether I shall have eaten or not what does it matter to you?

12.19. Sometimes this mood is employed to indicate the past and the present at the same time. In the following lines in praise of the Prince of Wales (Columbia Gram. Record 19. 60), Nhaya is looking at the past and the present at the same time:

"Sathunyelw' i nyaniso i sayiluthw' i nyaniso,
Sathunyelw' u buntu i sabuthinjw' u buntu,
Sathunyelw' u kuhunya i sahlala e cinini -
Sahlala e mini libalel' i langal!"

Regarded as the present, this would mean:

We are given the truth; denied the truth,
We are given life, deprived of life,
We are given the light, we live in the dark,
Enlighted in the bright noon-day sun.

Even if we regard it as the past, the latter half of the third line includes the present. Instead of sahlala e cinini, it could be sibhali e cinini or sibhala e cinini.

In the same poem we find the lines:

"Ilukumi yaa lukiuni, yaa lukhuni ..."

(she is hard and hard and hard ....)

In this line yaa is a contracted form of the copulative verb yaba, in the commentative mood. The preceding copulative ilukumi is in the indicative mood, present tense. The verb yaba indicates a state that began to exist in the past and continues to exist in the present. It might therefore be regarded as the perfect aspect of the present.
12.20. Participially, a verb in the commentative mood is followed by nje in a rhetorical question. The participial may be "present" or "past".

Examples:

Nhambha nje, sitetha nani?
(What do you mean - walking away when we are talking to you?)
Makwedini, nonwaba nje i mpahla ingabonakali?
(You boys, how can you be so carefree when the livestock is not to be seen?)
Kwasa nje, silinde nto ni?
(Now that the day has dawned, what are we waiting for?)
Laphelala nje i bandla u mhetho umi nga ni?
(Now that the whole assembly is here, what is the court waiting for?)
Basibonisa nje oomawokhulu i ndlela yo kufa kwa madoda, sizakwe yini?
(Since our forefathers showed the way men should die, what is our difficulty?)

In these sentences, the participials in the commentative mood can be replaced by participials in the indicative mood as follows:-

Nhambha nje, nonwabile nje, kusile nje,
liphelile nje, basibonisayo nje.

12.21. But if a rhetorical question is more exclamatory than interrogative, the verb is in its primary modality and nje is absent.

Examples:

Nhambha, ndithetha nawe?
(You walk away when I am talking with you?)
Namaqza i nto ye ntsini, eniqebisa?
(You make him your laughing-stock, when he is advising you?)
Walila kaloku?
(You cry now?)

12.22. The commentative mood is used in consecutive verbal constructions after a verb in the recent or remote past tense, non-specific aspect, to indicate an action or state following / after ....
after another action or state. This explains why it is the predominant mood in narrative.

Examples.

Sivuke sasebenda.
(We got up and worked)

Baafuna i ndawo balale.
(They found a place and slept)

Wajonga, wajonga, wahlanguzela i ntloko.
(He looked and looked and stuck his head)

In the formation of remote compound tenses, the verb u_kuba (to be), with its final vowel changed to e, is used in the commentative mood before the verb indicating the action or state.

Examples.

Ndabe ndithetha.
(I was speaking)

Sabe singababonanga.
(We had not seen them)

Zabe zingahambhayo.
(They could have gone)

This construction is discussed more fully in 12.141. et seq.

12.23. Viewed in the light of its various uses and the various meanings it conveys, this mood and its tense would seem to be a multi-purpose form, now appearing where the indicative mood would be expected, now appearing where the subjunctive would be expected, now appearing as a past "tense", and the next moment as a present or future, now appearing as a primary modal form, and the next moment as a secondary participial etc. etc. It has neither specific modal significance nor specific time relation. It seems to stand apart, ready to fill up all sorts of gaps. Nor is this found in Ngubi only. There are some other Bantu language-groups in which this verbal form cannot be fixed. In Ila, for instance, this form (termed "the aorist tense" by E.W. Smith) is used as a perfect tense, as a present tense, "as an historic past" (narrative past) and, "with a slight change in accent it has a future meaning". (A Handbook of the Ila Language, p. 151)
It is true that in one of its numerous uses, the subjunctive mood employs the comitative modal forms as its past tense. But this is no justification for completely ignoring the other uses of the comitative modal forms.

12.25. The tendency with Bantuists is to regard the present indicative modal forms of the subject concord as the subject concord, and the concords of other modal and tense forms as "modifications" of "the subjectival concords". (e.g., Doke: Zul.Cr. 318-316). The danger of this approach becomes manifest when the grammarian is driven to say: "3rd pers. Cl. I is, y becomes either ka- or a- "(Doke: op. cit. 316) - a change that cannot be explained phonologically.

12.26. If we accept Neinhof's theory of the origin of Bantu concord, as described in Chapter 6 of this treatise, then we must accept the view that a set of subject concords that has a as its vowel, instead of mixed vowels, is more primitive than one that has mixed vowels. If we accept this view, then we have to regard the present-day present indicative subject concords as of relatively recent development.

12.27. In the present writer's opinion, the subject concords of the comitative mood are the most primitive of existing Khosa concords. They are a one-time set of multi-purpose subject concords used in a multi-purpose concord-governed or cop-concord-governing mood. The comitative mood is to be regarded as a relic of the primitive stages, when Bantu had not yet developed sufficiently to reflect time relations adequately in its forms.

12.28. Since the subject concord signifies the close relationship between performer and cation, it was only natural that the assimilation of to the noun-class prefix should be lead to the assimilation of the subject concord too. The relationship is with clearer between and than between and .

/between ........
between isi- and si- than between isi- and aa-.

It was in this way that those concords developed that reflect in sound the close relationship with the class articles and prefixes as we know them today. These are the concords associated with the present tenses. (See 11.36, Columns II, IV, and V.)

12.29. Nor is it impossible to explain how these forms came to be associated with the present tenses. Man's consciousness of the relation between event and time sooner or later finds expression in his language. It is then that the various tense-forms develop. In regard to Nguni, the multi-purpose mood-tense forms under consideration proved inadequate with the development of such consciousness, and though they were retained and still served a useful purpose, more precise forms began to develop; and because of the close relationship between performer and action, the subject concords played an important part in such development. Since the closest association between performer and action is the time of the action, it followed that those concordial forms that showed the closest relationship in sound and form between performer and action should be associated with the present.

12.30. The remote past tense of the indicative mood is characterized by the long aa of the subject concord. In fact it is only the length and intonation of this vowel that distinguishes the remote past indicative from the positive form of the commentative mood. It has already been shown that length of vowel is sometimes exaggerated to indicate length of time or distance. (2.118.)

So, to indicate length of distance in time, Nguni exaggerated the length of the vowel of the concord of the multi-purpose form. We say "Nguni" and not "Xhosa" because the remote past tense with this long vowel is found in all dialects of the Nguni. On the other hand, we say "Nguni" and not "Bantu" because this particular tense is not found elsewhere, as far as we know.
Even Lotha, which is a near neighbour of Igumbi, does not have such a tense. It would seem to be a recently developed tense, because even in Igumbi it is not fully developed in that it has no negative forms.

12.31. To go back to the term "commentative". This term has been chosen because the mood in question seems to have been used, as it is largely used now, as a means of commenting on action or state in relation to a performer, but with no reference to time or any other consideration. If it finds a parallel with the present subjunctive in consecutive verbal constructions as described in 12.195., and if it functions as a kind of past sub tense of the subjunctive mood & after some implicative verbs, as shown in 13.28. at one., these are merely some of its manifold uses. For it has been shown in the foregoing pages that it has parallels in other moods and tenses as well.

The Indicative Mood

12.32. The indicative mood will be treated under aspects, namely the non-specific, the continuous, the perfect, the intentional and the conditional. Under each aspect there are tenses, namely the present, the past (recent and remote), and the future (near and remote). Under each tense form there are modalities, namely primary, participial, and relative.

I. The Non-specific Aspect

The Present Tense

(1) Primary Modality

(a) Positive

12.33. There are two forms of the present tense in the positive conjugation, namely the long form, characterized by the formative -v(a)-, which comes immediately after the subject concord, e.g. ndiyathathu (I am speaking, I speak), and the short form, which does not employ the formative -v(a)-, e.g. ndithathu ...... (I am speaking ......, I speak....) A transitive verb in the present indicative mood, long or short form, may, of course, have an object concord as an
additional formative, e.g. ndivakha; (I see him). ndivakha

The subjunctive converbs are given in III.e, columns II.1 and III.1, for concomitant and verbal stems respectively.

167c. The following are the personal and class forms of the
positive conjugation, indicative mood, primary locality,
non-specific aspect, present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long Form</th>
<th>Short Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Pers.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc. ndivakha</td>
<td>ndi lla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plur. ndivakha</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Pers.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>inc. utakha</td>
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<tr>
<td>plur. utakha</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Pers.</strong> CL. 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. uthakha</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. sat. uthakha</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. uthatha</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4. ithetha</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Infinitive:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>luvakha</td>
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Long Form

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<th>Short Form</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1st Pers.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>inc. ndivakha</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>3rd Pers.</strong> CL. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. uthakha</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. uthatha</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. ithetha</td>
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Short Form (cont.)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>lithetha</td>
<td>lakha</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>akha</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>akha</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>akha</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>yakha</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>sakha</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>lwakha</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>bakha</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>ethetha</td>
<td>kwakha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loc.: ethetha kwakha

12.35. (i) Before a latent-I stem, the -va- of the long form is elided, e.g. ndiyeza, sivera, uvumhra. The concords be- of Class 2 and e- of Class 6 in the short form are be- and e- respectively, e.g. beza ....; eza ....

(ii) Before a stem commencing in e or o, the Class 6 concord e is absorbed in the short form:

A makhwenkwe endza (a < endza) nto ni? (what are the boys doing?)

A makhwenkwe oja (a < oja) i nyama (The boys are roasting some meat)

(iii) Before a stem commencing in o, the w of the concords lw-, kw- is elided:

Usana loyika i nja (The baby scares the dog)

U kufa kovise wone i nte (Death overcomes everything)

12.36. Rules governing the uses of the long form and the short form:

(a) The long form is used in the following circumstances:

(1) When the verb constitutes a sentence by itself:

Sivaconda (we understand)

Bayasebendza (They are working)

(2) When the verb ends the sentence:

Kantz pozo sivaconda (And yet we understand)

Kodwa mabha-nja bayasebendza

(Put to-day they are working)
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(3) When the emphasis of the sentence is on the verb, whatever its position in word-order.

Examples
Kodwa bayasebendza namhla-nje
(But they are working to-day)
Niyagonda ngoku u kuba nihathiwe?
(Do you realize now that you have been cheated?)

(b) The short form is used when the emphasis of the sentence is on an adjunct of the verb.

Examples
Basebendza apha namhla-nje
(They are working here to-day)
Niyagonda ngoku u kuba nihathiwe?
(Do you realize now that you have been cheated?)

12.37. As far as word-order is concerned, the long form can an precede or follow a substantive subject or/adjunct

Examples
A madoda ayasebendza namhla-nje
Ayasebendza a madoda namhla-nje
Namhla-nje a madoda ayasebendza
Namhla-nje ayasebendza a madoda

The short form is always followed immediately by the adjunct on which the emphasis of the sentence is laid and cannot be final in the sentence.

Examples
A madoda asebendza apha namhla-nje
Asebendza apha namhla-nje a madoda
Namhla-nje a madoda asebendza apha
Namhla-nje asebendza apha a madoda

(b) Negative

12.38. In the negative conjugation there is only one form, serving as the negative of both forms of the positive. It consists of three formatives, namely the negative formative a-, the negative subject concord as given in 11. 37.
Columns II and III, and the stem with its final vowel changed into -i.

**Examples**

- andithethi (I am not speaking, I do not speak)
- akaboni (he does not see)
- andakhi (I am not building, I do not build)
- akoviki (he is not afraid)

12.39. The personal and class forms of the present tense of the indicative mood, negative conjugation are as follows:

(a) (b)

| 1st Pers. ( | 2nd Pers. ( | 3rd Pers. : |
| Sing. | Flur. | Sing. | Flur. |
| andithethi | asithethi | akuthethi | anithethi |
| andakhi | asakhi | akwakhi | anakhi |

**(Classes 1 & 1a)** akathethi akakhi

**(2 & 2a)** abathethi abathethi

3. awuthethi awakhi
4. ayithethi ayakhi
5. alithethi alakhi
6. akathethi akakhi
7. asithethi asakhi
8. azithethi azakhi
9. ayithethi ayakhi
10. azithethi azakhi
11. aluthethi alwakhi
14. abuthethi abakhi
15. akuthethi akwakhi

**(Locative)** akuthethi akwakhi

12.40. (i) Before a latent-I stem the concords ka- and ba- in column (a) above become ke- and be- respectively.

**Examples**

- U yihlo akezi (Your father is not coming)
- A bafana ahezi (The young men are not coming)
- A madoda akezi (The men are not coming)
(ii) Before a stem commencing in o- concords kw- and lw- become k- and 1- respectively.

Examples

Wena akoyiki (You are not afraid)
U lwandle aloyikii (The sea is not fearful)
U kufa akoyikii (Death is not fearful)
E Kapa akoyikii (The Cape-Town-place is not fearful)

(iii) The subject concords of the second person singular and of Class 6 distinguish literary Xhosa from most of the non-literary dialects. The consonant of the concord is k in the Xhosa, but w in perhaps all non-literary dialects.

e.g. awuthethi instead of akuthethi
awakhi instead of akwakhi
a madoda awathethi instead of a madoda akathethi
a madoda awakhi instead of a madoda akkhi

12.41. Positive and Negative Together

A bafana bathi bayafunda, kanti abafundi (The young men say they are learning, whereas they are not learning)

A bafana bathi bafunda i siXhosa, kanti abafundi siXhosa (The young men say they are learning Xhosa, whereas they are not learning Xhosa)

Eli xhego licinga u kuba soja i nyama, kanti asoji nyama (This old man thinks we are roasting meat, whereas we are not roasting any meat)

U nina uthi u sana luyala u kutya, kanti alwali (The mother says the baby is refusing to eat, whereas it is not refusing)

I sithethi sithi i zinto zihambha kakuhle, kanti i zinto azihambhi kakuhle) (The speaker says that things are going on well, whereas things are not going on well)
12.42. The present indicative, though not specifically habitual, can have an habitual meaning. Thus *ii ngonyama ziyagguma* may mean "(the) lions are roaring" or "(the) lions roar", and *ii ngonyama zigguma ngo kuyikekayo* may "(the) lions are roaring fiercely" or "(the) lions roar fiercely". On the other hand, *ii ngonyama ziyagguma xa zilambhileyo* can only mean "(the) lions roar when they hungry", and *ii ngonyama zigguma kakhulu xa zilambhileyo* can only mean "(the) lions roar loudly when they are hungry".

As the last two examples show, the distinction in meaning between the long and the short form is not in definiteness or indefiniteness, continuousness or incontinuousness, but exclusively in the emphasis of the sentence.

(2) Participial Modality

(a) Positive

12.43. With disyllabic and polysyllabic consonant stems, in the positive conjugation, the present indicative, participial modality consists of the subject concord as given in 11.36. Column II, 2, and the stem.

12.44. The personal and class forms of the positive conjugation with the stem *ethetha* are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
<th>3rd Pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ndithetha</em></td>
<td><em>sithetha</em></td>
<td><em>uthetha</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes 1 & 1a. *ethetha*

2 & 2a *bethetha*

3. *uthetha*

4. *ithetha*

5. *lithetha*

6. *ethetha*

7. *sithetha*

8. *zithetha*

9. *ithetha*
441.

3rd Per. Class 10. kuthetha
11. kuthetha
14. kuthetha
15. kuthetha

Locatives: kuthetha

Examples.

Sibone u mfo efunda i mgwali.
(We saw a man reading a book)

I xhego lahlala i xenha e lido, licinza.
(The old man sat for a long time, thinking)

A bafana bahamba-bamba, beneokola komaandi.
(The young men walked about, chatting pleasantly)

Wahlala maya apo, emchibha, umkhutha.
(He sat there with him, advising him, encouraging him)

Uthi uzivile i zinje ziwakhoenkotha a masela.
(He says he did hear the dogs barking at the thieves)

12.45. The formation with monosyllabic and vowel stems is characterized by -si-, a formative that comes immediately after the subject concord and before the stem. The i of -si- is elided before vowel stems.

12.46. The occurrence of this -si- is a case not of insertion but of retention. Comparative Bantu study shows that the equivalent of -si- is to be found elsewhere. Originally, it may have been used with all types of stems in Xhosa, as is still the case, for instance, in Shona and Swahili, where we find the corresponding formatives -chi- and -ki- respectively, e.g.

Shona: ndichertora (I taking), schifunda (he learning)
Swahili: watoto wakicheza (the children playing)

Although the subject concords of classes 1, 2 and 6 are characterised by the a vowel a, there is evidence within the Ugani field itself that the vowel in question was originally a.

In Transvaal Edebele we find such forms as: selafizile (he having already come), and Bekhambe kuwasa baphethe indenga ngamibili (They leave next day, each carrying two sticks).

(van Warmelo, Transvaal Edebele, pp. 32 and 33)
The Hlubi centenarian Sogwadile consistently used a in these concords:

"Ugibone la madoda afika"
(I saw these men arriving)

"i minyaka ka Moorosi achithekile"
(The years since Moorosi was subdued)

"U-Makeshe-nqiselwe-asakhe"

"U Ndhweshwe nqiselwe asakhe"
(As to Loshoeshoe, I was born while he still lived)

"Labu bantu baza khambha balambhile"
(These people are going to leave here hungry)

The a and the si explain the e in these concords in the present participial modality in most Nguni dialects. The a, due to the influence of the i of si, becomes o (assimilation).

- asithi > esithi (he saying)
- basithi > besithi (they saying)
- asithetha > esithetha > ethetha (he speaking)
- basithetha > besithetha > bethetha (they speaking)
- asi-akha > esi-akha > esakha (he building)

12.47. Hlubi further shows that the concords of Classes 1 and 6 are derived from ya, which becomes ka and finally ke before si. The full form ke is still used in some compound tenses in Hlubi, e.g. wakethetha (he was speaking) < wabe kasithetha.

In Xhosa the original ya became y, e.g. wayethetha (he was speaking) < wabe yasithetha (see 12.20. et seq.)

12.48. The personal and class forms with the model stems -tya (eat) and -akha (build) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
<th>3rd Pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndisitya</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>ndisitya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndisakha</td>
<td>sisakha</td>
<td>nisakha</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>usitya</td>
<td>usakha</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nisitya</td>
<td>nisakha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1 &amp; 1a</td>
<td>esitya</td>
<td>esakha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a</td>
<td>besitya</td>
<td>besakha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3rd Pers, Classes 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>usakha</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>isitya</td>
<td>isakha</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
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<td>lisakha</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>esitya</td>
<td>esakha</td>
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<td>7.</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>zisitya</td>
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<td>11.</td>
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<td>lusakha</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>busitya</td>
<td>busakha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>kusitya</td>
<td>kusakha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Locative**

|   | kusitya     | kusakha     |

**Examples**

Nanko u mntwana esiza nga kuwe
(There is the child coming towards you)

Sibone ii nkomo zisitya
(We saw some cattle grazing)

Beze apha besazi u kuba akuphilile
(They came here knowing that you are not well)

Ufike a masela eso,ja i nyama
(He found the thieves roasting some meat, lit. "He arrived the thieves roasting meat")

(i) The stem -mka (go away), \(< (I)mka, is disyllabic, the m constituting a syllable. While -mka is treated as a disyllabic consonant stem in the imperative mood, mka! (go away!), in the present participial modality of the indicative mood it has a tendency to behave like a monosyllabic stem. Thus some of the best Xhosa-speakers say esimka (he going away), besimka (they going away). In Longamns Xhosa Readers, Book II, p. 7, Candlish Koti writes: "Nanko lisimka lisiya emzini womzobi" (There it was departing and going to the painter's house).

On the other hand, Tiyo Soga writes: "liše limka" (it already going away) (see Imišengo, p.33)
(ii) The stem -tiho (say so) behaves like any other monosyllabic stem, retaining si-, when it bears its literal meaning, e.g. Umxile na esitiho? (Did you actually hear him say so?). But with the meaning "be marked by", this stem drops si-. This is best illustrated by some familiar i zithuko ("swear words"):

Utjho nza mahllo a makhulu ngathi si sikhoya njie!
(You, marked by your big eyes like an owl!)

Etjho ngo buse o bude na math' uvela e bhoteleni njie!
(He, marked by a long face as if reflected on a bottle!)

Etjho nge ntjetyana ngathi vi bhokhwe njie!
(He, marked by a small beard like a goat!)

12.49. If there is another formative besides the subject concord, e.g. the object concord, before the stem, -si- or -g- is dropped.

cf.

besitya i nyama (they eating meat)
(they eating it)

esakha u donga (he building a wall)

elwakha (he building it)

i zizwe zisovika (the tribes being afraid)

i zizwe zimovika (the tribes being afraid of him)

(b) Negative

12.50. For the formation of the negative, there is one simple rule that applies to all types of stems. The participial subject concord is preplaced to the negative infinitive minus its prefix.

Examples

(u ku)ngathethi > Class 1: engathethi (he not speaking)
(u ku)ngoyikii > Class 2: bengoyiki (they not fearing)
(u ku)ngenyeva > Class 2: bengeva (they not hearing)
(u ku)ngesii > Class 6: engezi (they not coming)
(u ku)ngatjho Class 6: engatjho (they not saying so)
The personal and class forms of the negative are as follows:

1st Pers. (Sing. ndingathethi ndingakhi
   Plur. singathethi singakhi

2nd Pers. (Sing. ungathethi ungakhi
   Plur. ningathethi ningakhi

3rd Pers.:
   Classes 1 & 1a engathethi engakhi
   2 & 2a bengathethi bengakhi
   3. ungathethi ungakhi
   4. ingathethi ingakhi
   5. lingathethi lingakhi
   6. engathethi engakhi
   7. singathethi singakhi
   8. zingathethi zingakhi
   9. ingathethi ingakhi
  10. zingathethi zingakhi
  11. ungathethi ungakhi
  12. bungathethi bungakhi
  13. kungathethi kungakhi

Locative kungathethi kungakhi

(1) Before latent-I stems nga becomes nge:
   engezi (he not coming), bengembhi (they not digging)
(1i) -va remains -va (hear) : engeva (he not hearing)
(1ii) -tjho remains -tjho (say so) : engatjho (he not saying so)

Examples

Kuthe ni ningasixeleli nje u kuba nilambhile?
(Why don't you tell us that you are hungry? lit. "What has happened, you not telling us like this that you are hungry")

Ndingaphendulu nje kungo kuba ndixakiwe
(Why I do not reply is because I am in a difficulty, lit. "I not replying this it is because I am handicapped")

Sifike bengembhi misile, bengakhi ludonga, nso kufutjihane
   bengendzi ntc konke (Ye found them not digging any trenches,
not building any wall, in short, not doing anything at all)
(3) Relative Modality.

(a) Positive

12.52. There is a long form and a short form of the present indicative, relative modality. The long form consists of the subject concord as given in 11.56, Columns II, 3 and VI, 3, the stem, and the suffix -Yo. e.g. mna ndithethayo (I who am speaking)
The short form consists of the same subject concords as the long form, and the stem. e.g. mna ndithetha nawe (I who am speaking to you)

12.53. In the above examples the relative predicate is preceded by the pronoun mna, which is its antecedent. But there are circumstances in which a relative connective precedes the relative predicate. At this stage it is not necessary to give the rules governing the presence or absence of the relative connective. (See 20.56 et seq. for the rules). But since its presence or absence affects form, it will be necessary to go into all the possibilities.

12.54. The relationship between the relative clause and its antecedent may be direct or indirect. It is not necessary to go fully into this either at this stage. Its proper place is the section on syntax. All that need be pointed out now is that as far as the verb is concerned, the only difference is to be found in the subject concord of some classes e.g. Class 1, which is u-in direct relationship and a- in indirect relationship. We therefore confine ourselves to direct relationship as far as the tables are concerned.

12.55. Relative connectives and weak subject concords are mutually exclusive. This is purely phonological consideration. If there is no connective, a weak subject concord is retained. But after a relative connective it is elided. Generally, relative connectives are not admissible when an absolute pronoun is the antecedent. So, / in illustrating....

For the significance of this suffix see 20.73. et seq.
in illustrating the forms without connectives, we use the absolute pronoun as antecedent.

12.56. Personal and class forms without a relative connective:

1st Pers.
(Sing. \textit{nina ndithetha(yo)} \quad \textit{wina ndakha(yo)}

(Flur. \textit{thina sithetha(yo)} \quad \textit{thina sakha(yo)}

2nd Pers.
(Sing. \textit{wena uthetha(yo)} \quad \textit{wena wakha(yo)}

(Flur. \textit{nina nithetha(yo)} \quad \textit{nina nakha(yo)}

3rd P. Cls 1 &la.
\textbf{(Sing. \textit{yena uthetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{yena wakha(yo)}

\textbf{(2 &2a. \textit{bona bathetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{bona bakha(yo)}

\textbf{3. \textit{wona uthetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{wona wakha(yo)}

\textbf{4. \textit{yona ithetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{yona yakha(yo)}

\textbf{5. \textit{lona lithetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{lona lakha(yo)}

\textbf{6. \textit{wona a thetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{wona akha(yo)}

\textbf{7. \textit{sona sithetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{sona sakha(yo)}

\textbf{8. \textit{zona zithetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{zona zakha(yo)}

\textbf{9. \textit{yona ithetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{yona yakha(yo)}

\textbf{10. \textit{zona zithetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{zona zakha(yo)}

\textbf{11. \textit{lona luthetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{lona lwakha(yo)}

\textbf{14. \textit{bona buthetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{bona bakha(yo)}

\textbf{15. \textit{kona kuthetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{kona kwakha(yo)}

Locatives:
\textbf{(Sing. \textit{kona kuthetha(yo)}} \quad \textit{kona kwakha(yo)}

When there is no relative connective, the intonation of the subject concord is characteristically low.

Miscellaneous Examples.

\textit{nina nifikayo} (you who are arriving)

\textit{lo mfundisi ungona ngoku},
\textit{(this teacher who is entering now)}

\textit{aba bantu basabandza anha}
\textit{(these people who are working here)}

\textit{akukho mntusandaziyo anha}
\textit{(there isn't any person who knows me here)}

\textit{ezi zinja zinkhonkotha kanganaka}
\textit{(these dogs that bark so much)}

\textit{la makhwenke} ......

*In the rest of the tables it will not be necessary to include this antecedent.*
examples cont.

la makhwenke oyika u kufa.
(these boys, who fear death)

le ndoda valuza ii nkomo za kunе.
(this man who looks after the cattle of your family)

### 12.57. Personal and class forms with relative connectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
<th>3rd Pers. Cl. 1 &amp; 2a.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>e ndithetha(yo)</td>
<td>o thetha(yo)</td>
<td>o thetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>e sithetha(yo)</td>
<td>o thetha(yo)</td>
<td>o thetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>a bathetha(yo)</td>
<td>o wakha(yo)</td>
<td>o wakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>o thetha(yo)</td>
<td>o wakha(yo)</td>
<td>o wakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>e thetha(yo)</td>
<td>e yakha(yo)</td>
<td>e yakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>a lithetha(yo)</td>
<td>e lakha(yo)</td>
<td>e lakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>e thetha(yo)</td>
<td>e wakha(yo)</td>
<td>e wakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>e sithetha(yo)</td>
<td>e sakha(yo)</td>
<td>e sakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>e sithetha(yo)</td>
<td>e zakha(yo)</td>
<td>e zakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>e thetha(yo)</td>
<td>e yakha(yo)</td>
<td>e yakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>e sithetha(yo)</td>
<td>e sakha(yo)</td>
<td>e sakha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>o luthetha(yo)</td>
<td>o lwakha(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>o bathetha(yo)</td>
<td>o bakha(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>o bathetha(yo)</td>
<td>o kwakha(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>o bathetha(yo)</td>
<td>o kwakha(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>o bathetha(yo)</td>
<td>o kwakha(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Locatives:**

|        | o bathetha(yo) | o wakha(yo) |

### 12.58. It will be noted that in vowel-stems there is no mutual exclusiveness between relative connectives and subject concords, because the latter are strong in all persons and classes. It must be noted that in the presence of a relative connective, even class 6 has its own consonantal form of the subject concord.

**Of:**

- la madoda, akhayo (these men who are building)
- a madoda a wakha (the men who are building)
- la madoda, oyikayo (these men who are afraid)
- a madoda a woyikayo (the men who are afraid)
examples cont.

cf.

\{ 
| la madoda, endza le msebenzi  | (these men who are doing this work) |
| a madoda a wendza le msebenzi | (the men who are doing this work) |
| la makhwenkwe, alusa ezi nkomo | (these boys who tend these cattle) |
| "ngamakhwenkwe a walusa ezi nkomo" | (it is the boys who tend these cattle) |
\}

Mqhayi: UDOn Jadu, p.19

\[2.59\]. With latent -I stems the subject concord of class 6 is w after a relative connective.

cf.

\{ 
| la madoda, embha le misele | (these men who are digging these trenches) |
| a madoda a wembha le misele | (the men who are digging these trenches) |
\}

Miscellaneous Examples.

nine madoda mabini, e nifika se ndithetha.
(you two men, who find me already speaking)

u mfundisi o ngena ngoku.
(the teacher who enters now)

a bantu a basebendza apha.
(the people who work here)

Khoko u mntu o ndaziyo apha.
(there is a person who knows me here)

a madoda e niwabonayo.
(the men whom you see)

i zinja xa e zikhonkotha kanga.
(dogs that bark so much)

a makhwenkwe a woyika u kuza.
(boys who fear death)

i ndoda e valusa li nkomo za kuni.
(the man who looks after the cattle of your family)

u kutya e sikufunayo (the food/we want)

u mthi e niphumla phantsi kwawo.
(the tree under which you rest) / NEGATIVE...
(b) **Negative.**

The negative is based on the negative of the corresponding participial form. It is formed by replacing the subject concord of the negative participial by the relative subject concord, and suffixing -yo for the long form.

**Examples.**

- ndingathethi (°) ndingathethi(yo)
- singahambhi (c) singahambhi(yo)

12.61. **Personal and class forms without a relative connective:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
<th>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>Locatives:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndingathethi(yo)</td>
<td>bangathethi(yo)</td>
<td>kungathethi(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singathethi(yo)</td>
<td>ungathethi(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singakhi(yo)</td>
<td>singakhi(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Miscellaneous Examples.**

- Thina singathethiyo siya kufa.
  (We who do not speak will suffer)

- Bantu bangalimive bathembhe ni?
  (These people who are not ploughing, what are they banking upon?)
examples cont.

Akukho lusana lunsalilivo.
(There is no baby that does not cry)

lolo ndoda singafuni kufuya nkomo.
(that man who does not want to rear any cattle)

eli bashe pungalifuniyo.
(this horse that you do not want)

lo mlambho bangawuweliso a befasi
(this river that women do not cross)

aba bantu singendiselaniyo babo.
(these people with whom we do not intermarry)

12.62. Personal and class forms with a relative connective:

1st Pers. { Sing. e ndingathethi(yo) e ndingakhi(yo)
          Flur. e singathethi(yo) e singakhi(yo)

2nd Pers. { Sing. o ngathethi(yo) o ngakhi(yo)
          Flur. e ncingathethi(yo) e ncingakhi(yo)

3rd P. Cl. 1 &1a. o ngathethi(yo) o ngakhi(yo)
    2 &2a. a bangathethi(yo) a bangakhi(yo)
    3. o ngathethi(yo) o ngakhi(yo)
    4. o ngathethi(yo) o ngakhi(yo)
    5. e lingathethi(yo) e lingakhi(yo)
    6. e ncingathethi(yo) e ncingakhi(yo)
    7. e singathethi(yo) e singakhi(yo)
    8. e zingathethi(yo) e zingakhi(yo)
    9. e ngathethi(yo) e ngakhi(yo)
   10. e zingathethi(yo) e zingakhi(yo)
   11. o lungathethi(yo) o lungakhi(yo)
   12. o bangathethi(yo) o bungakhi(yo)
   13. o bangathethi(yo) o bungakhi(yo)
   14. o kungathethi(yo) o kungakhi(yo)
   15. o kungathethi(yo) o kungakhi(yo)

Locatives :- o kungathethi(yo) o kungakhi(yo)

Examples:

thina, boonyana ba ka Maduna, e singathethiyo na bahambhi

(we, sons of Maduna, who do not speak to strangers).

/a bantu.....
examples cont.

A bantu a bangalimiyo baya kufila yi ni?
(People who do not plough, how will they live?)

"U sana o lungaliliyo lifela e mbhelekweni"*
(A baby that does not cry dies in the carrying-skin)

i ndoda e ngafuni kufuya nkomo
(a man who does not want to rear cattle)

i hashe o ngalisuniyo
(The horse that you do not want)

u mlahlosi a bangawuveliyo a bafazi
(the river that the women do not cross)

a bantu e singendiselaniyo nabo
(people with whom we do not intermarry)

The Recent Past Tense

12.63. Essentially, the recent past tense (which has been called the "perfect tense" by McLaren and Bennie) describes an action or state completed at some point of time not long before the present.

Examples

Izolo sivuke u kulila kwes nkuku
(Yesterday we woke up at cockcrow).

Ubuye xesha nini e maphendzini phezolo?
(At what time did you return from work last night?)

Makwedini, ngingamile u kuqanga?
(Boys, have you finished milking?)

Saafika bemke nges zolo
(We arrived a day after they had left, lit. "We arrived they having left on the previous day")

I ndoda e wugondileyo u mbuzo ne Goomo
(The man who did understand the question was Goomo).

But this tense has extended its use and describes any event before the moment of comparison to make the narrative vivid.

Xhosa writers usually open the narrative with the remote past

*Proverb
tense, but as the story "warms up" they change to the recent past tense. (Both tenses, of course, are followed by the commentative mood in narrative). Mqhayi's U-Don Jadu is an excellent example. The opening sentence begins: "Ndakha (i.e. ndaakha) ndathi ndiseyindodana eminyaka imajumi makini podo ....." (I did once when I was a young man of twenty exactly ..... ) But from the second paragraph to the end of the book, almost every opening sentence has a verb in the recent past tense, e.g. "Ithe yakuthi qatha loo ngoondo ....." (When this thought occurred to me .....), "Ndilabaile nem ndahamba indlel' am " (I shot forward too and went my way)

A glance through the anthology Imišengo shows how strong is the tendency to use this tense in preference to the remote past. 12.64. In form the recent past tense is the same as the perfect aspect of the present (see 12.112.). Both are formed by preplacing the subject concords of the present indicative, 11.36. Columns II and VII, and 11.37. Columns II and III, to the perfect stem of the verb (see 10.91 - 10.99.). In Xhosa, as in many other languages of the world, "it appears difficult to keep up the sharp distinction between the idea of the present result of past events and that of these past events themselves" (Jespersen: Philosophy, p. 270). The concords, which are present-tense forms, show that this is essentially a present-result-of-past-events tense, which, due to man's difficulty in keeping up the "sharp distinction", extended its functions to cover past events, irrespective of whether the results are "present" or not. A verb with a perfect stem may therefore have an exclusively past-event meaning, in which case it is to be regarded as recent past tense, non-specific aspect, e.g. Ndilambhe nga kumbhi ndakuhlala phantsi (I felt all the more hungry when I sat down), or it may have a present-result-of-past-events meaning, in which case it is to be regarded as present tense, perfect aspect, e.g. Ndilambhe nga kumbhi ngoku (I am particularly hungry now). In the section on the perfect aspect of the present tense, it will be shown that in the negative
conjugation especially, there still is some kind of distinction in form between these two tenses with certain verbs.

(see 12.130.130.1)

**Primary Modality.**

(a) **Positive.**

12.65. The personal and class forms are as follows:-

**Long Form.**

1st Pers.  
- Sing. ndithethile  
- Plur. sithethile

2nd Pers.  
- Sing. uthethile  
- Plur. nithethile

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a.  
- Sing. uthethile  
- Plur. nithethile

2 & 2a.  
- Sing. bithethile  
- Plur. nithethile

3.  
- Sing. uthethile

4.  
- Sing. ithethile

5.  
- Sing. lithethile

6.  
- Sing. athethile

7.  
- Sing. sithethile

etc.  
- etc.  

**Short Form.**

1st Pers.  
- Sing. ndithethile  
- Plur. sithethile

2nd Pers.  
- Sing. uthethile  
- Plur. nithethile

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a.  
- Sing. uthethile  
- Plur. nithethile

2 & 2a.  
- Sing. bithethile  
- Plur. nithethile

3.  
- Sing. uthethile

4.  
- Sing. ithethile

5.  
- Sing. lithethile

6.  
- Sing. athethile

γ.  
- Sing. sithethile

etc.  
- etc.  

/ 12.66. the ......
12.66. The meanings of the long form ending in -ile and that of the short form ending in -e correspond, respectively, to the meanings of the long form and the short form of the present tense.

Examples

Ndithethile naye (I have spoken/did speak to him)
Ndithethe kwa oko naye (I spoke to him immediately)

Ii ntlola zilubonile u tjhaba (The scouts have seen/did see the enemy)

12.67. As stated already in 10.92., many verbs have separate long and short forms perfect stem, but only one stem to serve for both. It must now be added that even in such stems length and tone are employed to distinguish between the emphatic use and the non-emphatic use. In the emphatic use of such verbs, the penultimate syllable is relatively long, and the intonation of the final syllable is relatively low.

Examples

Sisukelele sakuya u mkhosi
(We gave chase when we heard the hue-and-cry)

A madoda ahlangane phezolo
(The men did meet last night)

Ndikukhumbuile ndakukubona
(I remembered you when I saw you)

In the non-emphatic use the penultimate syllable is relatively long and the intonation on the final syllable characteristic-ally high.

Examples

Sisukelele kwa oko sakuya u mkhosi
(We gave chase immediately when we heard the hue-and-cry)

A madoda ahlangene buphuthu-phuthu phezolo
(The men met very hurriedly last night)
12.68. The negative of the recent past is formed by substituting -ngā for the final -i of the present negative.

Examples

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{andithethi} & \rightarrow \text{andithethanga} \text{ (I did not speak)} \\
\text{akathethi} & \rightarrow \text{akathethanga} \text{ (he did not speak)} \\
\text{abakhi} & \rightarrow \text{abakhangā} \text{ (they did not build)}
\end{align*}
\]

But -tjho (say so) \rightarrow -tjhangō, e.g. anditjhongo (I did not say so) < anditjhō.

12.69. The personal and class forms of the negative, recent past tense, are as follows: -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1 &amp; 1a</td>
<td>akathethanga</td>
<td>akakhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a</td>
<td>abathethanga</td>
<td>abakhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>awuthethanga</td>
<td>awakhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ayithethanga</td>
<td>ayakhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>alithethanga</td>
<td>alakhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>akathethanga</td>
<td>akakhanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>asithethanga</td>
<td>asakhanga</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>azithethanga</td>
<td>azakhanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ayithethanga</td>
<td>ayakhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>azithethanga</td>
<td>azakhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.70. Positive and Negative together

**Uthi uvile, kanti akuvanga**

(You say you heard, whereas you did not hear)

**Uthi usebendzile, kanti akasebendzanga**

(He says he has worked, whereas he has not worked)

**Uthi babonene, kanti ababonananga**

(He says they saw each other, whereas they did not see each other)
examples cont.

Bathi a makhwenkwe alwile, kanti akalwanga.

(They say the boys fought, whereas they did not fight)

Uthi ii nkomo zibuyile, kanti azibuyanga.

(He says the cattle have returned, whereas they have not returned.)

Uthi utjhilo, kanti akatjhongo.

(He says he said so, whereas he did not say so)

Participial Modality.

(a) Positive.

12.71. The recent past, participial modality, employs the same set of subject concords as the corresponding present tense. Before vowel verbs, there being no intervening -g-, the vowel concords of classes 1 and 6 are absorbed by the initial vowel of the stem. (See note below).

12.72. Personal and class forms:

**Long Form.**

1st Pers. { Sing. ndithethile ndakhile
              Flur. sithethile sakhile

2nd Pers. { Sing. uthethile wakhile
              Flur. nithethile bakhile

3rd P. Cl. 1 &la. ethethile akhile
            2 &2a. bethethile bakhile
            3. uthethile wakhile
            4. ithethile yakhile
            5. lithethile lakhile
            6. ethethile akhile
            etc. etc. etc.

**Short Form.**

1st Pers. { Sing. ndithethile ndakhile
              Flur. sithethile sakhile

2nd Pers. { Sing. uthethile wakhile
              Flur. nithethile nakhile

/ 3rd P. Cl 1 &la. ....
short form cont.

3rd P. Cls 1 & la. ethethe akhle
2 & 2a. botethethe balhle
3. utethethe wakkle
4. itethethe yakkle
5. littethethe jakhle
6. ethethethe akhle

etc. etc. etc.

If another formative, e.g. an object concord, precedes a vowel stem, the characteristic e of the subject concords of classes 1, 2 and 6 is employed.

e.g. eyakhile i ndlu (he having built the house)
belwakhile u donga (they having built the wall)

e zenzile esi zinto (they having done these things)

Miscellaneous Examples.

Ufe ethethe.

(He spoke before he died; lit. He died he having spoken)

A bantwana ma bahambhe bethwile
(The children had better eat before they go; lit. the children had better go they having eaten)

Befikile e nkundlezi, bakuzwe i mvela-phi.
(Having arrived at the courtyard, they were asked where they came from)

Lo mfo... wafa ethethe a mazwi a makhulu.
(This man died after saying great things; lit. This man died he having spoken great words)

Etihile nie utihile.
(Since he has said that, he has said it; lit. He having said so like this, he has said so)

(b) Negative.

12.73. The negative is formed by substituting -anga for the final -i of the corresponding present tense form.

But -tihe -tjihongo.

/examples.....
459.

Examples.

**engaathethi** > **engaathethanga** (he not having spoken)
**bengakhi** > **bengakhanga** (they not having built)
**bengatjho** > **bengatjhongo** (they not having said so)

12.74. Personal and class forms:

1st Pers.  
*Sing.* [ntingathethanga]  [ntingakhanga]  
*Flur.* [ntingathethanga]  [ntingakhanga]  

2nd Pers.  
*Sing.* [ungaathethanga]  [ungakhanga]  
*Flur.* [ningathethanga]  [ningakhanga]  

3rd P.Cl.1 & In.  
[engathethanga]  [ngaathanga]  

2 & 2a.  
[ongathethanga]  [ongaathethanga]  
3.  
[ungaathethanga]  [ungakhanga]  
4.  
[ingathethanga]  [inkhanga]  
5.  
[lingathethanga]  [lingakhanga]  
6.  
[engaathethanga]  [ngaathanga]  

Etc.  

Examples.

Use entingathethanga.

(I’ve died without speaking, lit. “He died/not having spoken”)

A bantuana ma bengakambhi bengatjvanga.
(They children had better not go without having eaten)

Lusa ni kutya ntingakhambanga.
(Do not eat without having washed, lit. “Refrain from eating you not having washed”)

Bungafikange nie lunda letjhona i langa, abayi kuba safika.

(Since they did not arrive before sunset, they will not arrive any more, lit. “They not having arrived like this until sunset, they will not arrive any more”)

Engatjhongo nie afatjhongo.

(Since he did not say so, he did not say so)

I bandla lide lachithakala i nkosi ingafikange.
(The assembly eventually dispersed before the chief arrived, lit. “The assembly at length dispersed, the chief not having arrived“)
**Ungemki ndincakubonanga**

(You are not to go away without my having seen you, lit. "Lay you not go away I not having seen you")

**Relative Modality**

(a) Positive

12.75. In the recent past, relative modality, there is a long form with suffix -yo and a short form without -yo. Where the perfect stem has the suffix -ile, the suffix -yo is always employed. Short forms corresponding to those that suffix -ile never suffix -yo. Stems that have only one perfect form suffix -yo when they are used emphatically, but do not suffix it when used non-emphatically. The subject concords employed are the same as those employed in corresponding present tense. The personal and class forms without a relative connective are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long Form</th>
<th>Short Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Pers.</strong></td>
<td><a href="#">Sing. ndithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">Plur. sithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Pers.</strong></td>
<td><a href="#">Sing. umuthethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">Plur. nithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Pers.</strong></td>
<td><a href="#">Classes 1 &amp; 1a umuthethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">2 &amp; 2a bathethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">3. umuthethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">4. ithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">5. lithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">6. athethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">etc. etc. etc.</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.76. The personal and class forms without a relative connective are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long Form</th>
<th>Short Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Pers.</strong></td>
<td><a href="#">Sing. ndithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">Plur. sithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Pers.</strong></td>
<td><a href="#">Sing. umuthethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">Plur. nithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd Pers.</strong></td>
<td><a href="#">Classes 1 &amp; 1a umuthethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">2 &amp; 2a bathethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">3. umuthethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">4. ithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">5. lithethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">6. athethileyo</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="#">etc. etc. etc.</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/Classes ......
### Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 &amp; 1a</td>
<td>uthethle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a</td>
<td>bathethle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>uthethle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ithethle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>lithethle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>athethle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### Examples of stems with long and short perfect forms

1. *Le nto ndiyithethileyo andiyoviki nga nto*
   
   (This that I have mentioned I do not fear at all)

2. *Le nto ndiyithethle nambla-nie andiyoviki nga nto*
   
   (This that I have mentioned to-day I do not fear at all)

3. *Aba bantu basikileyo ma baphiwa u kutya*
   
   (These people who have arrived had better be given some food)

4. *Aba bantu basile mva ma baphiwa u kutya nabo*
   
   (These people who arrived late had better be given some food too)

### Examples of stems with only one perfect form

1. *Uyamszi lo mfo ulibuleleyo?*
   
   (Do you know this man who killed it?)

2. *Uyamszi lo mfo ubulele i hashe lakho?*
   
   (Do you know this man who killed your horse?)

3. *Abo bantu babonenevo ma hazixele*
   
   (Those people who saw one another had better confess)

4. *Abo bantu babonene nga sese ma hazixele*
   
   (Those people who saw one another in secret had better confess)

---

12.77. The personal and class forms with a relative connective are as follows:

#### Long Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>e ndithethileyo</td>
<td>o thethileyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>e ndakhileyo</td>
<td>e nakhileyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e sakhileyo</td>
<td>e nakhileyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e wakhileyo</td>
<td>e wakhileyo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ 3rd ............
3rd P. Classes 1 & 1a.

1. o thethileyo o wakhileyo
2 & 2a. a bathethileyo a bathileyo
3. o thethileyo o wakhileyo
4. e thethileyo e lakhileyo
5. e lithethileyo e lakhileyo
6. a thethileyo a khileyo
etc. etc. etc.

Short Form.

1st Pers. { Sing. e ndithethe e ndakhe
       ( Plur. e aithethe e sakhe
2nd Pers. { Sing. o thethe o wakhe
       ( Plur. e nithethe e nakhe
3rd P. Cls. 1 & 1a. o thethe o wakhe
       2 & 2a. a bathethethe a bathileyo
       3. o thethe o wakhe
       4. e thethe e wakhe
       5. e lithethe e lakhileyo
       6. a thethe a wakhe
etc. etc. etc.

Miscellaneous Examples.

a bantu a bathethe i nyaniso.
(the people who spoke the truth)

a bantu a bathethileyo. (the people who spoke)
a madoda a wakhileyo (men who have built)
a madoda a wakhe i zindlu e zintle.
(men who have built beautiful houses)
i ndoda e salathise i ndlela.
(the man who shows us the way)

u mntu e simbone kakuhle. (the person whom we saw well)
u mntu o wufumeneyo u mkhondo.
(the person who found the trail)
u mntu o fumene u mkhondo kwa oko.
( the man who found the trail at once)

/ i bashe ......
examples cont.

i hashe o lithengileyo (the horse that you have bought)

i hashe o lithenga e Ndenxa
(the horse that you bought at Maclear)

(b) Negative

12.78. In the negative conjugation there is only one form of the recent past, relative modality. It is formed by substituting -nga for the final -i of the corresponding present tense, and it negatives both the long form and the short form.

Examples

a bangathethi kakuhle  >  a bangathethanga kakuhle
(those who do not speak welI)  (those who did not speak well)

a bangathethiyo  >  a bangathethanga
(those who do not speak)  (those who did not speak)

a bangakhi ndlu  >  a bangakhanganga ndlu
(those who not build any hut)  (those who did not build any hut)

a bangakhiyo  > a bangakhanganga
(those who do not build)  (those who did not build)

12.79. The personal and class forms without a relative connective are as follows:

1st Pers.  
Sing.  ndingathethanga  ndingakhanganga
Plur.  singathethanga  singakhanganga

2nd Pers.  
Sing.  unngathethanga  unngakhanganga
Plur.  ningathethanga  ningakhanganga

3rd Pers.:  Classes 1 & 1a
ungathethanga  unngakhanganga

2 & 2a
bangathethanga  bangakhanganga
ungathethanga  unngakhanganga

3.

4.
ingathethanga  ingakhanganga

5.

6.

5.
ingathethanga  lingakhanganga

6.

angathethanga  angakhanganga

etc.

etc.

/Miscellaneous .............
Miscellaneous Examples.

thina singafunanga kuthetha.
(we who did not want to speak)

wena ungabuzanga mibuze.
(you who did not ask any questions)

akukho bantu bangatya nga.
(there aren't any people who did not eat)

la madoda engakhanga zindlu apha.
(these men who did not build any houses here)

abo bantu singababonanga.
(those people whom we did not see)

lco mntwana ungakhululanga apha.
(that child who did not grow up here)

The

12.80. / Personal and class forms with a relative connective are as follows:

1st Pers. { Sing. e ndingathethanga e ndingakhanga
{ Plur. e singathethanga e singakhanga

2nd Pers. { Sing. o ngathethanga o ngakhanga
{ Plur. e ngingathethanga e ningakhanga

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. o ngathethanga o ngakhanga
2 & 2a. a bangathethanga a bangakhanga
3. o ngathethanga o ngakhanga
4. e ngathethanga e ngakhanga
5. e lingathethanga e lingakhanga
6. a ngathethanga a ngakhanga

etc. etc.

Miscellaneous Examples.

thina, bandla la larha, e singafunanga kuthetha phezolo.
(we, the assembly of this place, who did not want to speak last night.)

a bantu a bangabuzanga mibuze.
(the people who did not ask any questions)

inkosi e singayibonanga.
(the chief whom we did not see)

u sana o lungalilanga.
(the baby did not cry) / ii ntombhi ....}
ii ntombhi e zingayanga e ntjhatweni
(the girls who did not go to the wedding)

u mfana e bangamvelanga u kuba abambhe
(the young man whom they did not allow to go)

ii nkomo e zingabuyanga e dlewensi
(the cattle that did not return from the pasture)

i hashe e nigungalithenganga
(the horse that you did not buy)

The Remote Past Tense

12.81. The remote past tense describes an action or state at a given point or period of time regarded as long before the present. It employs the subject concords in 11.36. Columns III and VII. It is characterized by the long aa of the subject concord. The intonation of this aa is high-gliding in the primary modality, but low-gliding in the participial and the relative modality. The aa is absorbed by the initial vowel of a stem. The w of the subject concord of Class 6 occurs only in the relative modality when there is a relative connective. The remote past tense has no negative forms, and it employs either the negative forms of the corresponding recent past tense, or compound predicatives involving the implicative verb -za in the recent past tense (see 13.34.)

Primary Modality

12.82. The personal and class forms of the indicative mood, primary modality, remote past tense, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>ndaadethetha</td>
<td>saathetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>waathetha</td>
<td>naathetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td>waathetha</td>
<td>naathetha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes 1 & 1a:

2 & 2a:

/ 3rd ...........
3rd P. Classes 3. waathetha waakha
4. yaathetha yaakha
5. laathetha laakha
6. aathetha sakha
etc. etc. etc.

Before latenQI stems the -aa- of the subject concord becomes -ee-, but characteristic length and intonation are retained.

e.g. waaza (he came) < 'waa Iza
      waasa (he heard) < 'waa Iva

Miscellaneous Examples.

Loo mntu waafa nooyihlo bengakazalwa.
(That man died even before your fathers were born)
I zizwe e zinindzi zaasaba zingekamboni u Tjhaka.
(Many tribes fled before they had seen Shaka)
Ii ntlola zeesa zibalaka ko mkhulu.
(The scouts came running to the royal place)
A maBhaca conganyelwa nge manani, arhola.
(The Bhaca were overwhelmed by the numbers, and they (retreated.

Ethi waandixelela, kanti akandixeleslanga.
(He says he told me, whereas he did not tell me)
Bathi baahambha, kanti abazanga bahambha.
(They say they went, whereas they never went)

Participial Modality.

12.83. In participial modality this tense has an emphatic form with the suffix -yo and a non-emphatic form without any additional formative.

12.84. Personal and class forms:

1st Pers. { Sing. ndaathetha(yo) nndaakha(yo)
         Flur. saathetha(yo) saakha(yo)

2nd Pers. { Sing. waathetha(yo) waakha(yo)
         Flur. naathetha(yo) naakha(yo)

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. waathetha(yo) waakha(yo)
          2 & 2a. baathetha(yo) baakha(yo)

/ cl. 3.....
3rd P. Classes 3. waathetha(yo) waakha(yo)
4. yaathetha(yo) yaakha(yo)
5. laathetha(yo) laakha(yo)
6. aathetha(yo) aakha(yo)
etc. etc. etc.

Examples.

Kudala waafayo loo mntu.

(it is a long time since that man died)

lit. "it is long the man having died"

Ubuya oodade wabo se beendayo, na baninawa bakhe se baazekayo.

(He returns to find his sisters already married some time ago and his younger brothers already having taken wives some time ago.

Nasyivuma ngo kwenu nje le nto nikhala nga ni?

(Since you accepted this yourselves, what are you complaining about?)

O koko i lizwe laafayo, i ndalala ayizanga iphele.

(Since the outbreak of war starvation never ended)

(lit. "Since the world died ........."

Waafela e mgodini nje u yihlo, wena akuwoyiki u mgodi?

(Since your father died in a mine, aren't you afraid of the mine?)

Relative Modality.

12.85. Except in Class 6 after a relative connective, when the subject concord becomes w, the relative modal forms are exactly the same as the participial ones. It therefore suffices to give illustrations.

Miscellaneous Examples.

thina saakhalazayo ngelo xesha.

(we who did complain at the time)

u mntu o waathethayo anho.

(the person who did speak there)

loo madoda pafika kwa oko.

(those men who arrived at once)

/ le nkosi .....
12.86. The future tenses describe an action or state at a point or period of time regarded as after the present. There are three varieties of the future tense, the near future, the remote or general future and the conditional future.

The near future indicates that the action or state is regarded as not relatively long after the present.

The remote or general future indicates that the action or state is regarded as relatively long after the present. Since the nearness or remoteness are not absolute, it follows that either of these two varieties may indicate an event occurring a day, a month, a year, a hundred years etc. after the present, depending on circumstances. If, for instance, the surrounding circumstances are such that every passing minute is important, half-an-hour after the present is the remote future.

/ if, on the ......
If, on the other hand, "a thousand years is as a single day", then even a thousand years after the present is the near future. The term "general future" is justified by the fact that when the future is referred to in general, with no reference to relative nearness or remoteness, the remote future forms are used.

The conditional future indicates that the action or state indicated by the verb will occur as the result of the fulfilment of certain conditions.

The Formation of the Future Tenses.

12.87. In the formation of the future tense, the verb indicating the action or state is in the infinitive mood minus the article. It is subordinated to a verb in the short form of the present indicative, indicating coming or going towards the action or state indicated by the infinitive. The only morphological difference between the near and the remote or general future tenses is that the near future employs -za (come) e.g. ndiza kuthetha (I am about to speak), and the remote or general future employs -va (go), e.g. ndiya kuthetha (I shall speak). The conditional future would seem to be a contracted form of the general future, e.g. ndothetha (I shall speak - given such and such circumstances) = nd(i)ya + (k)uthetha. The first two have negative as well as positive forms. The negative is formed by negating the verbs -za and -va according to the rule for negating the present indicative in all its modalities.

Examples.

\[ \text{ndiza kuthetha} > \text{andizi kuthetha} \]
\[ \text{ndiya kuthetha} > \text{andivy kuthetha} \]

The conditional future has no negative forms.

The verb in the indicative mood indicating the action or state, is not affected in the formation of personal and class forms. It will therefore not be necessary to treat both thetha and -akha, except in the conditional future, where / the contractions...
the contractions make slight differences in form.

Since the formation in all three varieties is basically the same, it is not necessary to treat them separately, as has been done with the past tenses.

Primary Modality.

(a) Positive.

The Near Future.

12.88. Personal and class forms of the near future:

1st Pers. { Sing. ndiza kuthetha
             Plur. uza kuthetha

2nd Pers. { Sing. uza kuthetha
             Plur. niza kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a, uza kuthetha
         2 & 2a. baza kuthetha
         3. uza kuthetha
         4. izwa kuthetha
         5. liza kuthetha
         6. aza kuthetha
         etc. etc.

Examples.

Onke la madoda aza kuthetha.
(All these men are going to speak)

Ii nkomo ziza kutya phi?
(Where are the cattle going to graze)

U Maduna uza kwakha i ndlu yakhe.
(Maduna is going to build his house)

A bantwana baza koyika.
(The children are going to be afraid)

Niza kwenda nto ni namhla nie?
(What are you going to do to-day?)

/ the remote ......
The Remote or General Future.

The indicative personal and class forms of the remote or general future are as follows:

1st Pers.:
- Sing. ndiya kuthetha
- Plur. siya kuthetha

2nd Pers.:
- Sing. uya kuthetha
- Plur. niya kuthetha

3rd Pers.:
- 1 & 1a.
- 2 & 2a.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- etc.
- etc.

Examples:

La makhwenkwe aya kubuya nini nee nkomo?
(When will these boys return with the cattle?)

Eli tyala ndiya kulihlawula lonke ndakuba ne mali.
(I shall pay this debt when I have money)

U ma uya kubuya ediniwe e masimini.
(Mother will come back tired from the lands)

U Maduna uya kukutvelela akuphila.
(Maduna will visit you when he is well)

Niya kwendza nto ni ngo mQibelo?
(What will you do on Saturday?)

Ngo mQibelo siya hlaa apha e khaya, siphumle.
(On Saturday we shall stay here at home and rest)

Ndiya kukuyala ndide ndife, mntan'am.
(I shall admonish you until I die, my child!)

/ the conditional ....
The Conditional Future.

12.90. It is generally thought that the forms assumed by this variety of future are basically the same as the remote or general future ones. The elision of the vowel of a subject concord, of the y of ya and of the k of ku-, result in the juxtaposition of the a of ya and the u of ku-, and these vowels coalesce. Then the subject concord, which comes immediately before the resultant o, assumes its consonantal form.

Examples.

\[\text{ndiya kuthetha} \rightarrow \text{nd(iy)a (k)uthetha} \rightarrow \text{nda utetha} \]
\[\rightarrow \text{ndothetha} \text{ (I shall speak)}\]

Weak subject concords are not elided. But since the elision of the other elements ultimately places these formatives before o, they too assume their consonantal form.

Examples.

\[\text{uya kuthetha} \rightarrow \text{u(y)a (k)uthetha} \rightarrow \text{u-a utetha} \rightarrow \text{u otetha} \]
\[\rightarrow \text{wothetha} \text{ (you will speak)}\]

Alternatively (and this is perhaps a more likely explanation), the elision of y results in the juxtaposition of the vowel concord and the a of ya, and the vowel concord is semiconsonantized before a and the latter coalesces with u. e.g. \[\text{u(y)a (k)uthetha} \rightarrow \text{u-a utetha} \rightarrow \text{wa utetha} \rightarrow \text{wothetha}\.

12.91. The view that these forms developed in this way is supported by certain forms that are used very commonly in ordinary speech.

(i) Some speakers elide the vowel of a strong subject concord and the y of ya.

Examples.

\[\text{ndiya kufika} \rightarrow \text{ndakufika} \text{ (I shall arrive)}\]
\[\text{siya kumbona} \rightarrow \text{sakumbona} \text{ (we shall see him)}\]

N.B. These forms are not to be confused with the temporal participial modal forms discussed in 13.

(ii) Other speakers go further and weaken the k of ku-to a w that is itself so weakened that it is hardly more than a glide from a to u.

\[/ \text{ndakufika} \ldots .\]
It would seem that it is the ultimate disappearance of the nda that brings the a and the u together.

12.92. The weakness of the above theory reveals itself when we have to deal with vowel verbs. These do not drop the k, e.g. ndokwakha (I shall build), U nyana wokondla a bazali bakhe (the son shall feed his parents). If the o is to be explained as described above, how do we account for it here, since there is no u before the k? Possibly this is another instance of analogy.

In any case, whether it is correct or not that the remote or general future and the conditional future have the same origin in form, what is important is that in modern Xhosa usage they are not synonymous.

12.93. Personal and class forms of the conditional future:

| 1st Pers. | Sing. | ndothetha | ndokwakha |
| Flur. | sothetha | sokwakha |
| 2nd Pers. | Sing. | wothetha | wokwakha |
| Flur. | nothetha | nokwakha |
| 3rd P. Cl 1 & 1a. | wothetha | wokwakha |
| 2 & 2a. | bothetha | bokwakha |
| 3. | wothetha | wokwakha |
| 4. | yothetha | yokwakha |
| 5. | lotetha | lokwakha |
| 6. | othetha | okwakha |
| 7. | sothetha | sokwakha |
| 8. | zothetha | zokwakha |
| 9. | yothetha | yokwakha |
| 10. | zothetha | zokwakha |
| 11. | lotetha | lokwakha |
| 14. | bothetha | bokwakha |
| 15. | kothetha | kokwakha |

Locatives: kothetha kokwakha

/ the conditional .....
The conditional future implies that, given certain conditions, the action or state indicated by the verb will occur.

**Examples**

Sobona ngelo xesha (We shall see at that time, i.e. when the time comes)

Ukuba kukho imfuneko, ndothatha (If there is a necessity, I shall speak).

Because it has this implication, the conditional future is used in describing customs or modes of behaviour that have to be observed under certain conditions. Solilo uses this tense in describing customs relating to Khosa chieftainship. *(Imišengo, pp 220-221).*

**Examples**

"Xena kukho onetvala, kothungwa umantu aye kuxxu kuxuxumeka shikundleni, kuleo mzi unetvala" (If any one is involved in a lawsuit, a person will be commissioned to go and plant it - the leopard's tail - in the yard, at the homestead that is involved in the lawsuit).

"Kodwa wogcina ukuba kube owubonayo, nokuba ngumtwana (But he will make sure that there is some one who sees it, even if it be a child).

"Leentonza yakomkhulu woyiphatha .... (This royal staff he will take with him ...).

"Vile ndoda eyxela enkosini ........ (It is this man who will report to the chief).

kuphela "Ukuba inkosi ihleli namaphakathi, /kobuliswa yona" (If the chief is sitting with the councillors, only he will be saluted).

"Nokuba ayikho apho, ufika enkundleni yavo njas, bulisa, oncwe wona amaphakathi (Even if he is not there, since you have come to his court, you are to salute, and the councillors will respond).

T. B. Soga too uses this tense in describing the burial rites of the Khosa people.
Examples

"Wosuka axelele umzi omganyana, aze aphi mu kuwo owokondi
ngelwini!"

(He will report to a fairly distant homestead, and it is from that homestead that some one will go directly to the
royal place)

"Bodliwa naxeshikweni bembike bengekamfuneli goira..."

(They will be fined even if they report him without first of
all finding him a doctor ...)

Kx

"Kogawulwa umtile omkulu..."

(A big tree will then be hewn down...)

"Wogetshulwa umblambi wenkomo..."

"A herd of cattle will then be set apart..."

(Intlalo ka Xosa, pp. 131-132)

The use of the conditional future in the above examples
shows that this tense does not indicate the future in the
strict sense. It indicates an unrealized state - a state that
is or will be realized only after some other event has occurred,
e.g. some being involved in a lawsuit and therefore having to
be summoned, or some one visiting the royal place and having to
observe certain formalities, or some one dying and having to be
reported to the chief and buried.

(b) Negative

The Near Future

12.94. The personal and class forms are as follows:—

1st Pers. (Sing. andizi kuthetha)

(Plur. anizi kuthetha)

2nd Pers. (Sing. akuzi kuthetha)

(Plur. anizi kuthetha)

3rd Pers. :

Classes 1 & 1a akazi kuthetha

2 & 2a abazi kuthetha

3. awuzi kuthetha

4. avizi kuthetha

5. alizi kuthetha

6. akazi kuthetha

e tc. etc.
Examples.
U Maduna akazi kufika namhlajnie.
(Maduna will not arrive to-day)
Ezi nkomo azizi kuy a e diphini.
(These cattle will not go to the dipping-tank)
Akuzi kundinceda kulo msebendzi?
(are you not going to help me in this work?)
O wam u mntwana akazi kungayi e sikolweni.
(My child is not going to not-go to school)
A madoda akazi kwakha namhlajnie.
(the men are not going to build to-day)

The Remote or General Future.

12.95. Personal and class forms:

Sing. andiyi kuthetha
Flur. asiyi kuthetha
Sing. akuyi kuthetha
Flur. aniyi kuthetha
abayi kuthetha
awuyi kuthetha
ayiyi kuthetha
aliyi kuthetha
akayi kuthetha

etc. etc.

Examples.
U Maduna akayi kuza apha na ninina.
(Maduna will not come here at any time)
Eli xhego aliyi kuhlala linathi.
(This old man will not always be with us)
Le nyanga ayiyi kufa lingafanga i lizwe.
(This month will not end without war having broken out.)
U mntwana akayi kukhula enagayi kakuhle.
(The child will not grow if it does not eat well)

/ u mntu .......
examples cont.

U mntu akayi kungathethi engabo t'hwanga mlomo

(Lan will not not-speak if his mouth is not gagged)

Participial Modality

12.96. In the near future and in the remote or general future
participial modality is formed by changing from the primary to
the participial modality of -za and -va. The infinitive which
indicates the action or state isxamal undergoes no change. The
participial modality of the conditional future differs only in
intonation from the corresponding primary modality.

(a) Positive

The Near Future

12.97. The personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. (Sing. nd'iza kuthetha
       Flur.  'ziza kuthetha

2nd Pers. (Sing. 'u'za kuthetha
       Flur.  'niza kuthetha

3rd Pers. :

Classes 1 & 1a 'eza kuthetha
       2 & 2a beza kuthetha
       3. 'uza kuthetha
       4. 'iza kuthetha
       5. 'liza kuthetha
       6. 'eza kuthetha
       etc. etc.

Examples

Lo mntu eza kwendzakala nje, animangandi yi ni?
(Since this man is going to get hurt, why don't you stop him?)

Sifike a bafana beza kuhambha
(We found the young men just about to go, lit. "We arrived the
young men being about to go")

Bamndaende eza kuzibulala
(They stopped him when he was about to kill himself, lit.
"They stopped him he being about to kill himself")
The General or Remote Future

12.98. The personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. (Sing. ndiya kuthetha
Plur. diya kuthetha

2nd Pers. (Sing. bya kuthetha
Plur. niya kuthetha

3rd Pers. :

Classes 1 & 1a bya kuthetha
2 & 2a bya kuthetha
3. bya kuthetha
4. bya kuthetha
5. bya kuthetha
6. bya kuthetha
etc. etc.

Examples

Kunceda nto ni, eya kuhambha nje no kuba niyamnganda?
(What is the use, since he will go even if you stop him?)

Mna andina xhala, i langa liya kutjhona ndise khaya nje
(As for me I am not anxious, since sunset will find me at home
lit. "the sun being about to set I being at home")

Eya kunceda nje nge nye i mini, mucede nave
(Since he will help you some day, you had better help him also)

The Conditional Future

12.99. Only the high intonation of the subject concords distinguishes the participial modality of the conditional future from the corresponding primary modality.

Examples

Nindixhalele nga nto ni, ndothetha nje xa kufuneka ndithethile?
(Why are you anxious about me, since I will speak when it is necessary that I should have spoken?)

Sofa sonke nje lakufika i xesha, ma sonwabe o kwa ngoku
(Since we shall all die when the time comes, let us be happy for the time being)
(b) Negative.

The Near Future.

12.100. Personal and class forms:

1st Pers. {  
   Sing. ndingazi kuthetha  
   Plur. singazi kuthetha

2nd Pers. {  
   Sing. ungazi kuthetha  
   Plur. ningazi kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. engazi kuthetha

   2 & 2a. bengazi kuthetha
   3. ingazi kuthetha
   4. ingazi kuthetha
   5. lingazi kuthetha
   6. engazi kuthetha
   etc. etc.

Examples.

Uthi ma ndimxelele i gana lam, engazi kundixelela e lakhe.

(he says I must tell him my name, when he is not going to tell me (his. ...)

Akuncedi/u kumbuza engazi kundiphendula.

(It is of no use asking him, when he is not going to answer me)

The Remote or General Future.

12.101. Personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. {  
   Sing. ndingayi kuthetha  
   Plur. singayi kuthetha

2nd Pers. {  
   Sing. ungayi kuthetha  
   Plur. ningayi kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. engayi kuthetha

   2 & 2a. bengayi kuthetha
   3. ungayi kuthetha
   4. ingayi kuthetha
   5. lingayi kuthetha
   6. engayi kuthetha
   etc. etc.

/ engayi ....
Engavi kundinceda nje, nam andizi kumnceda.
(Since he will not help me, I too am not going to help him)
Engazi kuza nje no kuba siya bamema, sisabamemela ni?
(Since they will not come even if we invite them, why do we invite them at all?)
Aknncedi ntc u kubhisa u mutu, engavi kuliphulaphula i cebo lako
(It is of no use advising a person if he will not listen to your advice)

Relative Modality.
(a) Positive.
The Near Future.

12.102. The personal and class forms without a relative connective are as follows:

1st Pers. (Sing. ndiza kuthetha
       Plur. aza kuthetha

2nd Pers. (Sing. uza kuthetha
       Plur. niza kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. uza kuthetha
       2 & 2a. baza kuthetha
       3. aza kuthetha
       4. iza kuthetha
       5. liza kuthetha
       6. aza kuthetha
       etc. etc.

Examples.

Una ndiza kubambha ma ndithetha kugala.
(I who am about to go had better be the first to speak)
Nina niza kuthetha ma nhlale kunye.
(You who are going to speak had better sit together)
Lo mfo uza kwakha le ndlu uvela ku Cumbhu.
(This man who is going to build this house comes from Qumbu)
Uyawazi la madoda aza kufika?
(Do you know these men who are about to arrive?)

/ 12.103. Personal ......
The

12.103. /Personal and class forms with a relative connective are as follows :-

( Sing. e ndiza kuthetha
1st Pers. ( Flur. e siza kuthetha
( Sing. o za kuthetha
2nd Pers. ( Flur. e niza kuthetha
3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. o za kuthetha
2 & 2a. a baza kuthetha
3. o za kuthetha
4. e za kuthetha
5. e liza kuthetha
6. a za kuthetha
e tc. etc.

Examples.

Mna, nyana ka Maduna, e ndiza kuthetha nani ....

(I, son of Maduna, who am about to speak to you ....)

Nina, bonyana baka Maduna, e niza kuthetha ....

(You, sons of Maduna, who are about to speak ...)

U mfo o za kwakha le ndlu uvela kuQumbo.

(The man who is going to build this house comes from Qumbo)

Uyawazi a madoda a za kufika?

(Do you know the men who are about to arrive?)

Remote or General Future.

The

12.104. /Personal and class forms without relative connective are as follows :-

( Sing. ndiya kuthetha
1st Pers. ( Flur. aiya kuthetha
( Sing. uya kuthetha
2nd Pers. ( Flur. niya kuthetha
3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. uya kuthetha
2 & 2a. baya kuthetha
3. uya kuthetha
4. iya kuthetha
5. liya kuthetha
6. aya kuthetha
e tc. etc.

/ examples....
Examples.

Nina niya kuhambha kwa kusaga, lalani kwa ngoku.
(You who will leave early in the morning had better go to bed
  (at once.)

Abo bantu baya kuthetha ngaloo mha ma ze basikhumbhule esi
sigcibo.
(Those people who will speak on that day will have to remember
  this resolution.)

Akukho ndoda iya kuyendza loo nto.
(There is no man who will do that)

Umtu wumbhi iya kuyazi le nto ngu Duna.
(Another person who will know this is Duna)

12.105. /Personal and class forms with a relative connective:

are as follows:

1st Pers. {  
  Sing. e ndiya kuthetha
  Flur. e siya kuthetha

2nd Pers. {  
  Sing. o ya kuthetha
  Flur. e niya kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. o ya kuthetha
  2 & 2a. a baya kuthetha
  3. o ya kuthetha
  4. e ya kuthetha
  5. e liya kuthetha
  6. a ya kuthetha

etc. etc.

Examples.

Thina, boonyana benu, e siya kuthetha ngaloo mha ....
(We, your sons, who will speak on that day....)

Naba a bantu a baya kuyimela i nyaniso.
(Here are the people who will stand for the truth)

Inye i ndoda e ya kuyilungisa le nto.
(There is one man who will put this matter straight)

/ the conditional .....
The Conditional Future.

12.106.* Personal and class forms without a relative connective are as follows:

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Examples.

Thina sothetha nokuba akufunoki asithandwa ngabantu.

(We who will speak even if it is not desirable are not liked by people)

Loo mntu wofika kugala, no kuba ngubani, ma ze agale u kwendza a malungiselo.

(That person who will come first, no matter who it is, will have to begin to make preparations.)

The

12.107.* Personal and class forms with a relative connective are as follows:

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Examples........
Examples.

U mntu o wothetha u kuba andikho ngu Juna.
(The person who will speak if I am not there is Juna)

I hashe e lefika kuqala ma ze lithunyalwe kuyihlo.
(The horse that will come first will have to be sent to your father)

U mqondiso e nobna ngawo kukuwe kweli bhela.
(The sign by which you will know is the falling of this bush)

(b) Negative.

The Near Future.

12.108. Personal and mass forms without a relative connective are as follows:

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<tr>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
<th>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 2a.</th>
<th>2 &amp; Pa.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ndingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>Sing. ungazi kuthetha</td>
<td>ungazi kuthetha</td>
<td>banzazi kuthetha</td>
<td>ungazi kuthetha</td>
<td>l ingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>angazi kuthetha</td>
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<td>Plur. singazi kuthetha</td>
<td>Plur. ningazi kuthetha</td>
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Examples.

Lo ungazi kuthetha ma kangahlali ne zithethi.
(Thas one who is not going to speak had better not sit with the speakers.

Akukho sizwe singazi kulwa Rule mfazwo izayo.
(There is no nation that is not going to fight in this coming war:

Wena ungazi kuhambha lungiselela a bahambhayo.
(You who are not going to go, make preparations for those who are going.

/ 12.109...
Personal and class forms with a relative connective are as follows:

1st Pers.  
- Sing. e ndingazi kuthetha
- Plur. e singazi kuthetha

2nd Pers.  
- Sing. o ngazi kuthetha
- Plur. e ngazï kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. o ngazi kuthetha
2 & 2a. a bangazi kuthetha
3. o ngazi kuthetha
4. e ngazi kuthetha
5. e lingazi kuthetha
6. a ngazi kuthetha

Examples:

U mntu e ndingazi kuthetha naye ngu Duna.
(The person to whom I am not going to speak is Duna)

I ndoda e ngazi kulwa ma vigoduко.
(The man who is not going to fight had better go home)

Ndalathise a bantu a bangazi kuyivuma le nto.
(Point out to me the people who are not going to accept this)

The Remote or General Future.

Personal and class forms without a relative connective are as follows:

1st Pers.  
- Sing. ndingayi kuthetha
- Plur. singayi kuthetha

2nd Pers.  
- Sing. ungayi kuthetha
- Plur. mingayi kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. ungayi kuthetha
2 & 2a. bangayi kuthetha
3. ungayi kuthetha
4. ungayi kuthetha
5. lingayi kuthetha
6. angayi kuthetha

Examples......
**Examples.**

"Towe ungayi kuthetha ma se angahlali ne zithethi."

(That one who will not speak had better not sit with the speakers.)

"Akukho sizwe singayi kulwa u kuba i lizwe liphinda ifafa."

(There is no nation that will not fight if another war breaks out; lit. "if the world should die again".)

"Thina singayi kuthetha e bandla ma sivunyelwe sithethe ngoku."

(We who will not speak at the assembly had better be allowed to speak now.)

The 12.111. personal and class forms with relative connective are as follows:

1st Pers. { Sing. e ndingayi kuthetha
            Plur. e singayi kuthetha

2nd Pers. { Sing. e nsavi kuthetha
            Plur. e nzungayi kuthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. o nsavi kuthetha
  2 & 2a. e banzavi kuthetha
  3. e nsavi kuthetha
  4. e nsavi kuthetha
  5. e lingayi kuthetha
  6. a nqayi kuthetha

etc. etc.

**Examples.**

"Thina, boonyana benu, e singayi kuthetha e bandla ...."

(We, your sons, who will not speak at the assembly....)

"Kukho i sizwe e singayi kulwa?"

(Is there a nation that will not fight?)

"A bantu a bangayi kuthetha ma bazwe kwa ngoku."

(The people who will not speak had better be known at once)

/ II the continuous ....
II The Continuous Aspect.

The Present Tense.

12.112. The continuous aspect has no formal distinguishing features in the present tense. The forms termed "non-specific" are employed to express continuity as well, as shown in 12.42. Thus ndiyathetha means "I speak" or "I am speaking" and uthetha kakuhle means "he speaks well" or "he is speaking well". The same applies to the negative forms. Andithethi may mean "I do not speak" or "I am not speaking".

12.113. In secondary modality too there is no formal distinction. Thus bethetha may mean "they habitually speaking" or "they being in the process of speaking", and bathethayo may mean "those who speak" or "those who are speaking"; bendathethi may mean "they not habitually speaking" or "they not being in the process of speaking" and a bangathethiyo may mean "those who do not speak" or "those who are not speaking".

The Past and the Future Tenses.

12.114. The past and the future are compound tenses characterized by the tense-forming verb -ba, whose vowel becomes irrespective of tense, followed by the verb indicating the action or state in the present indicative mood, participial modality. The negative is formed by negating the verb indicating the action or state according to the rule as described in 12.50.

Examples.

ndibe ndithetha (I was speaking) I have been speaking.

ndibe ndingathethi (I was not speaking) I have not been speaking.

ndiya kuba ndithetha (I shall be speaking)

ndiya kuba ndingathethi (I shall not be speaking)

Examples.

*Monosyllabic and vowel stems retain -a(i)- according to the rules.
The past tenses are ordinarily contracted in speech; and even in writing, the modern tendency is to use the contracted forms. There are definite rules for such contraction.

The Recent Past Tense

12.115. The recent past tense, continuous aspect, consists of the recent past tense of the verb -ba (be) and the present tense, participial modality, of the verb indicating the action or state. To form the contracted forms, the strong subject concords are elided before -be, while weak subject concords are retained, though the e of -be is elided after them.

Primary Modality

(a) Positive

12.116. The personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. (ndi)be ndithetha
     Plur. (si)be sithetha

2nd Pers. (ub(e) uthetha
     Plur. (ni)be nithetha

3rd Pers. Classes 1 & 1a ub(e) ethetha or eb(e) ethetha*

2 & 2a (ba)be bethetha

3. ub(e) uthetha

4. ib(e) ithetha

5. (li)be lithetha

6. ab(e) ethetha or eb(e) ethetha*
     etc., etc.

In the current orthography the contracted forms with weak subject concords are written conjunctively:

Examples

ubuthetha for ub' uthetha
abuthetha for u6' ethetha

Miscellaneous examples of the recent past tense, positive

Sibe sinalusa ii nkomo
(We were looking after the cattle)

*Assimilation of u and a respectively to e
Examples.

Nibe nthetha na bani? (To whom were you speaking?)
A madoda ebesakha i ndlu. (The man were building a hut)
I bashe be lingaphali kakhulu.
(The horse was not galloping hard)
Nkomo be zisitya ngaphaya kwe ntaba.
(The cattle were grazing on the other side of the mountain)
Be belwazi olu daba. (They knew this piece of news)

(b) Negative.

Personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. { Sing. (ndi)be ndingathethi
           Plur. (si)be singathethi

2nd Pers. { Sing. ub(e) ungathethi
           Plur. (ni)be ningathethi

3rd Pers. 1 & 1a. ub(e) engathethi or eb(e) engathethi
           2 & 2a. (ba)be bengathethi
           3. ub(e) ungathethi
           4. (ib)e ingathethi
           5. (li)be lingathethi
           6. ab(e) engathethi
           etc. etc.

Positive and Negative together.

Uthi be ndihleka, kanti be ndingahleki.
(He says I was laughing, whereas I was not laughing)

Uthi ii nkundzi be zisijwa, kanti be singalwi.
(He says the bulls were fighting, whereas they were not fighting)

Uthi i njia ibe ikhonkotha, kanti ibe ingakhonkothi.
(He says the dog was barking, whereas it was not barking)

Bathi be kubanda, kanti be kungabandi.
(They say it was cold, whereas it was not cold)

Uthi i xhego libe ligula, kanti libe lingaguli.
(He says the old man was ailing, whereas he was not ailing)

Uthi be besazi, kanti be Bengazi.
(He says they knew, whereas they did not know.

/ participial ....
Participial Modality

12.118. The difference in form between participial modality and primary modality in this tense is in the subject concord before -be in Classes 1 and 6, which is naturally o-. The intonation of the subject concord is relatively low. It is sufficient to give illustrative examples. Unfortunately the participiality cannot be brought out clearly in an idiomatic English translation.

Examples

Ndifika u mntwana wam ebelila
(I find my child having been crying, lit. "I arrive my child having crying")

Ufika be sitetha ngawe
(You arrive after we have been talking about you, lit. "You arrive we having been talking about you")

Wendzakala be simxelela u kuba ma kalumke
(He gets hurt after we have been telling him to be careful, lit. "He gets hurt we having been telling him that he had better be careful")

La madoda alwa ephikhisana nga nto ni?
(What were these men arguing about before they fought?, lit. "These men fight having been arguing about what")

Relative Modality

12.119. In both conjugations the relative modal forms are the same as the corresponding primary ones. But the intonation of the subject concord is relatively low after a relative connective. If the subject concord is elided before -be, this verb-stem has a low intonation. Here again it is sufficient to give illustrative examples.

Examples

ezi nkomo zibe zisitya apha
(these cattle that have been grazing here)

enso sizwe sibe sitembhe ii nkomo zabo
(that tribe that had captured their cattle)
examples cont.

ii nkomo e zibe zisitya apha
(the cattle that have been grazing here)

i sizwe e sibe sithambhe ii nkomo zabo
(the tribe that had captured their cattle)

lo mntu phe esineceda
(this person who was helping us)

u mntu o be esineceda
(the person who was helping us)

eso sitya he sityela a bantwana
(that dish out of which the children were eating)

i sitya e be sityela a bantwana
(the dish out of which the children were eating)

eli hashe lie lingaphali kakhulu
(this horse that was not galloping hard)

i hashe e lie lingaphali kakhulu
(the horse that was not galloping hard)

The Remote Past Tense

12.120. The remote past tense, continuous aspect, consists of the commentative modal forms of -ba and the present tense, participial modality, of the verb indicating the action or state. In relative modality the subject concord of Class 6 is wa- after a relative connective. Besides this, only the low intonation on the subject concord distinguishes the secondary modalities from the corresponding primary. The contracted forms elide -be in all persons and classes. The elision of -be before a weak participial concord results in the emergence of w before y, y before ay and i of the subject concord. The contracted forms are written conjunctively.

Primary Modality

(a) Positive

12.121. The personal and class forms in full are as follows :-
1st Pers. Sing. ndabe ndithetha
          Plur. sabe sithetha
2nd Pers. Sing. wabe utetha
          Plur. nabe nithetha
3rd Pers.:

Classes 1 & 1a wabe ethetha
          2 & 2a babe bethetha
          3. wabe utetha
          4. yabe ithetha
          5. labe lithetha
          6. abe ethetha
          etc. etc.

12.122. As an alternative to -be as a tense-forming auxiliary verb, the stem -ye may be used without any change of meaning.

Examples

ndabe ndithetha or ndaye ndithetha
sabe sithetha or saye sithetha
wabe ethetha or waye ethetha
zabe zithetha or saye zithetha

12.123. The contracted personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. Sing. ndandithetha
          Plur. sasithetha
2nd Pers. Sing. wawuthetha
          Plur. yayithetha
3rd Pers.:

Classes 1 & 1a wayethetha
          2 & 2a babethetha
          3. wawuthetha
          4. yayithetha
          5. jalithetha
          6. (w)ayethetha
          etc. etc.
12.124. The semi-vowel that emerges in these contracted forms has been regarded as merely intervocalic (Doke: Zulu § 425, Bennie: Xhosa p. 109). But this would seem to be a case of retention, the Ÿ taking the forms w and y. Reference to other dialects supports this view. In Hlubi, for instance, we find k before a - e.g. (i) wakefunda (he was learning) where Xhosa and Zulu would have wayefunda. (ii) a madoza akesebendza (the men were working) for a madoza avesebendza. Even the form awesebendza exists. Cf. 6.3. - 6.4.

(b) Negative.

12.125. The personal and class forms, full and contracted together, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>{ Sing. ndabe ndingathethi }</td>
<td>ndandingathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ Flur. sabe singathethi }</td>
<td>sasingathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>{ Sing. wabe ungathethi }</td>
<td>wayungathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ Flur. nabè ningathethi }</td>
<td>nangingathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. &amp; 1a.</td>
<td>wabe engathethi</td>
<td>wayengathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>babe engathethi</td>
<td>babengathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>wabe ungathethi</td>
<td>wayungathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>yabe ingathethi</td>
<td>yayingathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>labe lingathethi</td>
<td>lalingathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>abe engathethi</td>
<td>ayengathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc</td>
<td>etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive and Negative together.

Uthi ndandibleka, kanti ndandingahleki.
(He says I was laughing, whereas I was not laughing)

Uthi i nkundi zazisilwa, kanti zasingalwi.
(He says the bulls were fighting, whereas they were not (fighting.

Uthi i nja yabe ikhonkotha, kanti yabe ingakhonkothi.
(He says the dog was barking, whereas it was not barking)

Bathi kwakubanda, kanti kwakungabandi.
(They say it was cold, whereas it was not cold)
examples cont.

Uthi i xhogo labe ligula, kanti labe lingaguli
(He says the old man wa ailing, whereas he was not ailing)

Uthi babesazi, kanti babengazi
(He says they knew, whereas they did not know)

**Participial Modality**

12.126. Illustrative examples will be sufficient, since the difference is only in intonation.

**Examples**

Ufe saaisacinga u kuba uza kuphila
(He idled while we had thought, lit. "we having been thinking" that he would recover)

Ndandisithi ma kangelaselela, wawumxelelela ntoni?
(Since I was saying, "lit. I having been saying" that he should not be told, what were you telling him for?)

Wayegula nje, wayeza kuza njani?
(Since he had been ailing, "lit. he having been ailing so", how was he to come?)

Wayengafuni nje u yihlo nw u kuba uzeke kuloo mzi, wayesiyika je ntoni
(When your father did not want you, lit. "your father so not wanting you" to marry into this family was afraid of this state of affairs)

**Relative Modality**

12.127. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:

Lwa ndandhleka andizange ndiyive i ntetho yakhe
(I who was laughing did not hear his speech)

Eko nkundzi zazisilwa zaaboyikisa kakhulu a bantwana
(Those bulls that were fighting frightened the children very much)

II nkundzi e zazisilwa zaaboyikisa kakhulu a bantwana
(The bulls that were fighting frightened the children very much)

Elo xhogo labe ligula laavuka lakuva i ngxolo
(That old man who was ailing got up on hearing the noise)
I xhego e labe ligula iaavuka lakuv i ngxolo
(The old man who was ailing got up on hearing the noise)

Biza loo madoda abe esebendza apha
(Call those men who were working here)

Biza a madoda a wabe esebendza apha
(Call the men who were working here)

Nasi eso sitya e sabe sityela a bantwana
(Here is the dish out of which the children were eating)

Nasi i sitya e sabe sityela a bantwana
(Here is the dish out of which the children were eating)

Ndifuna u kuvuza lo mntu wayendakhela
(I want to reward this man who built for me)

Umntu o wayendakhela waafudukela kwa Zulu
(The person who was building for me migrated to Zululand)

I ndlela waayalathiswa nga makhwenkwe a wayesalussa
(He was shown the way by boys who were grazing stock)

Ndaawabona loo makhwenkwe ayesalussa ezo nkomo
(I did see those boys who were grazing those cattle)

Loo mfazi wayengavumi u kuhambha wayene zizathu
(That woman who was not willing to go had her reasons)

U mfazi o wayengavumi u kuhambha wayene zizathu
(The woman who was not willing to go had her reasons)

The Future Tense

12.128. The future tense, continuous aspect, consists of the future tense, non-specific aspect, of -ba and the present tense, participial modality, of the verb indicating the action or state. It may be near (with -za), remote or general (with -va), or conditional (with the contracted forms).

Examples

Near : Ndiza kube ndithetha
Remote : Ndiva kube ndithetha (I shall be speaking)
Conditional : Ndobe ndithetha

It will be sufficient to give tables of the remote or general forms only.
Primary Modality.

(a) Positive.

Personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. { Sing. ndiya kube ndithetha
        Flur. siya kube sitetha

2nd Pers. { Sing. uya kube uthetha
        Flur. niya kube nithetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. uya kube ethetha
        2 & 2a. baya kube bethetha
        3. uya kube uthetha
        4. iya kube ithetha
        5. liya kube lithetha
        6. aya kube ethetha
etc. etc.

(b) Negative.

Personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. { Sing. ndiya kube ndingathethi
        Flur. siya kube singathethi

2nd Pers. { Sing. uya kube ungathethi
        Flur. niya kube ningathethi

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. uya kube engathethi
        2 & 2a. baya kube bengathethi
        3. uya kube ungathethi
        4. iya kube ingathethi
        5. liya kube lingathethi
        6. aya kube engathethi
etc. etc.

Positive and Negative together.

Uthi uya kube esebendza, kanti uya kube engasebendzi.
(He says he will be working, whereas he will not be working)

Uthi a madoda aya kube evuma, kanti aya kube engavumi.
(He says the men will be singing, whereas they will not be singing.)

/ bathi baya ....
Bathi baya kube besazi, kanti baya kube bengazi.
(They say they will be knowing, whereas they will not be knowing)
Uthi kuya kube kubanda, kanti kuya kube kungabandi.
(He says it will be freezing, whereas it will not be freezing)
Uthi baya kube besitya, kanti baya kube bengati.
(He says they will be eating, whereas they will not be eating)

Participial Modality.

The participial modality, future tense, continuous aspect, consists of the future participial non-specific aspect of kube and the present participial of the verb indicating the action or state. e.g. eza kube esebendza, eya kube esebendza, obe esebendza (he being about to be working)

(a) Positive.

12.131. Personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. { (Sing. ndiya kube ndithetha,
          Flur. siya kube sithetha

2nd Pers. { (Sing. 'uya kube uthetha,
          Flur. riya kube nthetha

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. eya kube ethetha
           2 & 2a. beya kube bethetha
           3. 'uya kube uthetha
           4. 'iya kube ithetha
           5. 'iya kube lithetha
           6. eya kube ethetha
           etc. etc.

Examples.

Eya kube esebendza nje akuyi kube lula u kuthetha naye.
(Since he will be working, it will not be easy to speak to him)

Kuya kube kubanda nje ngo maso, asiya kuthanda u kuvuka.
(Since it will be freezing to-morrow, we shall not like to get up.)

Ziya kube zisitya kakuhle nje i nkomo, siya kube no kudala.
(Since the cattle will be grazing well, we shall be able to play.)

/ (b) negative
(b) **Negative.**

12.133. The personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. {
    Sing.  ndiya kube udingathethi
    Plur.  siya kube singathethi

2nd Pers. {
    Sing.  uya kube ungathethi
    Plur.  niya kube ningathethi

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a.  eya kube engathethi

2 & 2a. byea kube bengathethi
3.  uya kube uhgathethi
4.  iyha kube ingathethi
5.  liya kube lingathethi
6.  eya kube engathethi
etc.  etc.

**Examples.**

Eya kube engasebendzi nje, kuya kuba lula u kumboha
(Since he will not be working, it will be easy to see him)

Kuya kube kungabandi nje, siya kuvuka kwa ngoko.
(Since it will not be cold, we shall get up early)

Siya kube singalusi nje e busika, siya kudlal/ kakahle.
(Since we shall not be guarding stock in winter, we shall play pleasantly.)

**Relative Modality.**

12.134. **Illustrative examples will be sufficient:**

1oo mntu uya kube esebendza apho.
(that person who will be working there)

mntu o ya kube esebendza.
(the person who will be working)

eso nkomo ziya kube zisitya kakuhle.
(those cattle that will be grazing pleasantly)

1oo mntu uya kube engasebendzi.
(that person who will not be working)

mntu o ya kube engasebendzi.
( the person who will not be working)

niya niya kube ningsaxoxi.
(you who will not be discussing)
III. The Perfect Aspect

The Present Tense

12.135. The present tense, perfect aspect, describes an existing state that has come about as the result of an action previously performed or a state previously entered into. It employs the perfect stem of the verb. As shown in 12.64., this tense-form has extended its functions to cover what we have termed the recent past tense.

Cf.: ndivukile (I have got up, I am up)

\( ndivukile \, ndakwana \, i \, ngxolo \)

(I got up on hearing the noise).

In the first sentence, ndivukile is in a present-result-of-a-past-event tense, and in the second in a purely past-event tense. Similarly in \( u \, sana \, lulele \, kakuhle \, ngoku \) (the baby is sleeping well now), lulele is in a present-result-of-past-event tense, but in \( u \, sana \, lulele \, kakuhle \, phezolo \) (the baby slept well last night), lulele is in a past-event tense. When a verb is used with an inchoative meaning, that is, to signify the commencing of, or entering into, a state, the perfect form of such a verb always has a present meaning. In the above illustrations -yukile and -lele convey an inchoative meaning in the respective first sentences. They are therefore in the present tense, perfect aspect. In the opinion of the present writer, it seems safer to avoid the term inchoative verb and rather to recognize the inchoative use of verbs, because, as the above illustrations show, the same verb may convey an inchoative as well as an instantaneous meaning.

12.136. The verb-stems that are more commonly used inchoatively than otherwise in Xhosa may be classified as follows:

\[ (1) \]
(1) Most derivatives in the neuter species:

bekeka (become respectable), -bekekile, -bekeke
bindeka (become emotional), -bindelile, -bindelike
cocaka (become clean), -cocakile, -cocake
cubhuka (become lethargic), -cubhukile, -cubhuke

(2) Denominative stems ending in -pha and -phala:

hlakanipha (become alert), -hlakaniphile, hlakaniphala
khalihipha (become brave), -khalihiphiile, -khalihiphe
ncipha (become small), -nciphile, -nciphe
nxunguphala (become dejected), -nxunguphile
giliphe (become resourceful), -giliphile

(3) Many stems ending in -ba:

goba (bend), gobile, -goba
-onwaba (become happy), -onwabile, -onwabe
naba (stretch out, grow long), -nabile, -nabe
nxiba (get dressed), -nxibile, -nxibe
tyeba (become fat), -tyehile, -tyebe
thoba (bend), -thohile, -thobe
xweba (become dry and cracked as to the skin), -xwebile, -xwebhe
xhalaba (become anxious), -xhalabile, -xhalabe

(4) Many stems ending in -ma and -mala:

-oma (become dry), -omile, -ome
-ayama (lean), -ayamile, -ayame
chuma (become abundant), -chumile, -chume
khedama (become downcast), -khedamile, -khedame
lulama (become meek), -lulamile, -lulame
phononga (project), -phongomile, -phongome
ghama (become luxuriant), -ghamile, -ghame
swama (Fade), -swamile, -swame
dumala (become dejected), -dumile
fudumala (become warm), -fudumile
khukhumala (dilate), -khukhumele

(5) Many stems...
(5) Many stems ending in -mbha:

dakumbha (be/become spiritless), -dakumbhile, -dakumbhe
dambha (subside), -dambhile, -dambhe
dumbha (swell), -dumbhile, -dumbhe
fumbha (lie in heap), -fumbhile, -fumbhe
lambha (be/become hungry), -lambhile, -lambhe
gumbha (be/become wroth), -gumbhile, -gumbhe
thambha (be/become pliable), -thambhile, -thambhe

(6) Many stems ending in -ala and -alala:

lala (be asleep/sleep), -lele
blala (be seated/get seated), -blele
dangala (be/become inert), -dangele
khuthala (be/become energetic), -khuthale
mangala (be/become astonished), -mangele
zala (be/become full), -zele
cambhalala (lie on stomach), -cambhalele
fumbhalala (lie in a heap), -fumbhalele
phangalala (be/become wide), -phangalele
tjhabalala (lie ruined), -tjhabalele

(7) Active stems ending in -atha:

-ambhatha (cover one’s body), -ambhethethe
closed
fumbhatha (carry in/hand), -fumbhethethe
phatha (carry in hand), -phethe
vyatha (carry across shoulder), -vyethe
vatha (be arrayed), -vethe

(8) Many stems ending in -la:

bila (sweat), -bilile, -bile
bola (rot/be rotten), -bolile, -bole
dela (dislike/be rotten), -delile, -dele
khwela (mount/be mounted), -khwele
nxila (be/become drunk), -nxilile, -nxile
phole (be/become cold), -pholile, -phole
phela (be finished), -phelile, -phole
qhela (be/become accustomed), -qhelile, -qhole

/gola........
Miscellaneous.

(a) Intransitive:
  bhitya (be/become lean) - bhityile, bhitye
  chwayita (be/become cheerful) - chwayitile, chwayite
  dana (be disappointed) - danile, dane
  fe (dis) - fife, fe
  hlutha (be/become replete) - hluthi, hluthie
  mathe (be/become spiritless) - mathe, mathe
  gina (be/become firm) - ginile, gine
  wutha (subside/be deflated) - wuthile, wuthie

(b) Transitive:
  jonga (watch/look at) - jongile, jonge
  thiya (hate) - thiyle, thiye

12,137. But there are a few verbs that have distinct stems, one specifically present perfect and the other a general perfect stem that may be used in past-event tenses. The following are the commonest of such verbs:

(1) -Ima (stand, halt) -mi, -mile, -me:
  Ndimi spha ngoku (I am standing here now)
  Ndimile ngoku (I have stopped now)
  Ndime akundikhwaza. (I stopped when he called out to me.)
  Ndime kwa oko. (I stopped at once)

(2) hlutha (be/become replete) - hluthi, hluthie:
  Umntwana uhluthi ngoku. (The child is full now)
  Umntwana uhluthi kwa ngoku. (The child became full at once.)

(3) mitha (be/become pregnant) - mithi, mitha:
  Zonke ezi nkomo simithi. (All these cows are in calf)
  Le nkomo imithe kade. (This cow took a long time to conceive.)

  / (4) phatha ......
(4) phatha (carry, handle), -phethe, -phathile, -phathe:

-phethe u nsila we ngwe (he is carrying a leopard's tail).

I ngwe uyiphathile e malieni. (lit. "he touched the leopard on the tail" i.e. he touched the man on a sore spot.

Uyiphathile i ngwe (he did touch the leopard)

(5) thwala (carry), -thwale, -thwale:

Uthwale i nyama (He is carrying meat)

Uyithwale kwa ok owayigodusa (He carried it home at once)

Tiyo Soga uses -hlale as the perfect stem of hlala with an instantaneous meaning.

"Uhlale phantsi umzuzwana, walila",

(For a while he sat down and wept)

UHambo, p. 60.

Further investigation may reveal that there are many more verb-stems that make this distinction in form as well as in meaning.

The Negative.

12.138. In what is generally recognized as the West Xhosa usage, the perfect negative suffixal formative, -anga is not employed when the perfect has a present-state meaning. Instead of employing any additional formative in the negative conjugation when the verb conveys this meaning, the perfect stem itself undergoes change of intonation only.

Examples.

ulele (he is asleep) akalele (he is not asleep)

iFite (it is dead) alifile (it is not dead)

This means that those verbs that can have an inchoative as well as an instantaneous meaning negative the perfect stem in two different ways, namely, (i) by change of intonation to express a present-state meaning, (ii) by suffixing -anga, as described in 12.68., to express a past-event meaning. Thus, for instance, ulele, meaning "he is sleeping", has the negative form akalele (he is not sleeping), but ulele, meaning "he slept" has the negative form akalalange (he did not sleep)
The following examples illustrate the difference between the two:

1. iinkomo azifile (The cattle are not dead)
   iinkomo azifanga (The cattle did not die)
2. U yihlo akacumbhile (Your father is not angry)
   U yihlo akacumbhanga (Your father did not become angry)
3. izulu alizolile (The weather is not calm)
   izulu alizolanga (The weather did not become calm)
4. A bantwana abalambhile (The children are not hungry)
   A bantwana abalambhanga (The children did not get hungry)
5. umlendze awudumbhile (The leg is not swollen)
   umlendze awudumbhanga (The leg did not swell)
6. Andimjongile (I am not looking at him)
   Andimjonganga (I did not look at him)
7. Le nto ayilungile (This matter is not right)
   Le nto ayilunganga (This matter did not come right)

The distinction is maintained even in secondary modalities:

Examples:

1. iinkomo zingafile (The cattle not being dead)
   iinkomo zingafanga (The cattle not having died)
2. ii nkomo e zingafile (The cattle that are not dead)
   ii nkomo e zingafanga (The cattle that did not die)
   i nyama ingabolile (The meat not being putrid)
   i nyama ingabolanga (The meat not having gone putrid)
2. i nyama e ngabolileyo (The meat that is not putrid)
   i nyama e ngabolanga (The meat that did not go putrid)
3. ndingamjongile (I not looking at him)
   ndingamjonganga (I not having looked at him)
   e ndingamjongileyo (he at whom I am not looking)
   e ndingamjonganga (he at whom I did not look)
4. umntwana engalele (the child not being asleep)
   umntwana enkalalanga (the child not having slept)
5. umntwana o ngalele (the child who is not asleep)
   umntwana o ngalalanga (the child who did not sleep)
The Past Tense and the Future Tense

12.140. Like the corresponding tenses of the continuous aspect, the past and the future tenses, perfect aspect, are compound. The principle of formation is the same. The only difference in form is that in the perfect aspect the verb indicating the action or state is a perfect aspect, participial modality instead of a present tense.

**Examples**

Ndibe ndithethile naye
(I had spoken to him - recently)

Ndabe ndithethile naye
(I had spoken to him - long ago)

Ndive kube ndithethile naye
(I shall have spoken to him)

The Recent Past Tense

**Primary Modality**

(a) **Positive**

12.141. The personal and class forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Contracted Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>ndibe ndithethile</td>
<td>be ndithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>sibe sithethile</td>
<td>be sithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>ube uthethile</td>
<td>ubuthethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>nibe nithethile</td>
<td>be nithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1 &amp; 1a</td>
<td>ube ethethile</td>
<td>ubethethile, abethethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a</td>
<td>babe ethethile</td>
<td>be ethethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>ube ethethile</td>
<td>ubuthethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ibe ithethile</td>
<td>ibithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>libe lithethile</td>
<td>be lithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>abe ethethile</td>
<td>abethethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Or ethethile*
(b) **Negative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Form.</th>
<th>Contracted form.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>(Sing. ndibe ndingathethanga be ndingathethanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Plur. sibe singathethanga be singathethanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>(Sing. ube ungathethanga ubungathethanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Plur. nibe ningathethanga be ningathethanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl.</td>
<td>(1 &amp; 1a. ube engathethanga ubengathethanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2 &amp; 2a. babe bengathethanga be bengathethanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc. etc. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Positive and Negative together.**

**Uthi be simhonile, kanti be singambonanga.**

(He says we had seen him, whereas we had not seen him)

**A bafazi bathi be bebuhluzile u tywala, kanti be bengabuhluzanga.**

(The women say they had strained the beer, whereas they had not strained it.)

**U mfana uthi ebewucimile u mlilo, kanti ebengawucimanga.**

(The young men says he had put out the fire, whereas he had not (put it) out.)

**Le ndoda ithi ibe indiqonde kakuhle, kanti ibe ingandigondanga kakuhle.**

(Thisman says he had understood me well, whereas he had not (understood me) well.

**Bathi be befihe nge xesa, kanti be bengafikanga nge xesa.**

(They say they had arrived in time, whereas they had not arrived in time.)

**Uthi ii nkomo be zibuye zihluthi, kanti be zingabuyanga zihluthi.**

(He says the cattle had come back replete, whereas they had not (come back) replete.

**Participial Modality.**

12.142. **Illustrative examples will be sufficient:**

**Be lithonile nje i langa, be niza rubona njani?**

(Since the sun had set, how were you going to see?)

**Ebewwile nje u mbuzo, ebeza kuwuphendula.**

(Since he had heard the question, he was going to answer it)
examples cont.
Be lingabuyanga nje i hashe lakhe, ebeza kuhwela nto ni?
(Since his horse had not returned, what was he going to ride?)
Ebangawuvanga nje u mbuzo, ebeza kuhwendula nto ni?
(Since he had not heard the question, how was he to answer?)
Andizi kulala arha, be ndingazimisele kwenje njalo.
(I am not going to sleep here, not having intended to do so)

Relative Modality.
12.143. Illustrative examples will be sufficient: -
A bantu e sibe sithethile nabo ngooMaduna.
(The people with whom we had spoken were Maduna & Co.)
U mntu o be engafikanga nguvi ac.
(The person who had not arrived was his father)
Loo mntu ube engawувanga u mbuzo ma kaphulaphule.
(That person who did not hear the question had better listen)
I hashe e libe lingabuyanga phozolo libuyile nambla-nje.
(The horse that did not come back yesterday has come back to-
day)

The Remote Past Tense.

Primary Modality.

(a) Positive.

12.144. / Personal and class forms are as follows: -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sing. ndabe ndithethile</td>
<td>ndandithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plur. sabe sithethile</td>
<td>sasithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sing. wabe ethethile</td>
<td>wawuthethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plur. nabe nithethile</td>
<td>nanithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabe ethethile</td>
<td>wayethethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a. babe ethethile</td>
<td>babethethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wabe ithethile</td>
<td>wawuthethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. vabe ithethile</td>
<td>yayithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. labe lithethile</td>
<td>lalithethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. aye ethethile</td>
<td>ayethethile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Negative......
(b) Negative.

12.145. Personal and class forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st Pers.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sing.) ndabe ndingathethanga</td>
<td>ndandingathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plur.) sabe singathethanga</td>
<td>sasingathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd Pers.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sing.) wabe ungathethanga</td>
<td>wawungathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Plur.) nabe ningathethanga</td>
<td>naningathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabe engathethanga</td>
<td>wayengathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 &amp; 2a.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bE'~be bengathethanga</td>
<td>babengathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabe ungathethanga</td>
<td>wawungathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yabe ingathethanga</td>
<td>yayingathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labe lingathethanga</td>
<td>lalingathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abe engathethanga</td>
<td>ayengathethanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive and Negative together.

*Uthi sasimbonile, kanti sasingawumwezwa.*
(He says we had seen him, whereas we had not seen him)

*A bafazi bathi babehuhluzile u tywala, kanti babengabuhluzwa.*
(The women say they had strained the beer, whereas they had not.

*U mfana uthi wayewucimile u mli, kanti wayengawucimwa.*
(The young man says he had put out the fire, whereas he had not.

Participial Modality.

12.146. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:

* Lalitjhonile nie i langa, naniza kubona njani?
  (Since the sun had set, how were you going to see?)

*Wayewuvela nie u mbuza, wayeza kwunphendula.*
  (Since he had heard the question he was going to answer it)

*Jalingabuvanga nie i hashe lakhe, wayeza kakhwela nto ni?*
  (Since his horse had not come back, what was he going to ride?)

*Wayengawuvanga nie u mbuza, wayeza kuthendula nto ni?*
  (Since he had not heard the question what was he going to answer?)

/ndandingazi ......
examples cont.
Ndandingazi kulala sphi, ndandingazingimile kwenje njalo.
(I was not going to sleep there, not having intended to do so)

Relative Modality.

12.147. A bantu a babefike nge xesha bayibona loo nto.
(People who had arrived in time did see that.)
Loo mntu wayewuvile u mbuza wayawuphendulu.
(That person who had heard the question answered it)
Mntu o wayewuvile u mbuza wayawuphendulu.
(The person who had heard the question answered it)
Abo bantu babengayivanga le nto abana kubekwa tvala.
(The people who had not heard this cannot be blamed)
A bantu a babengayivanga le nto abana kubekwa tvala.
(The people who had not heard this cannot be blamed)

Amanakho hashe lalingabuyanga.
(There is no horse that had not returned)
I hashe e lalingabuyanga le limlimloche.
(The horse that had not returned was the white one)

The Future Tenses.

It will be sufficient to give only the remote or general future forms.

Primary Modality.
(a) Positive.

12.148. Personal and class forms :-

1st Pers. { Sing. ndiya kube ndithethile ( I shall have spoken)

Flur. siya kube sithethile

2nd Pers. { Sing. uya kube uthethile

Pars. niya kube nthethile

3rd P. Cl. 1 & la. uya kube athethile
2 & 2a. baya kube bethethile

3. uya kube uthethile / cl. 4. iya ....
3rd P. Classes 4. iya kube ithethile 
5. liya kube lithethile 
6. aya kube ethethile 
etc. etc.

(b) Negative.

12.149. Personal and class forms :-

1st Pers. { (Sing. ndiya kube ndingathethanga. 
(Sing. uya kube ungathethanga 
(Sing. ndiya kube mingathethanga

2nd Pers. { (Plur. siya kube singathethanga 
(Plur. niya kube mingathethanga

3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. uya kube engathethanga 
2 & 2a. baya kube bengathethanga 
3. uya kube ungathethanga 
4. iya kube ingathethanga 
5. liya kube lingathethanga 
6. aya kube engathethanga 
etc. etc.

Positive and Negative together.

Uthi uya kube egqibile, kanti uya kube engaggibanga. 
(He says he will have finished, whereas he will not have finished)

Uthi a madode ayakube emkile, kanti aya kube engemkanga. 
(He says the men will have gone away, whereas they will not have gone away.)

Bathi i i ntombhi ziya kube zigodukile, kanti ziya kube 
singagodukanga. 
(He says the girls will have gone home, whereas they will not 
have gone home.)

Uthi i langa liya kube litjhonile, kanti liya kube 
lingatjhonanga. 
(He says the sun will have set, whereas it will not have set)

Uthi a befazi baya kube bebuhluzile u tywala, kanti baya kube 
bengabuhluanga. 
(He says the women will have strained the beer, whereas they will not have strained it)
Participial Modality

12.150. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:

Eya kube egcibile nje u kusebendza, siya kube nakho u kuthetha naye
(Since he will have finished working, we shall be able to confer with him)

Eya kube engawugqibanga nje u msebendzi, akayi kuwufumana u mvuza wakhe
(Since he will not have finished the job, he will not get his wages)

Eya kube emkile nje a madoda, lo mcimbhi uya kupathwa nga bafazi
(Since the men will have gone away, this affair will be handled by the women)

Liya kube litjhonile nje i langa, asi yi kubona kakuhle
(Since the sun will have set, we shall not see properly)

ziya kwe zingagodukanga nje ii ntombhi, akuyi kubene khe mntu wo kupheka e makhayeni azo
(Since the girls will not have gone home, there will be no one to do the cooking at their homes)

It will be noted that the tendency is to put the subject after the participial predicative. But it is not unidiomatic to put it before the predicative:

I langa liya kube litjhonile nje, ........
A madoda eva kube emkile nje, ........

Relative Modality

12.151. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:

Akukho mntu uya kube egcibile ngelo xesha
(There is no one who will have finished by that time)

U mntu o yakube egcibile ngelo xesha ngu Maduna
(The person who will have finished by that time is Maduna)

Loo ndoda iya kube ingenkanga iya kupathha lo mcimbhi
(That man who will not have gone away will handle this matter)

I ndoda e yakube ingenkanga iya kupathha lo mcimbhi
(The man who will not have gone away will handle this matter).
Ezo ntombhi ziya kube zizodukile ziva kuqucuzela la i ndwendwe
(Those girls who will have gone home will attend to the guests)
Ntombhi e ziya kube zizodukile ziya kuniququzelela
(The girls who will have gone home will attend to you)
Akukho zintombhi ziya kube zingaqodukanca
(There aren't any girls who will not have gone home).

12.152. It is to be noted that in the past and future tenses, perfect aspect, a verb used inchoatively conveys the meaning of the corresponding tense in the continuous aspect.

**Examples**

**Primary Modality**

A bantwana be belambhile (The children were hungry).

A bantwana be bangalambhile (The children were not hungry).

A bantwana babelambhile (The children were hungry - long ago)

A bantwana babengalambhile (The children were not hungry - long ago)

A bantwana baya kube belambhile (The children will have become hungry) cf. A bantwana baya kulambha (The children will starve).

A bantwana baya kube bangalambhile (The children will not have become hungry) cf. A bantwana abayi kulambha (The children will not starve).

**Participial Modality**

A bantwana be belambhile nje, be siza kuthi ni?
(Since the children were hungry, what were we to do?)

A bantwana be bangalambhile nje, be singena xhala
(Since the children were not hungry, we were not anxious)

Beya kube belambhile nje a bantwana, siya kubatyisa not ni?
(Since the children will be hungry, on what shall we feed them?)

Beya kube bangalambhile nje a bantwana, siya kuhambha kakhulile
(Since the children will not be hungry, we shall travel well).

**Relative Modality**

a bantwana a babe belambhile (the children who were hungry)

a bantwana a babe bangalambhile (the children who were not hungry)

a bantwana a baya kube belambhile (the children who will have become hungry)

cf. .........
cf. a bantwana a baya kulembha (the children who will go hungry)
a bantwana abaya kube bengalambhile (the children who will not be hungry)
cf. a bantwana a bangayi kulembha (the children who will not go hungry)

IV. The Intentional Aspect.

12.153. What has been termed the future tense can, in fact, be regarded as an aspect of the present tense, namely, the intentional aspect. The fact that we can use ngoku (now) after it shows that the action or state, though merely intended, is regarded as present at the moment of comparison, e.g. ndiza kuthetha ngoku (I am going to speak now). It is therefore a present-symptom-of-a-coming-event tense.

The intentional aspect has tenses in the past and future as well. As in the perfect aspect, the b verb -be is employed as a tense-forming auxiliary. The verb indicating the action or state is in the near future participial.

Examples.

Ube eza kuthetha (He was going to speak - recently)
Wabe eza kuthetha (He was going to speak - long ago)
Uva kube eza kuthetha (He will be on the point of speaking.)

The Recent Past Tense.

Primary Modality.

(a) Positive.

The 12.154 Personal and class forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
<th>3rd.P.Cl.1 &amp;1a.</th>
<th>2 &amp;2a.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full Forms:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ndibe ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>Flur. sibe siza kuthetha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ube uza kuthetha</td>
<td>Flur. nibe niza kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>ube eza kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>babe beza kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>ube uza kuthetha</td>
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<td>ibe izza kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>libe liza kuthetha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contracted Forms: be ndiza kuthetha be siza kuthetha ubuza kuthetha be niza kuthetha ubeza kuthetha be beza kuthetha ubuza kuthethe ibiza kuthethe be liza kuthethe
3rd P. Classes 6. **abe eza kuthetha**

etc. etc.

**(b) Negative.**

12.155. Personal and class forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contrasted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sing.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plur.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndibe ndingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>sibe singazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be ndingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>be singazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ube ungazi kuthetha</td>
<td>ubungazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubungazi kuthetha</td>
<td>be ningazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibe ngingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>nibe ningazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be ningazi kuthetha</td>
<td>ubengazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a. ube engazi kuthetha</td>
<td>ubengazi kuthetha or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc. etc.</td>
<td>etc. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Positive and Negative together.**

Uthi **ube eza kusebendza**, kanti **ube engazi kusebendza**.

(He says he was going to work, whereas he was not going to work)

Uthi **a bafazi be beza kwakhla**, kanti **be bengazi kwakhla**.

(He says the women were going to build, whereas they were not going to build.

Ucinga **u kuba be siza kumphanga**, kanti **be singazi kumphanga**.

(He thinks we were going to rob him, whereas we were not going to rob him.)

Bathi **be beza kulwa**, kanti **be bengazi kulwa**.

(They say they were going to fight, whereas they were not going to fight.)

Uthi ii **ntombhi be ziza kusina**, kanti **be singazi kusina**.

(He says the girls were going to dance, whereas they were not )

(They were not going to dance)
Uthi a mahashe e beza koyika, kanti ebengazi koyika.
(He says the horses were going to be afraid, whereas they were not going to be afraid.)

Participial Modality.

12.156. Illustrative examples: -
UNDINGANDELA NI, BE NDINGAZI KUYILOZA NJE?
(Why do you stop me, when I was not going to talk nonsense?)
BAMNGANDA EBEZA KUTHETHAJ NYANISO.
(They stopped him when he was going to speak the truth)
A BAFAZI BE BEZA KUKUBHA NJE U KUTYA, YI NI U KUBA UDE UVULE I MBHIZA NGO KWAKHO UYI NDODA.
(Since the women were going to give you food, why go so far as to open the pot yourself, you being a man?)

Relative Modality.

12.157. Illustrative examples: -
100 MNTU JUBE EZA KUTHETHA I NYANISO.
(WHO)
U MNTU O BE EZA KUTHETHA I NYANISO.
(THE PERSON WHO WAS GOING TO SPEAK THE TRUTH)
A MADODA A BENGAZI KUYILOZA.
(THE MEN WHO WERE NOT GOING TO TALK NONSENSE)
I ZIHANGE E ZIBE ZIZA KUMPANGA.
(THE ROBBERS WHO WERE GOING TO ROB HIM)
EZI NTOMBHI BE ZIZA KUSINA.
(THOSE GIRLS WHO WERE GOING TO DANCE)
I NTOMBHI E ZIZA KUSINA.
(THE GIRLS WHO WERE GOING TO DANCE)
I NDODA E BE INGAZI KUYIVUMA LOO NTQ.
(THE MAN WHO WAS NOT GOING TO ACCEPT THAT)
I HASHE E LIBE LIZA KOYIKA.
(THE HORSE THAT WAS GOING TO BE AFRAID)
I HASHE E LIBE LINGAZI KOYIKA.
(THE HORSE THAT WAS NOT GOING TO BE AFRAID)

/terminate ......
The Remote Past Tense.

Primary Modality.

(a) Positive.

12.158. Personal and class forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ndabe ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>ndandiza kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. sabe siza kuthetha</td>
<td>sasiza kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. wabe uza kuthetha</td>
<td>wawuzza kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nabe niza kuthetha</td>
<td>naniza kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a. wabe eza kuthetha</td>
<td>wayeza kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a. babe beza kuthetha</td>
<td>babeza kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wabe uza kuthetha</td>
<td>wawuzza kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. yabe iza kuthetha</td>
<td>yayiza kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. labe liza kuthetha</td>
<td>laliza kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. abe eza kuthetha</td>
<td>ayeza kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Negative.

12.159. Personal and class forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ndabe ndingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>ndandingazi kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur. sabe singazi kuthetha</td>
<td>sasingazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. wabe ungazi kuthetha</td>
<td>wawungazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nabe ningazi kuthetha</td>
<td>nningazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a. wabe engazi kuthetha</td>
<td>wayengazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a. babe bengazi kuthetha</td>
<td>babengazi kuthetha</td>
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<td>3. wabe ungazi kuthetha</td>
<td>wawungazi kuthetha</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. yabe ingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>yayingazi kuthetha</td>
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<td>5. labe lingazi kuthetha</td>
<td>lalingazi kuthetha</td>
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<td>6. abe engazi kuthetha</td>
<td>ayengazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/positive and ......
517.

Positive and Negative together.

Uthi wayeza kusebendza, kanti wayengazi kusebendza.
(He says he was going to work, whereas he was not going to work)

Uthi a befazi babeza kwakha, kanti babengazi kwakha.
(He says the women were going to build, whereas they were not
(going to build.

Ucinga u kuba sasiza kumphanga, kanti sasingazi kumphanga.
(He thinks we were going to rob him, whereas we were not going to
(rob him.

Uthi ii ntombhi zaziza kusina, kanti zazingazi kusina.
(He says the girls were going to dance, whereas they were not
(going to dance.

Participial Modality.

12.160. Illustrative examples:

Wawundingandela ni, ndandingazi kuyiloza nje?
(Why did you stop me, when I was not going to talk nonsense?)

Baamqanda wayeza kuthetha i nyaniso.
(They stopped him when he was going to speak the truth)

Sasingazi kumphanga nje waafumane wabaleka.
(Since we were not going to rob him, he ran away for nothing)

Zaziza kusina nje ii ntombhi, kwakuza kuzala.
(Since the girls were going to dance, the place was going to be
(crowded)

Relative Modality.

(I who was not going to talk nonsense should have been
allowed to speak.

m mntu o wayeza kusebendza.
(the person who was going to speak)

a befazi a babengazi kwakha.
(the women who were not going to build)

lo o mntu wayeza kuthetha i nyaniso.
(that person who was going to speak the truth)

u mntu ....
u mntu o wayeza kuthetha i nyaniso
(the person who was going to speak the truth)
i zihange e zabe ziza kumbulala
(the robbers who were going to kill him)
exo ntombhi zaziza kusina
(those girls who were going to dance)
i ntombhi e zaziza kusina
(the girls who were going to dance)

12.162. The past tenses of the intentional aspect are also used to express the idea that an event would have occurred or would occur, if certain circumstances had existed or would exist. With this meaning, the verb indicating the action may be a near future or a remote future participial, depending on the relative distance of the event from the moment of comparison, whether before or after. Therefore, although past in form, this tense may indicate an event in the future.

**Examples**

Be ndiza kuthetha kule ntlanga niso wa ngesa
(I was going to speak at to-morrow's meeting)

U kuba be sine xesha, he siza kunitye lela malanga nje
(If we had the time, we would visit you this very afternoon)

U kuba be inile, ube engayi kuhambha nge mso
(If it had rained, he would not have gone to-morrow)

Be siya kumxelala u kuba ube esibuzile
(We would have told him if he had asked us)

No kuba sasimbuzile, wayengayi kusixelela
(Even if we had asked him, he would not have told us)

U kuba be sidinisekile u kuba uyeza, be siza kuminda
(If we were sure that he was coming, we would wait for him)

Be ndiza kuza nie kahade nge mso, nina xhala la ni?
(Since I would naturally come to-morrow, what are you anxious about?)

U mntu o be eva kuvilungisa loo nto ngu Maduna
(The person who would have put that matter right is Maduna)

/ube uya .......
examples cont.
Ube uya kuthi ni u kuba be singafikan’ga?
(What would you have done if we had not arrived?)

The Future Tenses.

The remote or general future tense is sufficient for purposes of illustration:

Primary Modality.

(a) Positive.

The 12.165. / personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. { Sing. ndiya kube ndiza kuthetha
            (Plur. siya kube siza kuthetha

2nd Pers. { Sing. uya kube uza kuthetha
            (Plur. niya kube niza kuthetha

3rd P. Cl 1 & 1a. uya kube esa kuthetha

2 & 2a. bya kube baza kuthetha

3. uya kube uza kuthetha

4. iya kube iza kuthetha

5. liya kube ilza kuthetha

6. aya kube esa kuthetha

etc.

(b) Negative.

The 12.164. / personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Pers. { Sing. ndiya kube ndingazi kuthetha
            (Plur. siya kube singazi kuthetha

2nd Pers. { Sing. uya kube ungazi kuthetha
            (Plur. niya kube ningazi kuthetha

3rd P. Cl 1 & 1a. uya kube engazi kuthetha

2 & 2a. bya kube bengazi kuthetha

3. uya kube ungazi kuthetha

4. iya kube ingazi kuthetha

5. liya kube lingazi kuthetha

6. aya kube engazi kuthetha

etc.
Positive and Negative together.

Uthi uya kube eza kusebendza, kanti wya kube engazi kusebendza.
(He says he will be on the point of working, whereas he will not be on the point of working.)

Uthi a bafazi baya kube beza kwakha, kanti baya kube hangazi kwakha.
(He says the women will be on the point of building, whereas they will not be on the point of building.)

Uthi ii ntombhi ziya kube ziza kusina, kanti ziya kube zingazi kusina.
(He says the girls will be on the point of dancing whereas they will not be on the point of dancing.)

U mfana uthi uya kube eza kusenga, kanti uya kube engazi kusenga.
(The young man says he will be on the point of milking, whereas he will not be on the point of milking.

Participial Modality.

12.165. Illustrative examples:

Eya kube eza kusebendza nje, akayi kube na thuba la kuthetha nathi.
(Since he will be on the point of working, he will not have any opportunity to confer with us.

Beya kube beza kulala nje a bantu ngele xesha asiya kubaxakekisa?
(Since the people will be on the point of going to bed at that time, shall we not embarrass them?)

Eya kube engazi kusebendza nje la madoda, akukho nto iya kuwabambhezela.
(Since these men will not be on the point of working, there will be nothing to detain them.

/receive modality...
12.165. **Illustrative examples:**

- **abo bantu baya kube beza kuhambha.**
  (Those people who will be on the point of going)

- **a bantu a baya kube beza kuhambha.**
  (the people who will be on the point of going)

- **i ndoda e ya kube iza kuthetha.**
  (the man who will be on the point of speaking)

- **lo o mfana juya kube eza kusenga.**
  (that young man who will be on the point of milking)

- **i i ntombhi e ziya kube iza kusina.**
  (the girls who will be on the point of dancing)

/ Indicative mood .....
12.167. **INDICATIVE MOOD.**

**NON-SPECIFIC ASPECT.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Positive Conjugation</th>
<th>Negative Conjugation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Positive Conjugation</td>
<td>Negative Conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>andithethi</td>
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<td>(ndithetha ...)</td>
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<td>Pres.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ndithetha</td>
<td>ndingathethi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>ndithetha</td>
<td>ndingathethi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>ndingathethi(yo)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>Part.</td>
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<td>ndingathethanga</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>ndaathetha(yo)</td>
<td>____</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ndaathetha(yo)</td>
<td>____</td>
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<tr>
<td>Near Future</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>andizi kuthetha</td>
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<td>Part.</td>
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<td>ndingazi kuthetha</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>ndingazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
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<td>Part.</td>
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### Continuous Aspect

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Positive Conjugation</th>
<th>Negative Conjugation</th>
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<td>Rel.</td>
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### Perfect Aspect

<table>
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<th>Positive Conjugation</th>
<th>Negative Conjugation</th>
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<tr>
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### 12.170. **INDICATIVE MOOD. (continued)**

#### INTEGRATIONAL ASPECT.

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<td>(ndabe ndiya kuthetha</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>(ndiza kube ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>(ndiza kube ndingazi</td>
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<td>&quot; ndiya</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>(ndiza kube ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>ndiza kube ndingazi</td>
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<td>&quot; ndiya</td>
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<td>(ndiza kube ndingazi</td>
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<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>(ndiza kube ndingazi</td>
<td>ndida kube ndingazi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>(ndiya kube ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>(ndiya kube ndingazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; ndiya</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rem or Gen.</td>
<td>(ndiya kube ndingazi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>(ndiya kube ndingazi</td>
<td>ndida kube ndingazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>(ndobe ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>(ndobe ndingazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cond.</td>
<td>(ndobe ndiya</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
<td>kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>(ndobe ndiza kuthetha</td>
<td>(ndobe ndingazi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(ndobe ndiya</td>
<td>&quot; ndingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kuthetha</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12.171. The **potential mood** indicates possibility or likelihood. It has two aspects, the non-specific and the continuous. There are three tenses, namely the present, non-specific aspect, and the recent and remote past tenses, continuous aspect. Each tense has three modalities like the indicative mood. The past tenses are compound tenses, employing the verb -**ba** before the present tense, participial modality of the verb indicating the action or state.

12.172. The characteristic feature of the verb in the potential mood is the formative -** nga-**, positive, -** nga-**, negative. This formative comes immediately after the subject concord, e.g., *ndinga'amba* (I can go, I am likely to go), *andinge'amba* (I cannot go) I am not likely to go. The subject concords are as given in 11.36. Column IV, for the positive, and 11.37. Column II for the negative.

### The Present Tense

#### Primary Modality

(a) Positive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>Flur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td><em>ndingathetha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flur.</td>
<td><em>singathetha</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Pers.</th>
<th>Flur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td><em>ungathetha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flur.</td>
<td><em>ningathetha</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Pers.</th>
<th>Classes 1 &amp; 1a</th>
<th>2 &amp; 2a</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ungathetha</em></td>
<td><em>bangathetha</em></td>
<td><em>ungathetha</em></td>
<td><em>lingathetha</em></td>
<td><em>ungathetha</em></td>
<td><em>angathetha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) ..................
12.174. The negative is formed by preplacing the negative prefixal formative $a$ to the negative subject concord, substituting $e$ for the $a$ of -$nga$ and substituting $i$ for the final $a$ of the verb-stem.

12.175. Personal and class forms:-

1st Pers. { (Sing. andingethethi
(Sing. kungethethi
2nd Pers. { (Sing. akungethethi
(Sing. kungethethi
3rd P. Cl. 1 & 1a. akangethethi
2 & 2a. abangethethi
3. awungethethi
4. avingethethi
5. alingethethi
6. akangethethi
etc. etc.

N.B. ndingatjho (I can say so) > andingetjho.

Positive and Negative together.

Uthi bangafika, kanti abangefiki.
(He says they are likely to arrive, whereas they are not likely to arrive)

Uthi ingana, kanti avingeni.
(He says it is likely to rain, whereas it is not likely to rain)

Uthi a makwenkwe angalwa, kanti akangelwi.
(He says the boys are likely to fight, whereas they are not likely to fight)

Uthi i zinja zingangena kulo mxhuma, kanti azingengeni.
(He says the dogs are likely to enter this hole, whereas they are not likely to enter)

Uthi u sapho lungeza, kanti alungezi.
(He says the family can come, whereas they are not likely to come)

Bathi asingethethi asha, kanti singathetha.
(They say we can speak here, whereas we can speak)

/12.176. the negative.....
12.176. The negative forms as given in 12.175. are not to be confused with another form e.g. ndingangathethi (I am likely not to speak), lit. "I am likely to not-speak". This form flows directly from the treating of non-action as something positive. (Cf. 12.4.). This is therefore not a negative form but a negated positive form.

Cf.

(i) { 
Acangafiki (He is not likely to come)
Angangafiki (He is likely not to come, lit. "to not-come")

(ii) { 
Andingangomboni (I am not likely to see him)
Ndingangomboni (I am likely not to see him, lit. "to not-see-him")

The first form in each case is a denial of the possibility or likelihood of the occurrence of the action or state: the second is an assertion of the possibility or likelihood of the non-occurrence of the action or state.

Even in English there is a shade of difference between:
He and I are not likely to agree, and He and I are likely to disagree.

Participial Modality.

12.177. The important thing to note here is the presence of the enclitic -yo when the emphasis is on the participial. It is sufficient to give illustrative examples.

Examples.

Ningahambhayo nje ngoku, nilinde nто ni?
(Since you can go now, what are you waiting for)

Singathethi na kuthetha njethina, siya kwendza nto ni sphi?
(Since we cannot even speak, what are we going there for?)

Engafika na ninina nje, ma simlungiselele.
(Since he can arrive any time, let us prepare to receive him)

Kunceda nto ni u kuyeza kum, ndingemboni nje loo wimtu.
(What is the use of commissioning me, since I am not likely to see that person?)

/ very often.....
Very often the primary and the participial modal forms are used correlative:

Bangafika ngoku, bentafikayo na ngo mso
(They can come now, they can come - lit. "they being able to come" even to-morrow)

Angandibulisa u kuba uyathanda, engendibulisi u kuba akathandi
(He can greet me if he chooses, he may not greet me - lit. "he being able not to greet me" if he does not choose to)

Relative Modality

12.178. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:

Nina ningahambhayo ngo mso, zilungiseleleni
(You who can go to-morrow, prepare yourselves)

Umtu o ngathethayo apha ngu Maduna
(The person who can speak here is Maduna)

Loo mntu ungafika singekho ma ze anyanyekelewe
(That person who is likely to come while we are away will have to be cared for)

Akukho mntu ungawuphendulayo loo mbuzo
(There is no one who can answer that question)

Thina singethethiyo ma sikhululwe sihambhe
(We who cannot speak had better be left free to go)

U mntu o ngethethiyo apha ngo ngena luvo kuu phala
(The only person who cannot speak here is one who has no opinion)

Akukho mntu ungethethiyo u kuba uynfuna
(There is no one who cannot speak if he wishes to)

The Past Tense

12.179. The past tense forms are not necessarily past in meaning. Since the potential mood is suppositional in meaning, a verb in this mood may express possibility in the future as well as in the present and the past. The past tense forms may therefore express the ideas "I could - now", "I could - then"- before of after now. Thus be ndingahambhayo may mean "I could go last week" or "I could go now", or "I could to-morrow".

The
The remote past tense forms on the other hand refer exclusively to the past, but the event may be present, past or future at the moment of comparison in the past.

**The Recent Past Tense.**

**Primary Modality.**

(a) **Positive.**

12.180. Personal and class forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ndibe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>be ndingathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. sibe singathetha(yo)</td>
<td>be singathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ube ungathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ubungathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nibe ningathetha(yo)</td>
<td>be ningathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a. ube engathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ubengathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a. babe ungathetha(yo)</td>
<td>be bengathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ube ungathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ubungathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ibe ingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ibingathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. libe lingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>be lingathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. abe engathetha(yo)</td>
<td>abengathetha(yo)</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Negative.**

12.181. Personal and class forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ndibe ndingethethi</td>
<td>be ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. sibe singethethi</td>
<td>be singethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. ube ungethethi</td>
<td>ubungethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur. nibe ningenethethi</td>
<td>be ningenethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a. ube engethethi</td>
<td>ubengethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a. babe bengathethi</td>
<td>be bengathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ube ungethethi</td>
<td>ubungethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ibe ingethethi</td>
<td>ibingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. libe lingethethi</td>
<td>be lingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. abe engethethi</td>
<td>ebengethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note the absence of enclitic -yo in the negative.

**Examples.**

Positive and Negative, mixed.

**Be ndingamtyelelayo ngo mso.**

(I could visit him to-morrow)

**Be singebatyeleli namhla-nje?** (Couldn't we visit them to-day?)

**Ube ungathi ni wena u kuba ibinguwe?**

(What could you do if it were you?)

**Be ndingawuphendula lula loo mbuzo izolo.**

(I could have answered that question easily yesterday)

**Lo mfo ubengesibizeli i lize.**

(This man could not call us for nothing)

**Be ningamxeleli u kuba simi ngaye?**

(Couldn't you tell him that we are held up by him?)

**A bantu be bengehambhi bengabonananga naye.**

(The people could not go without meeting him)

**A madoda ebengeyazi e yona nto uyifunayo.**

(The men could not know what you really wanted)

**Uthi be singabananayo, kanti be singebonani.**

(He says we could meet, whereas we could not meet)

** Participial Loddality.**

12.182. Illustrative examples:-

**Be singahambhayo nje na ngo mso, unxhamele ni?**

(Since we could go even to-morrow, what are you hurrying for?)

**Ube ungawuphendulayo nje lo mbuzo, yi ni u kuba uthi cwaka?**

(Since you could answer this question, why do you keep quiet?)

**Be singethethi nje kwintlanganiso yenu, nani aningethethi kwe yethu.**

(Since we could not speak at your meeting, you too cannot speak at ours.

/relative ....
Relative Modality.

12.183. Illustrative examples: -

u mntu e ndibe ndingamtyeelayo nze mao.
(the person whom I could visit to-morrow)

akukho mntu uhe engawuphendula lula lo mbuzo.
(There isn't any person who could answer this question easily)

Thina be singahambhayo sikhambile.
(we who could go did go)

A bantu a babe bengahambhi abahambahhanga.
(The people who could not go did not go)

Aakukho mntu u bengasibizela i lize.
(There isn't any person who could call us for nothing)

u mntu o bengasibizela i lize.
(the person who could call us for nothing)

The Remote Past Tense.

Primary Modality.

(a) Positive.

12.184. Personal and class forms are as follows: -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndabe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndandingathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabe singathetha(yo)</td>
<td>sasingathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabe ungathetha(yo)</td>
<td>wawungathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabe ningathetha(yo)</td>
<td>naningathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a. wabe engathetha(yo)</td>
<td>wayengathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a. babe bengathetha(yo)</td>
<td>babengathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wabe ungathetha(yo)</td>
<td>wawungathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. yabe ingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>yayingathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. labe lingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>lalingathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. abe engathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ayengathetha(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

/ (b) Negative....
12.185. Personal and class forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full Forms</th>
<th>Contracted Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers. Dao</td>
<td>nabe ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plur. sabe singethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers. Dao</td>
<td>wabe ungethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plur. nabe ingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a</td>
<td>wabe engethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>wabe ungethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>yabe ingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>labe lingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>abe engethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive and Negative, mixed.

Ndandingamtyelelayo nge, nge mbo.
(I could visit him on the following day)

Sasingebatyleeli ngaloo mini?
(Couldn't we have visited them on that day?)

Wawungathini wena, u kuba yayinguwe?
(What could you have done, if it had been you?)

Ndandingawumphendula lula loo mbuzo nge zolo.
(I could have answered that question easily on the previous day)

Lo mfo wayengesibizeli i lize.
(This man could not have called for nothing)

Naningemxeleli u kuba nimi ngaye?
(Couldn't you tell him that you were held up by him?)

A bantu babengehambi bengambonanga.
(The people could not go without seeing him)

A madoda ayengevazi e yona nto uyifunayo.
(The man could not know what you wanted)

Uthi sasingabonanayo, kanti sasingebonani.
(He says we could have met, whereas we could not have met)

/participial ...
Participial Modality

12.186. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:–
Sasingahambhayo nje na nge ngomso sasiza kunxhamela nto ni?
(Since we could go even on the following day, what were we to
hurry for?)
Wawungawuphendulayo nje lo mbuzo, kwakuthe ni ux kuba uthi owaka?
(Since you could have answered this question, what made you
keep quiet?)
Sasingethethi nje kwintlanganiso yabo, nabo babengethethi
kwe yethu
(Since we could not speak at their meeting, they too could not
speak at ours)

Relative Modality

12.187. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:–
U mntu e ndabe ndingamtyelelayo nge ngomso ngu bawokazi
(The person that I could have visited on the following day was
my father’s brother)
Akukho mntu wayengawuphendulayo loo mbuzo
(There is no one who could have answered that question)
Thina sasingahambhayo saahambha
(We who could go did go)
Abo babobgebambhi abazange bahambha
(Those who could not go did not go)
Nguye kuu phela u mntu o wayengasibizela i lize e linje
(It is he only who could have called us for a mere nothing such
as this)
O mnye u umnto o wayengekholwa yile nto ngu Maduna
(Another person who might not have been pleased by this is
Maduna)
### The Potential Mood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
<th>Positive Conjugation</th>
<th>Negative Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>ndingathetha</td>
<td>ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndingethethi(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rec. Past</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>ndibe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndibe ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>ndibe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndibe ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ndibe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndibe ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>ndabe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndabe ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>ndabe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndabe ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ndabe ndingathetha(yo)</td>
<td>ndabe ndingethethi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12.169. The subjunctive mood has, strictly speaking, only one tense, with positive and negative forms. Since the subjunctive usually indicates unrealized states, desirable or undesirable, the tense-forms may indicate action or state in the past or future as well as in the present.

Examples.

Ndizakhelela u kuba ma kahambhe ngoko.
( I am telling him that he had better go now)

Ndizakhelela u kuba ma kahambhe ngoko.
( I told him - recently- that he had better go then - recently)

Ndizakhelela u kuba ma kahambhe ngoko.
( I told him - long ago - that he had better go then - long ago)

Ndizakhelela u kuba ma kahambhe ngoko.
( I was telling him - long ago - that he had better go then - long ago)

Ndiza kumxakhelela u kuba ma kahambhe ngoko.
( I am going to tell him -now- that he had better go now)

Ndiza kumxakhelela u kuba ma kahambhe ngoko.
( I shall tell him -some time- that he had better go then)

But it is only when it occurs in a subordinate clause that a verb in this tense-form may indicate an action or state in the past. When it expresses a complete thought as the main verb in a sentence, it signifies a state that may or may not, ought or ought not to be, realized in the present. But by its very nature it very often implies the future, as some of its uses show. (See 12.193.)

For instance, when we say umhambhe kakuhle (may you have a happy journey), although we are expressing what is desirable in the present, the actual happy journeying belongs to the future. Similarly in ufike ngo xesha (you are to arrive in time), the arriving-in-time belongs to the future. If we go through all the various uses of the subjunctive as enumerated in the following pages e.g. purpose, an action or state consequent /upon....
upon some other action or state, we find that there is hardly any use of these tense-forms in which the action or state is to be regarded as present to the entire exclusion of the future. On the other hand, there is a form that refers to the future, to the exclusion of, but conditional upon, a present state, e.g. ma size kuhambha (let us be about to go). The form ma size kuhambha may be regarded as a future tense, or as the intentional aspect of the present subjunctive. In form and meaning it is an exact parallel of the non-specific aspect of the future tense of the indicative mood. We shall therefore recognise a present subjunctive, e.g. sibambha, and a future tense, e.g. size kuhambha.

There are also forms in 12.199, which will here be called the tenseless subjunctive.

**The Present Tense**

(a) **Positive**

12.190. In the positive conjugation, the present tense of the subjunctive mood is characterized by the final vowel of the verb-stem, which is -a with a low intonation. The subject concords given in 11.36. Column IV are used in their full forms only under special circumstances as described in 12.192 (4), as far as the weak persons and classes are concerned.

12.191. The personal and class forms used in all circumstances other than those referred to in 12.192 (4) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Pers.</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>ndithethe</th>
<th>ndakhe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flur.</td>
<td>sithethe</td>
<td>nakhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td>wakhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flur.</td>
<td>nithethe</td>
<td>nakhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Pers. (Cl. 1)</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td>akhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 2a</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td>wakhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td>wakhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td>wakhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td>lakhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td>akhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sithethe</td>
<td>uthethe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ Cl. 8 ...
3rd Pers. cont.

Class 8. | zithethe | zakhe
9. | ithethe | yakhe
10. | sithethe | zakhe
11. | luthethe | jwakhe
14. | buthethe | bakhe
15. | kuthethe | kwakhe

Locative | kuthethe | kwakhe

(b) Negative

12,192. To form the negative, -nga- is inserted immediately after the subject concord, and the final -e becomes -i.

1st Pers. (Sing.) ndingathethi | ndingakhi
(Sing. Plur.) singathethi | singakhi

2nd Pers. (Sing.) ungathethi | ungakhi
(Sing. Plur.) ningathethi | ningakhi

3rd Pers. :

Classes 1 & 1a | angathethi | angakhi
2 & 2a | bangathethi | bangakhi
3. | ungathethi | ungakhi
4. | ingathethi | ingakhi
5. | lingathethi | lingakhi
6. | angathethi | angakhi

etc etc etc

The Uses of the Subjunctive Mood

12,193. A verb in the subjunctive mood may be used as follows:

(1) As main verb, to express permissive interrogation.

Examples

Ndize nam, Thami? (May I come too, Thami?)

Sibangenise? (May we let them in?)

AngesizudMaduna? (May Laduna not come?)

Angabahuzi? (May he not ask them?)

(2) as main verb, to indicate that the action or state so expressed is desired.

/Examples ...
Examples

Hambhe ngo xolo! (May you go in peace!)
Akhule u mntwana lowo! (May that child grow!)
"Ungasingenisi e kuhendweni" (And lead us not into temptation)
Beze nayo i nkomo leyo! (May their mission be a success, lit. "May they bring the ox home with them")
Thambhe nawe i minyanya ya ko wenu! (May the spirits of your ancestors go with you! i.e. May you have good luck in your undertaking)

This mood is very often used persuasively in the negative conjugation in the second person, instead of the imperative mood.

Examples

Ungezi wena, Nothembha! (You are to come, Nothembha)
cf. Mus' u kuza wena, Nothembha! (Don't you come, Nothembha)
Ningafundekeli apha (You are not to make a noise here)
cf. Musan' u kufundekela apha! (Don't make a noise here)

(3) after the defective implicative verb kha, to express a polite command in the second person. The singular form of the subject concord is used in full as wu-. This is used in the positive conjugation only.

Examples

Kha wuze apha (Just come here, please)
Kha wulindele (Just wait, please)
Kha niphulaphule (Just listen to him, please)
Kha nihlale phantsi (Just sit down, please)

(4) after the defective implicative verb ma, to express an indirect command and, in the case of the second person, a persuasive suggestion. The full forms of the subject concord are used in the weak persons and classes.

The personal and class forms with thetha are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>ma ndithethe</td>
<td>ma ndingathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma sithethe</td>
<td>ma singathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>ma wuthethe</td>
<td>ma wungathethi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma nithethe</td>
<td>ma ningathethi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Locatives

Examples

Ma sitethele phanatši (Let us speak low)
Lo mfo ma kahambhe (This man had better go)
Aba bantu ma bangoyiki (This people had better not be afraid)
A madoda ma kangemki (The men had better not go away)
No kuba siyasala thina, ma wuhambhe wena
(Even if we remain behind, you had better go)

In this construction some dialects have a plural number as distinct from the ordinary plural. This occurs in the first plural only. To distinguish between &quot;let us two&quot; and &quot;let us three or more&quot;, the forms indicating the latter suffix -ni to the stem of the verb indicating the action or state. Thus ma sibambhe, which is dual, means &quot;let us two go&quot;, and ma sibambheni means &quot;let us three or more go&quot; . Xhosa does not regard this as a &quot;correct&quot; form. But most of the non-literary dialects use it, and its influence is so strong that it may eventually enjoy recognition. In Xhosi -ni may even be reduplicated to indicate a large number, e.g. ma sikhambhenini.

In Xhosa on the other hand indirect commands may be made
emphatic and as near "direct" as possible by substituting the imperative mood of the verb indicating the action for ma.

**Examples**

Hambha sihambhe (Do let us go)
Thetha sitethe (Do let us speak)

With this construction, a distinction is made between "let us two" and "let us three or more" by suffixing -ni to the verb in the imperative mood to indicate "three or more".

**Examples**

Hambhani sihambhe (Do let us go - you two or more and myself)
Thethani sitethe (Do let us speak - you two or more and myself)

(5) in subordinate clauses, introduced by u kuba (in order that) after verbs of desiring, permitting, consenting, forbidding, refusing, advising, imploining, to indicate that the action or state desired, permitted, etc. provided that the performer of the action desired, permitted, etc. is not the same as the person who desires, permits, etc. ; in other words, when the subject of the verb in the subjunctive mood is not the same as the subject of the verb indicating the desiring, permitting, etc.

**Examples**

Ndincwenela u kuba ahambhe ngo mso (I wish he would go to-morrow)
U bawo undivumele u kuba ndihambhe (My father has permitted me to go)
A madoda avumile u kuba ii nkomo zitya apha (The men have consented that the cattle should graze here)
U wisa umalele u kuba ahambhe (His father has forbidden him to go)
A madoda ayala u kuba ii nkomo zitya apha (The men are refusing that the cattle should graze here)
Ndikucebisa u kuba uhlaziye i zifundo zakho (I advise you to revise your lessons)
Wahacenza u kuba babuye (He implored them to come back)

No further structural change is involved if one or other of the verbs is in the negative form.

/ Examples ...
Examples.

Andingweneli u kuba ahambhe ngo mso.
(I do not wish him to go to-morrow)

Ndinquewela u kuba angahambhi ngo mso.
(I wish he would not go to-morrow)

Indeed, both verbs may be negative. e.g.

U bawo akandivumelanga u kuba ndingahambhi ngo mso.
(My father did not give me permission not to go to-morrow)

(6) in a subordinate clause, after the conjunctivens u kuze or khona u kuze (in order that), to indicate that the action or state so expressed results from an action previously performed or a state previously entered into in order to bring about the action or state so expressed.

Ma sithelele phantsi khona u kuze u Nothembha angewa.
(Let us speak low in order that Nothembha may not hear)

Bathembhe a bantu, u kuze nabo bakuthembhe.
(Trust people in order that they too may trust you)

Mpheni naye u kuze anganixeli.
(Give him some too in order that he may not report you)

But (khona) u kuze may be understood.

E.g. Thetha kakhulu sive (speak aloud so that we may hear)

Valani kakuhle ii nkomo singaphumi.
(Close up properly so that the cattle may not come out)

(7) in a subordinate clause, after the conjunctive bleze (lest, in case), to indicate that the action or state so expressed is preceded by an action performed or a state entered into intentionally as a precaution against the action or state so expressed.

Ma baphathe ii dyasi, bleze banethe.
(They had better take their coats with them in case they get wet)

Ningabasi, bleze nitjhise i dlelo.
(You are not to make a fire, in case you burn the pasture)

/(8) in a ....
(8) in a subordinate clause, after the conjunctives kanga ngo kude, ngo ko kude (to such an extent that), to indicate that the action or state so expressed results from an action previously performed or a state previously entered into and carried, intentionally or unintentionally, to such a degree as to result in the action or state so expressed.

Examples.

Wagula kanga ngo kude siphele i themba.

(He became so ill that we lost hope)

U nxila ngo ko kude afune u kulwa no vise.

(He gets so drunk that he wants to fight with his father)

(9) in a subordinate clause, after the conjunctives phambhi ko kuba (before) and nga phandle ko kuba (unless), to indicate that the action or state so expressed is preceded by and conditional upon such a preceding action or state.

Examples.

Bonana no yihlo phambhi ko kuba uhambhe.

(See your father before you go)

A makhwenkwe akadlali nga phandle kokuba ii nkomo zizindze e dleweni.

(Boys do not play unless the cattle settle down in the pasture)

(10) after another verb, to indicate sequence of action or state, if the preceding verb is in the infinitive or imperative mood, or if the tense-form indicating the action or state as such is in the present or future tense of any mood, whether primary or secondary modality.

Examples.

Ndifuna u kuvuka ndisebendze. (I want to get up and work)

Yandlalani nilale. (Make your beds and sleep)

Musa u kubla nje ungendzi nto.

(Do not just sit and do nothing)

Uvuka ahlambhe, anxibe, atve, aye e masebendzini.

(He gets up, washes, dresses, eats, and goes to work)

Uya kuvuka ahlambhe ngo mse.

(He will get up and go to-morrow)
examples cont.

Angavuka abambe ngo mso.
(He is likely to get up and go to-morrow)

Ube evuka abendze yonke i mihla.
(He used to get up and work every day)

Ube eva kuvuka abandza ngo mso.
(He would get up and work to-morrow)

Sibe singavuka abandza ngo mso.
(We could get up and work to-morrow)

A bantu a be evuka abandza basindwane langeni.
(People who used to get up and work were saved from the heat of the sun)

U muntu o ngavuka abambe ma ze evuka abambe.
(Any person who can get up and go will have to get up and go)

12.194. This construction includes the use of the subjunctive after certain implicative verbs e.g.

u kubuye (to return and perform the action or enter the state so expressed) i.e. perform the action or enter the state again.

u kuhle (to descend and perform the action or enter the state so expressed) i.e. to perform the action or enter the state precipitately or early.

Examples.

Ndiya kubuye ndize ngo mso.
(I shall come again to-morrow. lit. "I shall return and come to-morrow")

U l'duna ma kubuye athetha.
(Laduna had better speak again. lit. "Laduna had better return and speak")

Siya kuhle sifike ngo mso.
(We shall arrive early to-morrow. lit. "We shall descend and arrive")

Andikuthandi u kuhle ndithethe e ntlanganisweni.
(I do not like to speak early at a meeting. lit. "I do not like to descend and speak at a meeting")

/12.195. in this.....

See Chapter 13.1.
12.195. In this construction, if the preceding action or state is indicated by a verb in a past tense or in the commentative mood, the consequent action or state is indicated by the commentative mood.

**Examples.**

_Uvuke wahlambha, wanxiba, watva, waya e masendzini._
(He got up, washed, ate, and went to work)

_Kwaafika ndoda ithile, yabunceda._
(A certain man came and helped them)

_Ube ethethe waggiba._
(He had spoken and finished)

_Oovise babevuke Rwa nini bahambha._
(Their fathers had risen early and gone)

_Uya kube evuke wahlamba._
(He will have risen and gone)

_U mfo o wawuka wemka ngu Maduna._
(The man who got up and departed was Maduna)

_U Maduna wabuya wathetha._
(Maduna spoke again)

lit. "returned and spoke"

_Noko uhle wamncwebisa._
(But you prematurely put him on his guard, lit. "you descended and put him on his guard")

**The Future Tense.**

12.196. The future tense consists of the present subjunctive of -za for the near future or -va for the remote or general future and the infinitive without the article, of the verb indicating the action or state. The negative is formed by negating the tense-forming auxiliary -za or -va.

**Examples.**

Positive: _siza kuthetha, sive kuthetha_

Negative: _singazi kuthetha, singavi kuthetha_.

It will be sufficient to illustrate the formation with the near future only, both positive and negative being treated together.

/positive and .......
### 12.197. Personal and class forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Pers.</td>
<td>(Sing. ndize kuthetha)</td>
<td>ndingazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Plur. side kuthetha)</td>
<td>singazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers.</td>
<td>(Sing. uze kuthetha)</td>
<td>ungazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Plur. nize kuthetha)</td>
<td>ningazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P. Cl. 1 &amp; 1a.</td>
<td>aze kuthetha</td>
<td>angazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &amp; 2a.</td>
<td>baze kuthetha</td>
<td>bangazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>uze kuthetha</td>
<td>ungazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>iize kuthetha</td>
<td>ingazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>liize kuthetha</td>
<td>lingazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>aze kuthetha</td>
<td>angazi kuthetha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In ordinary speech, the e of -ze or ye becomes o by assimilation to the u of k-. e.g. sizokuthetha (that we may come and speak).

**Examples.**

Phakani ngo kukhawuleza, size kutya, silale. (Dish out the food quickly, so that we may come to eat and sleep)

Ma balungise baze kuhambha. (Let them make preparations so that they may come to go.)

Nna ndithi ma sihmbe ngoku, vena uthi ma siye kuhambha ngo mso. (I say we should go now, he says we should go to morrow)

U mntwana mlibazise nge zinto so kudlala, angazi kulila xa umkayo. (Keep the child occupied with playthings, so that it may not come to-cry when you leave.)

### 12.198. After the defective hortative verb ma, the remote or general future in classes 1 and 2 elides the -ye and lengthens the a of the subject concord to make up for the lost syllable. The tone of the aa is high-falling, ending exactly where it would end if -ye/ were retained. ma kwe > ma kwa.
Examples.

Ma kaa kuthetha (He will have to speak)

La baa luziphendulela (They will have to answer for themselves)

"wennike umfhebo ..... athe ma kakuthi xa abalakayo akhangele luvo" ("and he gave him a roll which he bid him look on as he ran

Tiyo Soga : UKAING, p.53.

But these forms are very rarely used nowadays. Hence, efforts to find out if forms exist for all persons and classes have met with no success so far. Neither has it been possible to find out if there are corresponding contracted negative forms.

In present-day Xhosa the favourite form after ma is a compound predicative e.g. ma ze athethe or, more fully, ma kazo athethe instead of ma kaa kuthetha. (see 13.34.)

The Tenseless Subjunctive.

12.199. The tenseless subjunctive indicates that action or state so expressed should occur at all times or should not occur at any time. In both conjugations the action or state is expressed by the infinitive without the article in the positive, in the negative with or without the article. In the positive conjugation this is preceded by a tense-forming auxiliary verb whose stem is partially or wholly elided, e.g. waa kuthetha (you should always speak). In the negative conjugation it is preceded by the defective verb, musa, e.g. wamaa kuthetha (you should never speak) or wamaa u kuthetha (you should never speak). In the positive conjugation the vowel of the subject concord is long, and high-falling in tone. Comparison with other Iguni languages and dialects suggests that the elided verb-stem is -ba. (See 12.202.) The fall in the intonation of the vowel of the subject concord ends exactly where it would end if -ba were there.

/12.200. personal.....

But Cf. also 12.201.
12.200. Personal and class forms:

**Positive.**

1st Pers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>ndaa kuthetha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>saa kuthetha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2nd Pers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>waa kuthetha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>naa kuthetha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3rd P.Cl. 1 & 2a. waa kuthetha

2 & 2a. baa kuthetha

etc. etc.

**Negative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ndaaa (u) kuthetha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>samaa (u) kuthetha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wamaa (u) kuthetha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namaa (u) kuthetha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wamaa (u) kuthetha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bamaa (u) kuthetha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.

**Examples.**

Waa kuvilumkela i nto yo kuthetha no mntu o ngakaziyo.

(You should be always be careful of the practice of talking to a person whom you do not know)

Waa kuthobela a bazali benu. (You should always obey your parents)

"Idinga wakulenza mhlophe kwa sekuqaleni"

(You should always make the agreement clear from the start)

**Tiyo Soga : IsiXhosa, p. 44.**

"Wakuhamba ngo kulumeka xa uya yafuna u Sandile"

(You should always go warily when you go to seek Sandile)

**Mguyi : ITyala, p. 92.**

"Wamaa kutho ukuthi 'yenzo le nto : ndikunika iseleni zise mbini mhlawumi zise ntathu'".

(You should never say, 'Do this, and I shall give you two or three shillings')

**Tiyo Soga : IsiXhosa, p. 44.**

"Nams ukuya xa ninodwa, ndingekhoye".

(You should not go when you are alone, I not being there)

**W.K.Ntsikana : IsiXhosa, p. 16.**

12.201. Some speakers insert saa after the subject concord, in which case the length and intonation of the concord vowel are normal. But the sa of saa is high-falling, suggesting that there is a syllable missing. Whether saa here is the implicative sa plus the vowel a of its own syllable (see 12.43, et seq.) or sa plus the a of a stem whose consonant is elided, we cannot say at present.

/examples.....
Examples.

Wasese kaphendula xa kuthethwa nave.
(You should always answer when you are spoken to)

I nwenkwe wasese kuchela u kazilwele.
(A boy should get used to fighting for himself)

12.202. In Zulu and the IsiXhosa dialects spoken in the Cape Province, these ideas are expressed by means of the present subjunctive of -ha (which is -be), followed by the infinitive without the article. Before consonant stems the infinitive prefix may be elided. The g of -be becomes a by assimilation to the u of ku.

Examples.

Positive.

ndibo (ku)thetha (I should), ndingabobo (ku)thetha (I should not).
nibo (ku)thetha (you should), nisingabobo (ku)thetha (you should not).
abo (ku)thetha (he should), angabobo (ku)thetha (he should not).
babo (ku)za (they should come), bangabobo (ku)za (they should not come).
abo kwala (he should refuse), angabo kwala (he should not refuse).

Negative.

If the hortative ma precedes these forms, the weak persons and classes employ the full forms, e.g. ma kabobo (ku)thetha, ma yisingabo kwala.

Miscellaneous Examples.

A bantu ma babo kufika nge xesha e zintlangenisweni.
(People should always arrive punctually at meetings)

Ubo cinca phembhi ko kuba uthethe
(You should always think before you speak)

Emkundleni ungabo phendula into e ngabuzwanga.
(In court you should never answer what has not been asked)

A bantuwa ma bangabo lutya bangahlambanga.
(The children should never eat here without having washed)

Angabo kuza apha ndingakho.
(He should never come here when I am not present)
12.203. The forms in 12.202. are not generally accepted as "good Xhosa". They are recorded here for two reasons, namely, (i) because they probably throw some light on the formation of the exclusively literary Xhosa forms in 12.200., the verb-stem elided there being in all probability the -be found in 12.202., (ii) because these forms are now commonly used, in speech and in writing, by the younger people who come from the regions once regarded as "the best Xhosa-speaking" areas.

The Passive Voice.

12.204. As the conjugational forms of the passive voice correspond exactly to those of the active voice, it is not necessary to treat any of them in detail. It will suffice to give one example of each form. In the following tables the verb-stem used for purposes of illustration is -thethwa. Where a subject concord is necessary, the subject concord of class 9 is used, the noun implied being i nyani so (the truth). Thus, for instance, iyathethwa is to be understood to mean i nyani so iyathethwa (the truth is spoken) and me vithethwe to mean i nyani so me vithethwe (let the truth be spoken).

12.205. Infinitive Mood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u kuthethwa</td>
<td>u kunzathethwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.206. Imperative Mood.

Ordinarily the imperative has no passive forms. But there are a few verbs that are more commonly used in the passive voice than in the active. The commonest of these are -dinwa (be tired) < dine (tire), khelwa (be satisfied) < khola (satisfy), nxanwa (be thirsty) < nxane.

* It is doubtful if this basic form is ever used, but the causative species, nxanisa (cause to be thirsty) is used.
Then there are a few that are never used in the active voice e.g. vuthwa (be ripe/cooked).

These verbs use the imperative mood regularly.

**Examples.**

Kholwa yile nto ndiyithethileyo.

(Believe this that I have said)

Nxanwani nide nife! Andikhathali.

(Thirst until you die! I don't care.)

12.207. **Commentative Mood.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yathethwa</td>
<td>ayathethwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ 12.208....
### 12:208. **INDICATIVE MOOD.**

#### Non-Specific Aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Positive Conjugation</th>
<th>Negative Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>{ iyathethwa }</td>
<td>ayithethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>{ ithethwa }</td>
<td>ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>{ ithethwa(yo) }</td>
<td>ingathethwa(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Past</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>{ ithethwe }</td>
<td>ayithethwanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>{ ithethwe }</td>
<td>ingathethwanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>{ ithethwe(yo) }</td>
<td>ingathethwanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>yaathethwa(yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Future</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>iza kuthethwa</td>
<td>ayizi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>iza kuthethwa</td>
<td>ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>iza kuthethwa</td>
<td>ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote or Gen. Future</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>ayiyi kuthethwa</td>
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<td>Part.</td>
<td>iya kuthethwa</td>
<td>ingayi kuthethwa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>iya kuthethwa</td>
<td>ingayi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
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<td>Conditional Future</td>
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<td>Part.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>yothethwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Tense</td>
<td>Modality</td>
<td>Positive Conjugation</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
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<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>Part.</td>
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<td>ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ithethwa(yo)</td>
<td>ingathethwa(yo)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Prim.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ibe ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ibe ithethwa</td>
<td>ibe ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>yabe ingathethwa</td>
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<td>Past</td>
<td>Part.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>yabe ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Prim.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>iza kube ingathethwa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>iza kube ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote, or</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>iya kube ingathethwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>Part.</td>
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<td>iya kube ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>yobe ithethwa</td>
<td>yobe ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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### Perfect Aspect

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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>ayithethwanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>(i)thethiweyo</td>
<td>ingathethwanga</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ibe ingathethwanga</td>
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<td>(ibe ithethiwe)</td>
<td>ibe ingathethwanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>ibe ingathethwanga</td>
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<td>Remote Past</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>yabe ingathethwanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>yabe ingathethwanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Future</td>
<td></td>
<td>(iza kube ithethiwe)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Part.</td>
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<td>(iza kube ithethiwe)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
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<td>(iza kube ithethiwe)</td>
<td>isa kube ingathethwanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>Remote or</td>
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<td>(iya kube ithethiwe)</td>
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<td>(yobe ithethiwe)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel</td>
<td></td>
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### Intentional Aspect

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<th>Negative Conjugation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>ayizi kuthethwa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iya kuthethwa</td>
<td>ayiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>iya</td>
<td>ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>iza kuthethwa</td>
<td>ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>ingayi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Past</td>
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<td>ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bie (iza kuthethwa)</td>
<td>bie (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bie (iza kuthethwa)</td>
<td>bie (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rem.</td>
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<td>Past</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>yabe (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yabe (iza kuthethwa)</td>
<td>yabe (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>yabe (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>iza kube (iza kuthethwa</td>
<td>iza kube (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>iza kube (iza kuthethwa</td>
<td>iza kube (ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>iza kube (ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iza kube (iza kuthethwa</td>
<td>iza kube (ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>iza kube (ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rem.</td>
<td>iya kube (iya)</td>
<td>iya kube (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>iya kube (ingayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>iya kube (iya)</td>
<td>iya kube (ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fut.</td>
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<td>iya kube (ingayi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>iya kube (ingayi</td>
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<td>Fut.</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>yobe (ingayi</td>
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</table>
### 12.211. The Potential Mood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
<th>Positive Conjugation</th>
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<td>ingathethwa</td>
<td>ayingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>ingathethwa(yo)</td>
<td>ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ingathethwa(yo)</td>
<td>ingathethwa(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Prim.</td>
<td>ibe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Part.</td>
<td>ibe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
<td>ibe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>ibe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
<td>ibe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote</td>
<td>Prim.</td>
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<td>yabe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>yabe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
<td>yabe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>yabe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
<td>yabe ingathethwa(yo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 12.212. The Subjunctive Mood.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Positive Conjugation</th>
<th>Negative Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Present</td>
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<td>ingathethwa</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>(ma) yithethwe</td>
<td>(ma) yingathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>yathethwa</td>
<td>ayathethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Fut.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>ize kuthethwa</td>
<td>ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rem. or Gen. Fut.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>iye kuthethwa</td>
<td>ingazi kuthethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenseless</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>ibo (ku)thethwa</td>
<td>ingabo (ku)thethwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>(ma) yibo (ku)thethwa</td>
<td>ms yingabo (ku)thethwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 12.213. In passive constructions, the active subject, if expressed, becomes the base of an impersonal copulative. This is known as the agent use of impersonal copulatives.

/examples.
I tyula lithethwe nga maphakathi, lagwetywa yi ukosi
(The case was tried by the councillors, lit. "it is the councillors" and it was judged by the chief, lit. "it is the chief")

12 Uses of the Passive Voice

As Jespersen* points out, the active and the passive mean essentially the same thing, and "yet they are not in every respect synonymous. As a rule, the person or thing that is the centre of the interest at the moment is made the subject of the sentence, and therefore the verb must in some cases be put in the active, in others in the passive". Thus we say (1) U Mpiyonke ube ii gusha zika Hashiya (Mpiyonke stole Hashiya's sheep) if the centre of the interest is Mpiyonke, but (ii) II gusha zika Hashiya zibiwe ngu Mpiyonke (Hashiya's sheep were stolen by Mpiyonke) if the centre of the interest is the sheep, and (iii) zakhe U Hashiya ubelwe ii gusha/ ngu Mpiyonke (Hashiya has been robbed of his sheep by Mpiyonke) if the centre of the interest is Hashiya. For instance, sentence (1) would answer the question: Why has Mpiyonke been arrested? (ii) would answer the question: What has become of Hashiya's sheep? and (iii) would answer the question: Why is Hashiya so agitated?

12.215. It is this sensitive of the language to the centre of the interest that makes it so much more natural to the Xhosa speaker to say, for instance:

(1) Nd.irhawuzalelwa ngu mzimbha rather than
    U mzimbha wam uyarhawuzela (My body is itching)
(2) U ma ucacanjelwa li zinyo rather than
    I zinyo lika na liyacacambha (My mother's tooth is aching)
(3) Lo mntwana ufelwe ngu ni na rather than
    U ni na walo mntwana ufile (The mother of this child is dead)
(4) U Maduna utjelwe yi ndlu rather than
    I ndlu ka Maduna itjhile (Maduna's house has gone up in flames)

*See Philosophy p. 167 et seq. to which I am greatly indebted for the material in this section.
In the first sentence in each pair in the above expressions the centre of the interest is the sufferer, in (1) I, and not the itching body, in (2) my mother, and not the aching tooth, in (3) the bereaved child and not the dead mother, in (4) Haduna, and not the burnt house.

12.216. With the above in mind, we can now enumerate the circumstances in which the passive is used in Xhosa.

(Cf. Jespersen, p. 167 at seq.)

(1) when the active subject is unknown, or cannot easily be stated.

**Examples.**

Wagwintwa efika e Shawutini.

(He was murdered soon after his arrival in Johannesburg)

Phesheya kutiwe ne nia nge nxe ve udala.

(Overseas even a dog is eaten on account of starvation)

(2) when the active subject is self-evident and therefore need not be mentioned.

**Examples.**

Ube ii mphala, wagxothwa e mebendzini.

(He stole some goods and was expelled from his job)

Lo mntu ma kabizelwe u ga rha.

(This person had better have a doctor called in for him)

Wathunga u mfana kwagelwa.

(The young man apportioned the beer, and drinking began)

lit. "there was drunk"

(3) when there is a special reason (tact or delicacy of sentiment) for not mentioning the active subject.

**Examples.**

I nyaniso inyathelwa ngesi nyayo apha

(The truth is being trampled underfoot here)

Manene, na kungathukwana

(Gentlemen, let there be no calling each other names)

lit. "let there be not be sworn at each other"

Edifikelwe (I have a visitor)

lit. "I have been arrived for"

/this is....
This is usually said by women when a lover whose name is too exalted to mention has arrived.

(4) when greater interest is in the passive subject, even if the active subject is indicated. (Cf. 12.314-315)

Examples:

i mntwana wam ulunywe yi nyoka
(My child has been bitten by a snake)

U Ntsusa wasazekwa yi nkosi ya ngqwathi.
(Ntsusa was taken to wife by a Qwathi chief)

U Nhlabane wasabulwa nge ngqwathi.
(Nhlabe was slain by the Qwathi people)

But there are situations where there are two passive subjects. In such a situation, whichever is of greater interest at the moment is made the subject of the passive verb.

cf. In ndwendwe zisa kuxhelelwana le nkabi ngu Maduna.
(The guests are going to have this ox slaughtered in their honour by Maduna)

Le nkabi isaka kuxhelelwana in ndwendwe ngu Maduna.
(This ox is going to be slaughtered in honour of the guests by Maduna)

cf. also 12.314, (i) and (iii).

(5) when the centre of the interest is neither the active nor the passive subject but the action or state itself. In such situations the verb employs the impersonal subject concord, ku-, kwa- or kwae, according to the mood and tense. The active and the passive subject may or may not be indicated.

Examples.

Kuyafiwa nonyaka nie.
(People are dying this year. Lit. "there is being died this year")

Kwatiwa i nyama, kwaselwa u tywala.
(There was eating of meat and drinking of beer. Lit. "there was eaten meat and there was drunk beer")

Kwaathethwa kukhulu loo mini nga madoda.
(There was a great deal of talking on that day by the men.
Lit. "there was talked a great deal on that day by the men")
As the first example in (5) shows, this particular use of the passive makes it possible even for intransitive verbs to be used in the passive voice. This probably explains the falling into disuse of the active form of certain stative verbs.

**Examples.**

nxana from which we derive nxanwa (be thirsty)
dina from which we derive dinwa (be tired)
vutha from which we derive vuthwa (be ripe/cooked)
baba from which we derive batywa (be excited sexually)
kholwa from which we derive kholwa (be satisfied)

In all verbs of this nature the centre of the interest is almost invariably the passive subject, and therefore the active form is seldom used.

It is perhaps appropriate to mention here that the sensitiveness of Xhosa to the centre of the interest is so strong that even a substantive in an adverbial expression may displace the active subject if, for the moment, the former is of greater interest. What is remarkable about this construction is that the active subject and the verb undergo no formal change.

In the following examples, given in pairs, the second in each pair illustrates the shift of the centre of the interest from the active subject to a substantive contained in an instrumental or locative adverbial expression. These cannot be translated into English in a manner that brings out the meaning clearly:

*nxanwa* from which we derive *nxanwa* (be thirsty)
*vinwa* from which we derive *vinwa* (be tired)
*vuthwa* from which we derive *vuthwa* (be ripe/cooked)
*babywa* from which we derive *babywa* (be excited sexually)
*kholwa* from which we derive *kholwa* (be satisfied)

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(Ma ndiza kutya ngeli cephe.
I am going to eat with this spoon)
(Eli cephe liza kutya mna.
lit. "this spoon is going to eat I"
i.e. This spoon is going to be used by me for the purpose of eating.

(A madoda a makulu esesela nge nchaza.
The senior men were drinking from the bowl)
(I nchaza ibisela a madoda a makulu.
lit. "the bowl was drinking the senior men"
i.e. The drinking bowl was being used by the senior men to drink from.

/ u yihlo ....
U Yihlo uza kulala kolu khuko.
Your father is going to sleep on this mat)
Olu khuko lusza kulala u yihlo.
(lit. "This mat is going to sleep your father")
i.e. This mat is going to be used by your father to sleep on.)

(1) A bantwana baza kutyela kwesi sitya.
The children are going to eat out of this dish)

(2) Esi sitya aiza kutyela a bantwana.
(lit. "This dish is going to eat the children out of")
i.e. This dish is going to be used by the children to eat out of)

12.219. This construction is as natural as any other in the language. For it is confined to Hguni. In Southern Sotho it is as natural to say Sejana sena se tla jela bana (This dish is going to eat the children out of), as to say Bana ba tla jela sejaneng sena (The children are going to eat out of this dish).

Indeed, Southern Sotho goes even further than Xhosa, shifting the active subject completely to the instrumental adverbial expression. e.g. *Ha ke tla ja ka khaba ena* (I am going to eat with this spoon) becomes *Khaba ena e tla ja 'na* (lit. "This spoon is going to eat by means of me" i.e. this spoon is going to perform the action of eating—with through my instrumentality.

12.220. There are no passive forms in 12.218-19.

The intention in including these constructions here is to show the importance of the centre of the interest—the language. It is this sensitiveness to the centre of the interest that accounts for the comparatively extensive use of the passive voice in the Bantu languages.
Chapter 13.

13.1 The term *implicative verbs* is used in this treatise in preference to the term *deficient verbs*. Dako describes deficient verbs as verbs "lacking in some element of completeness, incomplete", and "requiring a subordinated predication to complete them." (Semantics, p. 86)

13.2 The term *deficient* is an unfortunate one, because it is misleading. To say that these verbs are lacking in any manner is to misunderstand their true nature and function. It may be that when we try to translate a verb of this nature into English or any other Indo-European language, it sounds incomplete. But then it is in the Bantu language and not the translation into Indo-European that concerns us. The so-called deficient verb is an outstanding characteristic of the Bantu language-family, so Dako himself has said in several of his writings, and it is hardly conceivable that a whole family of languages could have as one of its chief features a whole class of verbs that from their own point of view, are lacking in completeness. Rather than accept that, fatalists should take up the standpoint that if they feel any incompleteness, it is that we are failing to get at the true meaning of that particular class or species of verbs.

13.3 To show how complete these verbs are, we give below a few questions and answers, involving verbs of this kind. The verbs used are *hala* and *sawa*. Then we go on to show that the meaning conveyed by each verb can be conveyed by an adverbial expression.

(1) **Questions**: *una hala na vitu rao imedi?* (*Will you arrive early tomorrow?*)

**Answer**: *Evi, una hala vitu rao*.

(2) **Questions**: *una hala rado e ntho?*

(*Did you arrive late to the meeting?*)
them. Again, he should not say that ndiyathunga is the future tense of thunda, but that kuthunda is infinitive and therefore subordinate. (Cf. sisaand'uludhuma. Terminology, p. 84). Perhaps something could be said for this approach, if it was upheld consistently, in which case the tenses of the indicative mood would be reduced to three, namely, the present, the recent past and the remote past, non-specific aspect only. But whoever recognises the existence of compound tenses, as Dake does, must be prepared to recognise the verb indicating the action or state as the main verb, even when, in a compound tense, it is in a mood other than the indicative, or a modality other than primary. Besides, if mood or modality is to be used as the criterion to distinguish between main verb and "subordinated predication", other difficulties may arise, because there are situations in Xhosa itself when both the indicative and the other verb are, in the indicative mood, primary modality, e.g. nde nyaphambe (I am already going).

13.7 On the other hand, a line has to be drawn between those predicates which are compound because they contain specifically tense-forming auxiliary verbs, which are confined to certain tenses in certain moods and aspects, e.g. -be in ndibe mithatha (I was speaking), and in mibe mima kuthetha (I was going to speak), and those which are compound because they contain primarily implicative verbs, which may be in any mood or aspect or tense, e.g. -be in ndibe mithatha yave (I had better speak to him meanwhile), or -ye in ndaba wathetha (At last he speaks!) as an implicative verb, -be (or the variant -be) can be used in any mood, aspect or tense, positive or negative conjugation.

**Examples**

*Ufuna u huku saswendla* (I want to carry on working meanwhile)

*Yiba usaswendla* (Carry on working meanwhile)

*Yibundu yiswendla* (Carry yo on working meanwhile)

*Siiba yiswendla* (Ye carry on working meanwhile)

*Ndiba yiswendla* (He do not carry on working meanwhile)
tions, e.g. “buye (to do next), -like (to do first), -hle (just to do), -hinda (to do again)” etc. It is noteworthy that in giving the English meanings, Dake cannot avoid an adverb or adverbial expression. In fact, the verb to do, which the expression modifies, is \( x \), representing the missing action- or state-denoting verb, whatever it may be, of which the "deficient verb" is a modifier. For instance, in -hinda (to do again), the force and meaning of -hinda is not in to do, but in again. \( x \), the doing, becomes a known quantity only when we have the action- or state-denoting verb:

"Uga wamhinda ave kuma (He will go there again)"

"Amiswamhinda sabumba (We did not go again)"

(Dake op. cit., 407)

13.5 The reason why some Bantuists feel a kind of incompleteness about these verbs seems to be the knowledge that they are verbs, which leads these scholars to look for a verbal meaning in them. But they are incomplete only in so far as any modifier is incomplete without the element it modifies. If we take these verbs as we find them, there is no question of incompleteness. Their function is to modify other verbs, and as modifiers they are complete.

13.6 Dake’s description and illustrations (Terminology, p. 84) imply that only a verb in the indicative, primary modality, can be the main verb in a compound predicate. But then, in his Zulu Grammar, he gives ngiye nqithunga and nqiyokude nqithunga, as the immediate and remote past tenses respectively of nqiyathunya, which is the present indicative of thunda. This, in fact, means that thunda is the principal verb, and -hle a tense-forming auxiliary verb. But nqithunda in the above examples is, according to Dake’s terminology, in the participle mood. To be consistent, Dake should say that nqide nqithunda and nqiyokude nqithunda are not tenses of thunda at all, because nqithunda is "subordinated predication", complimentary to nqide and nqiyokude, which require it to complete
If we examine each question in the light of the answer to it, and vice versa, it is obvious (a) that -hla and -buya have a complete meaning, (b) that in question (1) and Answer (2), it is fika that requires -hla, and in Answers (3) and (4), it is -sa and thetha that require buya. (c) that -hla and buya are required, not to complete fika, -sa and thetha but to colour the actions they indicate with a certain implication. In fact, -hla and buya can be replaced by adverbial expressions in all the sentences in which they occur above:

- Uva kubla uleke neko mla? - Uva kufika kwa ngoko neko mla?
- Uvi, be ndile ndafika. - Uvi, be ndifika kwa ngoko.
- Uvi, ntiya kubuya ndize. - Uvi, ndiya kusa kwa khona.

......ndibuye thathera... -- ....ndithethele kwa khona...

It is true that when the adverbial expressions are substituted, fika, -sa and thetha may change their mood and, in two cases, their tense too. But even here it is worth noting that they change to the mood and tense of the "deficient" verb for which an adverbial expression has been substituted. It is therefore fika, -sa and thetha that, in the absence of an adverb or adverbial expression, require -hla and buya to modify them and indicate tense. But once the adverbial expression is there, -hla and buya are not required either as modifiers or as tense-indicators.

13.4. In Chapter XII of his Zulu Grammar, Doke gives no less than forty-five "deficient verbs" with approximate English translate...
Sibo mibobo (To do not carry on working meanwhile)

(Not to be confused with Sibo mibobo, with a low intensification on the be of Sibo, which means "to have been working" or "to very working")

Anibobo mibobo (To did not carry on working meanwhile)

Sora mibobo (To carried on working meanwhile)

Sibo sibo mibobo (To used to carry on working meanwhile)

Ika nibo mibobo (Je had better carry on working meanwhile)

Mibobo mibobo (Can't to carry on working meanwhile?)

Mibobo mibobo (I am going to carry on working meanwhile)

(Especially also be: Ikisa mibobo mibobo, but it must not be confused with the continuous aspect, future tense, of mibobo, which means "I shall be working"). The negative form with implicative -ho is Andini bube/labo mibobo mibobo (I am not going to carry on working meanwhile), whereas the negative of the future continuous in Ika mibobo mibobo mibobo (I shall not be working).

These examples show that -ho (1) can be used in any mood or tense, (2) is indicated in both conjugations, (3) requires the tense-forming -ho and -ma in those moods and tenses in which any verb, e.g., another, requires a tense-forming auxiliary verb, (4) cannot a participial modal form in the presence of tense-forming -ho and becomes infinitive in the presence of the future-indicating auxiliary, -ma; (5) influences mibobo to cause a participial modal form throughout, (6) syntactically has an adversative indication. This then is an imperative verb. Of the qualities mentioned above, the only one it shares with tense-forming -ho is (5). Tense-forming -ho is therefore not an imperative, but a tense-forming auxiliary verb. In fact, it does not completely share with the imperative -ho even the quality in (5) because the tense-forming -ho itself is limited to certain tenses and moods.

13.8 In a similar way, a line can be drawn between imperative verbs and the future-tense-forming -ma and -ho. This can be done by comparing the imperative -ma (do gradually) and
The tense-forming \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{-ma}}} (going to do). Like implicative \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{ba}}}, the implicative \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{-ma}}} can be in any mood or tense, and, in fact, has all the six qualities enumerated in 13.7. A few examples will show this:

\textit{Ukuma u kwa enyuka} (He wants to go up gradually)
\textit{Yiva u} \textit{enyuka} (Go up gradually)
\textit{Uwa enyuka} (He goes up gradually)
\textit{Akavi enyuka} (He does not go up gradually)
\textit{Uye enyuka} (He went up gradually)
\textit{Akavya enyuka} (He did not go up gradually)
\textit{Uza kwa enyuka} (He will go up gradually)
\textit{Akavi kwa enyuka} (He will not go up gradually)
\textit{Ube eva en u} \textit{eka} (He was going up gradually)
\textit{Ube enkavi enyuka} (He was not going up gradually)
\textit{Anzayo enyuka} (He can go up gradually; he is likely to go up gradually)
\textit{Uza kwa enyuka} (He had better go up gradually)

This then is another implicative verb. The tense-forming \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{-ma}}} and \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{-ma}}}} are confined to the formation of the future tense, while the implicative \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{-ma}}} can be in any mood or tense.

The tense-forming \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{-ma}}} and \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{-ma}}} do no more than merely indicate the future, while the implicative \textit{-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{ba}}}, in whatever mood or tense it is used, gives the action or state indicated by the succeeding verb a definite implication as to time or manner.

13.9. We can therefore say that the two essential characteristics of the implicative verb, as compared with the tense-forming auxiliary verbs, are (1) ability to assume any modal or tense form, (2) colouring the action or state indicated by the accompanying predicative with a definite implication as to time (not in a tense sense but in an adverbial sense) or manner.

13.10. The discussion and illustrations in the foregoing pages show that implicative verbs are not employed specifically to form tenses, but to modify meaning. Therefore, in Chapter XII of Doke's \textit{Zulu Grammar}, it is not only the sub-
title "Compound Tenses" that is erroneous but also the opening statement, that "......compound tenses.....are formed by the employment of a large number of deficient verbs". Doke should have said "Compound Predicatives" instead of "Compound Tenses".

Classification of implicative verbs

according to their derivation.

13.11. Implicative verbs may be classified according as to whether they are intrinsically or non-intrinsically implicative. An intrinsically implicative verb is a verb that is never employed as an independent predicative, but is always to be found in a compound predicative as a modifier of an accompanying predicative verbal or non-verbal. A non-intrinsically implicative verb is a verb that may function ordinarily as an independent predicate with a definite verbal meaning, but may also be employed, with a slightly different meaning, in a compound predicative, as a modifier of an accompanying verbal or non-verbal predicative. But there are a few verbs of which we cannot be sure. They look very much like well-known non-implicative verbs, but are possibly not etymologically related to them.

In the following classification, the dash in the brackets indicates the action- or state-denoting verb whose meaning is modified by the implicative verb.

13.12. Intrinsically Implicative Verbs

-da/-de (-- eventually):
Uya kude athethe (He will eventually speak

-fudule/-fudule (-- habitually):
Wayefudule ezingca nga mandla (He habitually boasted of his strength)

-kha/-khe (---sometimes/for a little while even)
Kha nilale phantsi. (Sit down for a little while)

-mana/-mane (---now and again/from time to time):
Manani nistyelela (Visit him now and again)
-phantsa / -phantse (----nearly / almost):
Uphantse wawa e luwikeni (He nearly failed in the examination)

-sola / -sola (-- already):
Usola ehambha (He is already going)

-soloko / - (---always):
Nusa u kusoloko ulila (Do not be always crying)

13.13. Non-intrinsically Implicative Verbs
(N.B. In the case of non-intrinsically implicative verbs, only the forms ending in the infinitive -a may be used implicatively as well as non-implicatively. The forms ending in the infinitive -e are exclusively implicative in the infinitive. In this list, the non-implicative meaning is given first in each case. In the illustrations, the verb is used (i) non-implicatively (ii) implicatively)

-ba / -be (be / carry on doing or being meanwhile):
(i) Ma kabe ngu mlomo wethu (He had better be our spokesman)
(ii) Ma kabe esebendza. (He had better carry on working meanwhile)

-buya / -buye (return /--again, later):
(i) Uya kubuya xesha nini? (At what time will you return?)
(ii) Uya kubuya uthethe naye? (Will you speak to him again?)

-fumana / -fumane (find /--to no purpose):
(i) Akafumananga msebendi e Kapa (He did not find any job in Cape Town)
(ii) Akafumananga weza apha (He did not come here to no purpose)

-hlala / -hlale (stay, live /--always):
(i) Siya kujlala apha kube kube nini? (How long shall we stay here?)
(ii) Siya kujlala siliphulaphula icobo lakho(We shall always pay heed to your advice)

-phinda / -phinde (repeat /--again):
(i) I xhego lawiphinda lo mbuzo (The old man repeated this question)
(ii) I xhego laphinda labuza (The old man asked again)
suka / suke (get up, start /--unexpectedly, simply):
(i) Usuke kwa oko, wahambha (He got up immediately and went away)
(ii) Usuke wasihleka sakuntethisa (He simply laughed at us when we reproved him)
-ve / -ve (go to /--gradually):
(i) A bantu baya bahala e ndulini (The people went and sat on the hill)
(ii) A bantu baya bencipha e ndulini. (The people gradually decreased in the house)
-vela / -vela (ap-ear /--forthright):
(i) A madoda avola kwa kamsinyane (The men appeared very soon)
(ii) A madoda avol'ambusa (The men asked him forthright)
-shiya / -shiy(e (leave behind /--to such a degree)
(i) Washiya ahbo, wagoduka (He left me there and went home)
(ii) Washiya wandidanisa lo mfo! (How greatly this man has disappointed me)
-gale / -gale (begin /--first, before anything else):
(i) Ngo mso siya kucaIa u kusebendza (To-morrow we shall begin to work)
(ii) Ngo mso siya kucaIa aisebendze (To-morrow we shall work before we do anything else)
-za/-ze (come / subsequently, at last):
(i) Waza ne phephe-ndaba (He brought a newspaper)
(ii) Waza wendza nto ni? (What did you do subsequently?)
   Waza wenda u Diledi! (At last Diledi is engaged to be married)
-andula /-andule ( ? /--prematurely)
This verb-stem has the ap licative form, -andulela (precede), e.g. i ziganeko e zaandulela la nfaswe (the events that preceded this tar).
As far as we know, the form -andula is used implicatively, e.g. Andule nazichayisa (You boasted prematurely). In the negative, it means "not...just yet", e.g. Ma kangaandule ahhambhe (He had better not go just yet).
13.14. Probably non-intrinsically implicative verbs

There are at least two verbs that may or may not be intrinsically implicative. These are -hla / -hle (See 13.3 for implicative use. Cf. also 12.194) (---early, soon) and the defective hortative verb, ma.

-hla / -hle:

Siza kuhla sibuye (we shall return soon)

Probably related to -(I)hla (descend):

Musa u kuhla e mth1ni (Do not come down from the tree)

-ma (---?):

Ma sihambhe ngoku (Let us go now / We had better go now)

Probably related to -(I)ma (stand, stop):

Ma sime aspha (Let us stop here / We had better stop here)

13.15. Contracted and probably contracted forms

(i) se: This is a contracted form of -sela / -sela (---already):

Both Ndise ndihambha and Ndisele ndihambha mean "I am already going".

(ii) -be (---again, later on) is probably a contracted form of -buya / -buye. Both Ndiya kube ndithethe naye and Ndiya kubuye ndithethe naye mean "I shall speak to him again / later on".

(iii) -fana / -fane is probably a contracted form of -fumana / -fumane. Both Ufumane weza and Ufane weza mean "He came in vain".

Morphological Characteristics

13.16. With a few exceptions, implicative verbs in Xhosa end in -a or -e in all the modal forms in which ordinary non-implicative verbs like thetha end in -a. The imperative plural alone must retain its final -a before the suffix -ni. In the negative conjugation, the verb-stem ends in -e in all the modal forms in which stems like thetha end in -i.

Examples

Ufuna u kubuya / ukubuye athethe (He wants to speak again)
Ufuna u Rungabuye athethe (He wants not to speak again)
Buya / buye uthethe (S. eek again)
Musa u kubuya / u kubuye uthethe (Do not speak again)
Buyani nthethe (Speak ye again)
Ubuya / ubuye athethe (He speaks again)
Akabuye athethe (He does not speak again)
Ubuye wathethe (He spoke again)
Akabuyanga wathethe (He did not speak again)
Waa buysa / waabuye wathethe (He spoke again)
Uya kubuya / kubuye athethe (He will speak again)
Akayi kubuya / kubuye athethe (He will not speak again)
Ube ebuya / ebuye athethe (He used to speak again)
Ube engabuye athethe (He used not to speak again)
Angabuya / angabuye athethe (He is likely to speak again)
Akangebuye athethe (He is not likely to speak again)
Ma kubuye athethe (He had better speak again)
Ma kangabuye athethe (He had better not speak again).

13.17. It has been asserted that -sele (--already) is the perfect stem of -sala (remain) (McLaren 85, Bennie, p.132). But the imperative plural, selani, shows that sele is a present stem, alternative to sala, which is no longer used:

Sela uhamba! (You might as well go)
Selani nihamba! (Ye might as well go).

In any case, a perfect stem is never used in the imperative mood! If sala were the perfect stem of sala, the imperative would be sala, salani.

13.18. The following verbs behave irregularly in conjugation:-

(1) kha / khe:
This verb ends in -a in the imperative singular but otherwise it may end in -a or -e where other implicative verbs do so.
(See also 13.25)

(ii) -sele and se always end in -e except in the imperative, as shown above.

(iii) -be, probably a contracted form of -buye, ends
in -e only.

13.19. The negative formative, -anga, of the recent past tense ordinarily retains the final -a, e.g. Akamananga ekujonga? (Didn't he continually look at you?). But the tendency to substitute e for final -a in implicative verbs is so strong that even the final -a of this suffixal formative may become -e after the monosyllabic implicative verb-stems kha and za.

Examples.

[Indikhanga] / andikhange ndimbone (at no time did I see him)
"...Mthi kum nge ndingazange ndise luancedo lwanto...."
(...it seems to me I would never have been of any help...)
(Mchayi: Nta6'osuko, p.48)

13.20 Bennie deprecates the -e ending. According to him, "it is constructionally incorrect, and deprives the language of much of the sonorous beauty of strong final a" (Gr. of Xh. p.134). The truth of the matter is that the -a ending is an older form. The writers of the middle of the nineteenth century such as Tiyo Soga (died 1871) and k. N. Gqoba (died 1878) use -a far more often as the final vowel than -e. In Imi6enga, between pages 28 and 53 inclusive, Tiyo Soga uses final -a at least twenty-four times, and final -e only eight times. We say "at least", because in some cases the final vowel is elided e.g. "em'ukuthi tse esikhumensi" (now and again cutting a small piece from the skin) (p.34) where the final vowel could have been -a or -e in the first word (emana or emane). Between pages 89 and 107, Gqoba uses final -a at least forty times, and final -e only five times. On the other hand, Mchayi (died 1945) between pages 6 and 38 of ITyala uses final -a twelve times and final -e twenty times. In his later writings e.g. UDOn Jada, Mchayi uses the -e ending even more often.

Contraction and elision in implicative predicatives

13.31. Implicative verbs have a tendency to contract in the
following ways:

(1) by contracting the verb-stem itself.

(1) sele: This verb is used far more often in the contracted form, ae, than in its full form. The form sel' is heard when the accompanying verb has a weak subject concord e.g. Sel' ehambha (He is already going). But even in such circumstances, it would seem that this is compulsory only when the concord in question is e-. Thus we can say Sel' u hambha or Se whambha (You are already going), but only Sel' ehambha, and not Se ehambha. The forms Ndisele ndihambha (I am already going), Basile behambha (They are already going) which Bennie uses almost to the exclusion of the contracted forms in the Stewart Xhosa Readers (Lovedale) are never heard in modern speech, and, in fact, hardly ever used by modern writers.

(ii) -be and -fane / -fane have already been discussed.

(iii) -fudule / -fudule: This verb is more commonly used in the contracted form, -fude, than in its full forms. As early as before 1888, Gcoba wrote: "AmaBaca nawo ase efude emi emazantsi oThukela" (The Bhaca people too used to live in the lower regions of the Tugela) (Iminge, p.96), instead of ase efudula / efudule.

(2) by dropping the subject concord, obviously because there is no direct association between the actor and the non-active implicative verb, there being more direct association between the actor and the action- or state-denoting verb followed by the implicative verb.

Examples.

Side safika > De safika (He eventually arrived)
Masuke wahleka > Suke wahleka (He simply laughed)
Ndise ndihambha > Se ndihambha (I am already going)
Bakhe batjho > Bhe batjho (They did say so at one time)
Hafudule besitjho > Fudule besitjho (They have been in the habit of saying so)
575.

Bafumane bethetha > Fumane bethetha (They speak in vain)
Nize nibaxelele > Ze nibaxelele (You will have to tell them)

As a rule, if there are two successive implicative verbs, only the first one drops the subject concord.

Examples.
Ude wakha wathetha > De wakha wathetha (He went so far as to speak a little)
Ufudule emana u kuza > Fudule emana u kuza (He was in the habit of coming now and again)

But occasionally both verbs drop the subject concord:
Nize nikhe niye kUmbona .Ze kho niye kumbona (You will have to go and see him for once)

13.22. There is at least one case in which the frequent dropping of the subject concord before each one of two successive implicative verbs has resulted in a compound implicative verb, behla / behle, meaning "soon hereafter / thereafter". The two verb-stems are -be (--again, later) and -hla / -hle (--soon, early), so that the literal meaning of behla / behle is "--soon later".

Examples
Behle wahambha (Soon thereafter, he left)
Behle zafika ii nkosi (Soon thereafter the chiefs came)

The full forms, Wabe wahle wahambha and Zabe zahle zafika ii nkosi can still be used. Then again, the compound, behla / behle, can employ a single subject concord.

Examples.
Wabe wahambha.
Zabe behle zafika ii nkosi.

In the imperative mood too the stems are treated as a compound:

Behlanani nhambhe! (Go soon afterwards)

13.23. The hortative implicative verb, ma, seldom uses a subject
concord. It is only by comparing it with kha / khe, another verb that is as most as susceptible to contraction, that we can understand the behaviour of ma, as in the following expressions:

1 zizwe e zikhe zibahlasele (the tribes that sometimes attack them)
1 zizwe e khe zibahlasele (do. )
1 zizwe e ma zibahlasele (the tribes that had better attack them)

1 lizwe e ndikhe ndilityelele (the country that I sometimes visit)
1 lizwe e khe ndilityelele (do. )
1 lizwe e ma ndilityelele (the country that I had better visit)

u mntu o khe asebendze ndzima (the person who sometimes works hard)

u mntu o ma asebendze ndzima (the person who had better work hard)
lo mntu ukhe asebendze ndzima (this person who sometimes works hard)
lo mntu uma asebendze ndzima (this person who had better work hard)

With khe, the dropping of the subject concord is optional in these expressions, but with ma it is only in the last expression and, as far as we know, only in that particular construction, that the subject concord may be used before ma in modern Khosa. But by comparing all these expressions, we can deduce that:
e ma zibahlasele was originally e zima zibahlasele, and e ma ndilityelele was originally e ndima ndilityelele.

13.24. In general, monosyllabic implicative verb-stems prefix -vi- in the imperative mood, according to the regular rule for monosyllabic stems.

Examples

Yibani nithetha naye (Carry on talking to him meanwhile)

Yiya usondela! (Approach gradually)

Yidani nihambhe! (Do go at le...
Yidan! nhambhe! (Do go at last!)
Yihla uthethe (Speak early)

The exception to this rule is kha:

Kha nithethe naye (Please speak to him a little)

It will be noticed that kha is further irregular in that it does not even suffix -ni in the imperative plural.

13.25. Monosyllabic indicative verb-stems do not employ the -si that precedes non-implicative verb-stems in present participials.

Examples.
beda bafunge (they going so far as to swear)
ena enyuka (he gradually going up)
Ube ekhe eze (He used to come sometimes)

Syntactical Classification

13.26. In general, implicative verbs are not limited as to mood or tense. But the action- or state-denoting verb following an implicative verb is limited in these respects. Most implicative verbs may be followed by one mood only. But there are a few that may be followed by either of two moods, in some cases without any difference in meaning, and in others with a difference. It is therefore possible to classify the implicative verbs according to the moods of the action- or state-denoting verbs that follow them.

13.27 Those followed by indicative participials only.

-ba / -be:

Ma sibe isisebendza. (Let us carry on working meanwhile)

-bhala / -bhala:

Ayehlala ehayala ngule nto. (He was always warning them about this)

-se / sola:

A bafana se bocela in nclela (The young men are already begging leave to go)

soloko:

Lo mntwana usoloko elila (This child is always crying)
578.
-ya / -ya:
Baya besomelela ngo komelele (They go from strength
to strength).

13.28. Those followed by the subjunctive, including the
commentative mood in its past-subjunctive use cf.,
-da / -de:
Uya kude anphendule (He will eventually answer)
-xhe / -buya / -buya:
Siva kude sithetha ngale nto (We shall discuss this matter
later on)
Ababuyanza babonene (They did not see each other again)
-hla / -hle:
Siva kule sindulule ngo mabo (We shall set out early to-
morrow)
-kha / -khe:
Ma bakhe bahlale phantsi (They had better sit down a little)
-phinda / -phinde:
Musa u kuthinda uhubuza loo mbuza (Do not ask that question
again)
-vela / -vela
Bavele babiza i mivuso yabo (They demanded their wages
forthright)
-za / -ze:
"Ndaza ndaluSon' uzwathi lwetyalel" (For the first time I
see an endless lawsuit)
"Ndaza ndakuy", zwi ndini!" (For the first time I hear thee,
thou utterance!)
Mqhayi: ITysa, (pp 14 and 4)

13.29. Those followed by the indicative participle or by the
infinitive, without any difference in meaning.
-fudula / -fudule:
Babefudula bemyelela (They were in the habit of visiting
him)
Babefudula u kumyelela ( do. )
-mena / -mene:
Babemana bemyelela (They visited him now and again)
Babemana u kumtielele ( do. )
13.30. Those followed by the indicative participial or by the subjunctive, depending on the meaning.

fane / fane / fumane / fumane:

Aba bantu bafumane bethethe (These people talk in vain)

Aba bantu bafumane bethethe (These people speak irresponsibly)

But see 13.36.)

13.31. Those followed by the subjunctive or infinitive, without any difference in meaning.

phantse / phantse:

Baphantse bafika se simkile (They nearly found us already gone)

Baphantse u kufi a se simkile (do. )

Syntactical and semantic peculiarities of specific imPlicative verbs

13.32 -andula / -andula;

This verb conveys many meanings, depending on its own mood, and on the mood of the verb that follows it.

(i) It may be used in any mood, followed by the subjunctive, to convey the meaning "doing or happening too soon, prematurely", or if negative, "not doing or happening just yet".

Examples

Andule wathethe. (He spoke too soon)

Ma bangandule bamxelele (They had better not tell him just yet)

(ii) It may be used after another verb in a consecutive verbal construction in the subjunctive mood, followed by the infinitive mood, to convey the meaning "doing or happening subsequently / only thereafter".

Examples

Ma kaphendule u mbuzo we nkundla, andule u kubuza o waghe.

(He had better answer the court, and only thereafter ask his own question)

Mizumzana wendze i ntetho e nde clandula, wandula u kukhoba u mfa na u kuba athunge.

(The host made a long speech, apologizing, and only thereafter signalled to the young man to apportion the beer).
13.33.  
\textit{gala / gala}.

This verb may indicate that the action or state indicated by the succeeding verb is going to be performed or entered into by the performer indicated by the subject, before being entered into by some other performer, or that the performer indicated by the subject performs the action indicated by the succeeding verb before performing some other action.

**Examples.**

\textit{U Zibi wasgala wafa} (Zibi was the first to die)

\textit{Ma kagale kuthethe u Mafuna} (Mafuna had better be the first to speak)

\textit{U Mafuna ma kagale athethe} (Let Mafuna speak first -- before he does something else)

\textit{Gala uchendule u mbuza} (Answer the question first)

13.34.  
\textit{-za / -ze}.

Besides the meaning "doing or happening at last", \textit{-za / -ze} has the following meanings:

(i) "to come to happen or do at some indefinite time in the future"

**Examples.**

\textit{Ndiya kuze ndiziphenderele} (I shall revenge myself -- some day)

\textit{Uze undibulisele kuyihlo mini umbhalelayo} (You are to remember me to your father the day you write to him)

\textit{Nize nimjenge kakuhe} (You are to look at him well -- when the time comes)

(ii) "to do or happen consequent upon some other occurrence"

**Examples.**

\textit{Ndiza kuhlala chentsai, ndizo ndivule i nowadi, ndifunde} (I am going to sit down, and then open a book and read)

\textit{Bathi ma sincibiise \textbackslash mfulo yethu, size siphile yi ntoni?} (They say we must curtail our livestock, and then live on what?)

\textit{U Madzikane waszala u Ncaphayi, wasa u Ncaphayi wazala u} \textit{Makhawula}

(Madzikane begat Ncaphayi, and then Ncaphayi begat Makhawula)
(iii) "not at any time in the past"
This is expressed by the negative perfect, *zange / zange*,
which may be followed by the past subjunctive or the present participial of the indicative.

**Examples.**

Andizange ndambone  
Andizange ndimbone

Abazange bafika  
Abazange bafika

In his Zulu Grammar, Doke treats this and similar other perfect negatives as independent deficient verbs ( 506 - 510). He does not seem to realize that some of them are merely the inflected forms of well-known verbs, one of which, *-ze*, he himself has recorded immediately above these perfect negatives. ( 504 - 505)

(iv) "never to happen in the future"
To convey the meaning "never" with reference to the future, *-ze* is used in the infinitive mood, preceded by *-sayi*  
( implicative *-aa* plus negative stem of *-ya*)

**Examples.**

Andisayi kuze ndiyendze loo nto (I shall never do that).
lit. "I am not at any time going to come and do that thing"

Akusayi kuze uye kwelo zwe  
(You will never go to that country)

In ordinary speech, *-sayi kuze* is usually contracted (See 2.85)

**Examples**

Andisayi kuze ndiyendze loo nto  
OR Andisa kuze ndiyendze loo nto  
( elision)  
OR Andiso kuze ndiyendze loo nto  
( assimilation)  
OR Andiso ze ndiyendze loo nto  
( elision)

OR So ze ndiyendze loo nto  
( elision)

13.35. The verb *-he* is employed in this construction to convey "not to happen with reference to the near future". It has exactly the same contracted forms as *-ze*. 
Examples.

Andisayi kube ndithethe nawa (I am not going to speak to you in the foreseeable future)

Or

Andisa kube ndithethe nawa

Or

Andiso kube ndithethe nawa

Or

Andiso be ndithethe nawa

Or

So be ndithethe nawa.

13.36. **fana / fane / fumana / fumane:**

The classification of these verbs under 13.30 needs some qualification. It would seem that the natural mood after them is the subjunctive, whether the meaning is "in vain" or "irresponsibly". It is only in the present indicative that these verbs are followed by a present participle when they convey the meaning "in vain". If they are in any other mood or tense, they are followed by the subjunctive, whether the meaning is "in vain" or "irresponsibly".

Examples.

Lo mfo ufumane ethethe (This man talks in vain)

Lo mfo ufumane ethethe (This man talks irresponsibly)

Lo mfo ufumane wathetha (This man talked in vain / irresponsibly)

Lo mfo uza kufumane ethethe (This man is going to talk in vain / irresponsibly)

Lo mfo angafumane ethethe (This man may talk in vain / irresponsibly)

Evidently, only the context would make the meaning clear.

Implicative verbs and word order.

13.37. An implicative verb always precedes the action- or state-denoting verb it accompanies in word order. But the two may be separated by other words or phrases or clauses.

Examples.

Ude lo mfo wathetha la manzi

(Eventually this man uttered these words)

Babuye kodwa, nze mini e landelayo, balanda i ndlela yabo.

(But on the following day, they again traced their way)
Womana ka, xa sel'ephindele kwelo zve, ebuzisa ngaloo mfana.
(He shall then, when he has already returned to that country, continually make inquiries about that young man)

Nyesoloko, xa abuzwa i mvelo-nil ngaba bantu, esalacha kum-akovu kude.
(Always, when he was asked by these people where he came from, he indicated far-away countries)

Ndakha, xa ndandisebendze e Bhayi nga mpyakane uibile, ndabona i simansa.
(Once, when I was working in Port Elizabeth during a certain year, I saw something strange).

13.38. As many of our examples in the foregoing pages have shown, two or more implicative verbs may occur in succession. But they too may be separated by other elements.

**Examples**

Ude lo mfo womana u kundumzela, ethetha yedwa.
(This man went so far as to mumble now and again, speaking to himself)

Ude lo mfana, skungxoliwa nga madoda, womana u kuhleka kuncinane.
(Contrary to expectations, this young man, when he was reproved by the men, continually laughed softly)

Ude naye, e mva kwe xoshana, wakha we hakama wathetha.
(Even he, after a little time, went so far as to rise for once and speak)

Ude naye wakha kumbhe womana u kuya.
(Even he went so far as, for some time any way, to go now and again)

**Syntactical limitations of the implicative verb**

13.39. Since implicative verbs are neither action- nor state-denoting, it is only natural that they should have some limitations peculiar to themselves. There are many such limitations. Fundamentally, they are syntactical, but because form and function are so closely bound up together, many of them result in morphological limitations as well.
Intrinsically implicative verbs have no derivative species, and even non-intrinsically implicative ones may not be used in their derivative forms when they function as implicatives. But the meaning of an action- or state-denoting verb may be modified by a derivative suffix.

**Examples.**

Babemana becebisana (They were continually advising each other)
Bafumane bathomphisana (They promised each other in vain)

(2) Intrinsically implicative verbs have no passive voice and non-intrinsically implicative verbs never employ their passive voice when used implicatively. But the action- or state-denoting verb can be used in the passive voice.

**Examples.**

Wayesoloko ecetyiswa nge mawabo (He was always being advised by his people)
Uya kude ancedwe ngu bani? (By whom will he be helped eventually?)

(3) An implicative verb cannot have an object, and therefore may not have an object concord or the reflexive affix. But the action- or state-denoting verb may have an object, object concord or reflexive affix.

**Examples.**

Uqale wacela i mali kuyise (First of all he asked his father for money)
Siya kusoloko sincebisa (We shall always advise him)
Ude wazibuza lo mbuzo, kodwa akumuphendula (He went so far as to ask himself this question, but did not answer it)

(4) Implicative verbs never carry verbal emphasis, therefore they have no use for the formatives -ile and -vo, which can be suffixed only when the emphasis is on the predicate. The action- or state-denoting verb may employ these suffixes.

**Examples.**

Be sisoloko simjongile (We were watching him all the time)
U yise soloko weemkayo (His father has been away all the time)

**Attenuation of implicative verbs**
13.40 It has been shown that implicative verbs tend to weaken by elision and contraction. It will now be shown that this process of attenuation has been carried to such an extent in certain instances that one-time implicative verbs have been reduced to mere formatives within the action- or state-denoting verb.

13.41. **yawa**: This is an implicative verb which gives the action- or state-denoting verb it accompanies the implication that the action or state occurs, occurred or will occur as usual. But in certain modal forms, **yawa** behaves like a formative of the action- or state-denoting verb. In the study of the process of attenuation, it serves as a bridge between the living implicative verbs we have treated and those that have been so attenuated as to become mere formatives. This verb can be used in any mood except the imperative, as part of another verb.

**Examples.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>u kuyawafika mva (to arrive late as usual)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u kuyawangafiki nge xesha (not to arrive in time as usual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyawafika mva (He arrives late as usual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyawangafiki nge xesha (He is likely to arrive late as usual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u kuze ayawafika mva (so that as usual he may not arrive in time)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.41. But there are the following peculiarities:

1. The final vowel of the verb-stem that **yawa** precedes does not change to -e in the present subjunctive, e.g. khona

   | u kuze ayawafika mva (in order that he may as usual arrive late) |

2. If the action- or state-denoting verb is in the present or recent past indicative, or in the negative commentative, **yawa** stands as an independent verb.

**Examples.**

Bayawa abafiki nge xesha (They are as usual not arriving in time)

Bayawa abafikanga nge xesha (They have as usual not arrived in time)
Wayawa akafika nge khesa (He as usual did not arrive in time)

13.4. If we saw yawa only in the modal forms given in 13.40., we would conclude that it is a mere formative before the verb-stem. The forms in 13.40. show that this verb is in the process of being absorbed by the action- or state-denoting verb, while those in 13.41. show that to some extent yawa can still assert itself as a verb.

Implicative Formatives.

13.43. ka and sa: These two mark the last stage of attenuation and complete absorption, when an implicative verb is reduced to a mere implicative formative within the action- or state-denoting verb. Both ka and sa are apocopated, attenuated implicative verbs derived from Ur-Bantu *ikala*, whence sa:la and bl:la (stay, remain) are derived. Both ka and sa may mean "yet, as yet", but sa may mean "still" or "for the time being", "at any time".

13.44. ka is used exclusively in the negative conjugation, in the indicative mood only.

Examples.

*ndinanethi* (I am not yet speaking / I have not yet spoken).

*ndingekathethi* (I am not yet speaking / having spoken).

*ndingekathethi* (I who am not yet speaking / have not yet spoken).

*ndingekazi kuthetha* (I am not yet going to speak) / *ningakazi*.

*ndingekazi kuthetha* (I not yet being about to speak).

*e ndingekazi kuthetha* (I who am not yet about to speak).

*be ndingekathethi* (I was not yet speaking / had not yet spoken).

*be ndingekazi kuthetha* (I was not yet about to speak).

The change of the final vowel of nga to a in participial modality is due to the influence of the i of Ur-Bantu *ikala*. In Zulu the a does not change, e.g. *ingakakhuluma*.

*ka* signifies that the action or state indicated by the following verb-stem is yet to occur. But it does this negatively by associating exclusively with negative predicatives.
It gives the verb an exclusive implication negatively. But it is incorrect to say that ka in itself indicates "not yet". The "not" is not in ka but in the negative form of the predicate in which ka is involved. All the predicates in the illustrations above would remain negative even if ka were to be removed.

13.45. sa is to be found in predicatives in both conjugations. In the positive it implies that the action or state indicated by the verb it accompanies (i) was gone into at a certain point of time in the past and is, was, or will be still in progress at some other point of time or (ii) is, was, will be in progress at a certain point of time, to the exclusion of any further action or state. In (i) sa implies an action or state at a point of time in its relation to an action or state in the past. In (ii) it implies an action or state in its relation to an action or state in the future. Thus ndisathetha may imply (i) "I began speaking at some point of time in the past and am still speaking", or (ii) "for the time being I am speaking and any further action or state will be excluded until I have finished speaking". Similarly, ndisaza kuthetha may imply (i) "I started to speak at a certain point of time and am going to continue speaking" or (ii) "I intend to speak and any further action or state will be excluded until I have spoken and finished". The progressive implication in (i) is not possible with some verbs in the recent past tense. For instance, ndisazobile cannot possibly mean "I started to have finished at some point of time and continue to have finished". It can only mean "for the time being I have finished". A good example of the use of sa with this exclusive implication is found in Mohayi's Ityala, p.5.

"ngeli xe uSele wayengasekho, kuba kwakuthwe ma kakhe egodukele kugavive."

(by this time Sele was no longer there, because he had been told to go home for a while; enough had been heard for the time being)
Uf. also the Sotho valédiction: ka sa ile!, meaning "I am off for the time being".

13.46 In negative predicatives, the meanings of ka and sa are better understood if ka and sa are compared and contrasted.

ka implies that the action or state is not being, has not been, is not intended to be, entered into yet. Thus, undikathethi implies "it is intended that I shall speak but I am not yet speaking, or I have not yet spoken": badingnekathethi implies "it was intended that I should speak, but I had not yet spoken": undikazi kathetha implies: "it is intended that I shall speak at a certain point of time, but for the time being I am not going to speak".

sa implies that the action or state (i) has been or was entered into at a certain point of time but will no longer be in progress at some other time or (ii) was intended up to a certain point of time, but is not being, has not been, will not be, entered into any more. Thus andisathethi may imply (i) "I have been speaking but am not longer speaking" or (ii) "it was intended that I should speak, but I am not going to speak any more": andisayile masimini may imply (i) "I used to go to the fields but I do not do so any more", or (ii) "I intended to go to the fields but I am not going any more".

In short, a negative predicative involving ka denies the existence of an action or state before a certain point of time. The implication is exclusive in relation to a certain point when the action or state indicated by the verb still belongs to the future. A negative predicative involving sa denies the existence of an action or state after a certain point of time. The implication is exclusive in relation to a certain point of time when the action or state indicated by the verb, whether realized or not, belongs to the past.

sa after the verb -ba

13.47. ka and sa do not occur in verbal infinitives. But a verb involving sa is reinforced by the verb -ba (ba), which
509.

precedes it to express infinitive as well as other modal concepts, mainly in questions and negative statements.

**Examples.**

U kuba sathetha akuyi kusinceda nto.
(To speak any more will not help us in any way.)

Waba sathetha? (Did you speak any more?)

Andibi sathetha (I do not speak any more)

Andibanga sathetha (I did not speak any more)

Andisingi u cuba uya kuba sathetha. (I do not think he will speak any more)

Ndicinga u kuba ma kangabi sathetha.
(I think he had better not speak any more)

Uthi ungaba sathetha xa kunje?
(Do you think you can speak any more in the circumstances?)

Hayi, andingebi sathetha. (No, I cannot speak any more)

13.48. In these constructions sa does not imply a situation that has been existing and continues to exist. It implies an unrealized situation previously intended to be entered into at a certain point of time. Thus, andibanga sathetha implies "it was intended that I should speak, but I did not speak any more".

13.49. In all these illustrations, sathetha is a present participial in the indicative mood. Ordinarily participials employ a subject concord e.g. esathetha (he still speaking), ube esathetha (he was still speaking). But in this particular construction the subject concord is not employed in present-day Xhosa. In Tiyo Soga's days the subject concord was not elided, e.g. "engabuyanga a6e esathetha" (not having spoken again) (UHambo, p.56)

Evidently this is still the position in present-day Zulu.

**Examples.**

"Bat'uba bayibene inkosi yansi kwesinhlahla ababe besabuzu".
(As soon as they saw the chief under the bush, they did not ask any more) (Fuze: Abantu Abanyama, p.209)
13.50. As may also precede a verb in the infinitive mood (without the article). Then it implies that the action or state indicated by the verb in the infinitive is habitual or in the habit of occurring, or occurs as a rule.

The following illustrations of this use all come from Imišento:

1. "kweši s'ilili sisakulunga nekhuni" (Anon. p.76) (In this space which is usually next to the curtain).

2. "phantsi kwalo lali kaMkantane, bo sisakuthi yekaMabinza" (Mqhayi: p.131) (below that village of Mkantane's which we used to call Mabinza's).

3. "U Captain Veldtman esesakathi..." (Ibid. 131) (Captain Veldtman was in the habit of saying....)

4. "O xo ke 16isakuza, ithi inkosi!...." (N.C. Khala, p.151) (In those days then it generally happened that if a chief...)

5. "inkokeli 16isakusa vilaa ntshana ingazisagisio." (--the true leader usually turned out to be that unassuming young fellow) (Mqhayi: p. 208)

6. "koko isakusa nezenzo ezisangelola ukusaba lwendle" (--he nevertheless usually having ways that cause him to be trusted.) (Ibid.)

7. "inkokeli ezwaziyo umhlambi wayo....nezenza zayo, isakuthi ibe nqumandla kakmulo." (Ibid) (the leader who knows his flock ... and its difficulties is usually very powerful.)

In the modern sukuba the a of asakuba has become u by assimilation, e.g. "xa sukuaba nidlula" (then you are passing - as
you habitually do) (Tiyo Soga, p. 45)

13.51. The forms dealt with above are not heard outside the literary dialect. On the other hand, in many of the non-literary dialects the participial modality of the present indicative of this form is used with a meaning temporal. The following is a complete table with rika (arrive) as the verb stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing:</th>
<th>1st Pers</th>
<th>Plur:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndisakufika (when I arrive(d), lit. I on arriving)</td>
<td>disakufika (when we arrive(d))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Pers</td>
<td>usakufika</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur:</td>
<td>nisakufika</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes L & 1a. asakufika / esakufika

2 & 2a. basakufika / besakufika

3. usakufika
4. isakufika
5. lisakufika
6. asakufika / esakufika
7. sisakufika
8. zisakufika
9. isakufika
10. zisakufika
11. lisakufika
12. busakufika
13. kusakufika

Locatives: kusakufika

13.52. R.T. Kwa, whose Xhosa is greatly influenced by the Nkho dialects, uses these forms throughout his book, IbilamaMfengu.

Examples.

p.42. "... esakuva ukuXa uMatsiwe umqulele uMthimkhulu" (esakuva — akuva)

(when he heard that Matiwane had killed Mthimkhulu)

p.43. "zisakuva ezumaZizi neZamaBele..." (zisakuva — zakuva)
(when the 'zi and the Belo ones heard)

p.45 "Cafetheni gesakunifetha"

(gesakunifetha = bakunibetha)

(smite them then they smite you)

p.47. "Gesakuquzwa imvela-phi." (gesakuquzwa = bakubuzwa)

(when they were asked that their place of origin was)

p.51. "Gesakufika" (- bakufika)

(when they arrived)

p.59. "Kusakusanjwa umuntu oyinkosi" (kusakusanjwa = kwakusanjwa)

(when a man of royal blood was captured)

13.53. The literary Xhosa forms in brackets are well known, and have been regarded as the "temporal mood" by Xhosa grammarians. It should be clear now where they come from, because both form and meaning show the relation with the dialectal forms. The so-called temporal mood is really a contracted form of the indicative mood, participial modality in the dialectal forms given above. The present-day literary Xhosa forms are formed by sliding the a. The elision of a results in the emergence of the consonantal forms of the subject concord. Note that the class I concord is a.

Examples,

ndisakufika > ndi(s)akufika > ndakufika
usakufika > u(s)akufika > usakufika
basakufika > ba(s)akufika > bakufika
jasakufika > ja(s)akufika > jakufika
lusakufika > lu(s)akufika > luskufika

13.54. The quotations from Kaw's book all refer to past time. But these temporal participles, as we propose to call them, may refer to the present and the future as well as to the past. Thus, ngakufika may mean "when(ever) I arrive", "when(ever) I arrived", "when(ever) I shall arrive".

Examples,

bayavuya ndakufika (they rejoice when(ever) I arrive)
bavuyile ndakufika (they rejoiced when I arrived)
babevuya ndakufika (they used to rejoice when(ever) I arrived.)
baya kuvuya ndakufika (they will rejoice when I (shall) arrive)

13.55. If it is borne in mind that ndakufika is a contracted form of ndisakufika, it is clear why the temporal participial should serve for all three divisions of time. For ndisakufika literally means "I still / at any time, arriving". So that the expressions above, mean "I at any time arriving, they rejoice", "I at any time arriving, they rejoiced" etc.

The negative of these forms is arrived at by negating the infinitive.

e.g. ndisakungafiki > ndukungafiki
    asakungafiki > akungafiki

13.56. When it is desired to emphasize that the action or state indicated by the participial modal form comes after the action or state indicated by the verb modified, the latter becomes a perfect participial modal form preceded by the temporal participial of the verb -ba.

Examples.
ndisakuba ndifikile > ndakuba ndifikile, which may mean "when I have arrived", "when I had arrived", or "when I shall have arrived".

This is negated by negating the action- or state-denoting verb.

Examples.
ndisakuba ndingafikunga > ndakuba ndingafikunga.
14.1. In Xhosa, ideas of "being and "becoming" are expressed by means of copulative expressions. A copulative expression involves a copulative and/or copulative verb. A copulative is a non-verbal predicative, with or without a copula, expressing the idea of "being". It may be impersonal or personal. A copulative verb expresses the idea of "becoming".

The Copula.

14.2. The copula in Xhosa is related to the present-day article, both originating from the Ur-Bantu "Artikel" or demonstrative, ɣa, described in Chapter 9. Phonologically, it represents various stages of development which are easy to understand if reference is made to Chapters 6 and 9 (6.1.-6.4. and 9.11.-9.17.). It varies according to class, and in a few cases it contains ɣ, which is a relic of the Ur-Bantu copulative root, ni, still commonly used in copulative construction in many Bantu languages, e.g. Swahili, Lamba and Mvura. The copula is an incomplete predicate, employed in impersonal copulative construction and requiring a substantive, qualificative or adverbial to complete its predication. Its fundamental meaning is "this (is)...", but generally it may be translated "it is ...".

14.3. In order that the nature of the copula in Iguni in general and in Xhosa in particular may be understood, we give a comparative table of its use with a noun complement in Xhosa, Zulu and Bhaça:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Bhaça</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 1. ngu mntu</td>
<td>(ng)u muntu</td>
<td>hu mntfu   (This is a person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. nga bantu</td>
<td>(ng)a bantu</td>
<td>ha bantu    (These are people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ngu mzi</td>
<td>(ng)u mzi</td>
<td>hu mti      (This is a homestead)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this comparative table we note the following features:

(I) In all three languages the vowel of the copula is assimilated to the vowel of the prefix.

(II) In Dzonga, it has shifted to voiced h (phon.) in all classes.

(iii) In Xhosa and Zulu, it has shifted to g in Classes 1, 2, 3, and 6, and to y in Classes 4 and 9.

(iv) In Zulu, it has shifted to t in Classes 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, that is, in all classes where the prefix vowel is t.

(v) In Dzonga, the copula is completely assimilated to the prefix in Classes 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, and 15, that is, in all the strong classes except Class 2.

(But see 14.3, below)

It remains to be added that in all three languages, Classes 1a and 2a use the same copulas as Classes 1 and 2 respectively.

Examples.

Cl.1a ngu Naduna (ng)u Naduna hu Naduna (This is Naduna)

2a ngooladuna (ng)ooladuna hoooladuna (These are Naduna & Co.)

14.3. The general picture then is that while Dzonga has shifted from the original consonant, irrespective of the vowel of the prefix and irrespective of whether the class
prefix is weak or strong, Xhosa and Zulu tend to make a distinction, depending on the quality of the prefix vowel or on whether the class prefix is weak or strong. But while Zulu favours the "natural" sound-shifts, $g$, $y$, and $w$, Xhosa tends to confine $g$ and $y$ to the weak classes, and favours complete assimilation in the strong classes. In fact, in some dialects, lpondo and Mondomise among others, even in Classes 2 and 2a the consonant of the copula is assimilated to the consonant of the noun-prefix, e.g. ba hantu (these are people), bookaduna (these are Maduna & Co.) ba+(v)ookaduna.

14.4. In Zulu, the consonant of the copula may be elided in all classes. The vowel functioning alone as a copula has a low intonation. In other words, the copula in Zulu may differ in tone alone from the general article. The low tone on the vowel copula is due to the influence of the elided consonant, which is voiced. This would seem to be a more satisfactory way of stating the position in Zulu than to say, as Doke does, that we "lower the tone on the initial vowel and may preplace $y$- or ng-" (538–540). Even as a guiding rule, Doke's description is of doubtful value, because it does not explain the presence of $i$ or $yi$, $u$ or ngu before pronominal formatives in such copulatives as imi or yimi (its is I), uwe or ngwe (it is you) (544), where there is no "initial vowel" on which to lower the tone and to which to preplace $y$- or ng-. Of course, the general article and the vowel of the copula are identical. That this vowel can be preplaced to pronominal formatives is further proof that it is quite independent of the noun-class prefix (cf. 9.23.)

Copulatives and Copulative Verbs

14.5. Copulatives and copulative verbs are not mutually exclusive, but copulatives by themselves imply the present/indicative mood only. All other modal and tense concepts require a copulative verb, and this may or may not require a copulative as complement. In our treatment of copulative construction, we start with impersonal copulatives, and then .........
then go on to personal copulative, which may be based on impersonal copulatives, and then end up with copulative verbs, which may require both impersonal and personal copulatives as complements. In all types of copulative construction there are both positive and negative forms, as with verbs. But because of the various ways in which negatives are formed, it has been found more convenient to treat the positive forms of each section fully before treating the corresponding negative forms.

**Impersonal Copulatives**

14.6. **With Nouns Complementa**

The general rule for the formation of copulatives with nouns as complements has already been described and illustrated. We have only to add the following details:

(1) Where the copula is assimilated to the prefix, sound repetition is often avoided by eliding the latter or, in the case of Class 10, by eliding that part of the prefix to which the copula is assimilated, and lengthening the vowel of the copula.

**Examples.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>li lizvi</th>
<th>lii zvi (it is the voice)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si silumuko</td>
<td>sii lurko (it is a wise man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi ziyolo</td>
<td>zii yolo (it is pleasures)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi zinha</td>
<td>zii nja (it is dogs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu luvo</td>
<td>luu vo (it is the opinion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu budenge</td>
<td>buu benge (it is folly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku kuphela</td>
<td>kuu phela (it is the ending)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tiyo Soga uses *bu 6ende*, written *6u6ende*, for *bu bubenze* (it is stew) in *Imi6engo*, p.35.

(2) But if the prefix is modified (e.g. by changing its consonant for phonological reasons or by eliding the vowel) so that the copula and the prefix sound different, the prefix is not elided. Thus, for instance, we can only
have the forms bu tywala (it is beer), si sonka (it is bread),
zi zandla (it is hands), bu boni (it is life) where the
complements are tywala, sonka, zandla and boni respectively.

(3) If the noun is followed by an interrogative ad-
jective with the stem -ni? and a demonstrative, or by an
enumerative qualifying and a demonstrative, the copula
may be elided, irrespective of the class and nature of the
prefix if the noun complement.

Examples.
Ngu mntu wnì lo? or Mntu wnì lo? (What sort of person is
this?)
Ku kufa kunì oku? or Kufa kunì oku? (What sort of disease
is this?)
Ngu mzi wumbhi lo? or Kzi wumbhi lo. (This is a different
homestead)
Si silo simbhi esi. or Silo simbhi esi. (This is a different
animal)
Ngu Thembha waphi lo? or Thembha waphi lo? (Which Thembha
is this?)
"Ndlela zini na esi zinca ntsasa na nqhekeza?"
(What ways are those stream with twigs and fragments?)
Mqhaye Al Veliile!
(Columbia Gram. Record.)

14.7. With Absolute Pronouns as Complements:
Both the full and the enclitic forms of the absolute pro-
noun are used as copulative complements, but the meanings
are different. The first and second person copulas are ndì,
sì for the first, singular and plural respectively, and
nga, ni for the second, singular and plural respectively.
All these, except perhaps for si, are commonly used as
copulas in Bantu languages. (See Werner: Bantu Languages,
Chapter VII)
The personal and class forms are as follows:

1st Person
(Sing. ndi mna, ndim
(Plur. si thina, sithi

2nd Person.
(Sing. ngu yena, nguwe
(Plur. ni nina, nini

3rd Person: Classes
1 & 1a. ngu yena, nguwe
2 & 2a. nga bona, ngabo
3. ngu yona, nguyo
4. wi yona, yiyo
5. li lona, lilo
6. nga yona, nguyo
7. si zona, siso
8. zi zona, ziso
9. yi yona, yiyo
10. zi zona, ziso
11. lu lona, lulo
14. lu bona, bubo
15. ku kona, kuko

Locative
ku khotʃ, ku khotʃ

The forms with the enclitic as complement have the straightforward meaning, "it is...", e.g. ndim (it is I), nguwe (it is you), nguwe (it is he) etc. The forms with the full pronoun as complement have a superlative meaning.

Compare the following pairs:

(1) Nguwe o lungileyo. (It is you who are suitable)
Ngu yena ruunla ulungileyo. (It is you who are the most suitable)

(2) Ngu yena mntu o yaziyo i ndlela. (He is the person who knows the way, lit. "It is he the person who knows the way"
Ngu yena mntu uyaziyo i ndlela. (He is the person who knows the way best, lit. "It is really he the person who knows the way"

The absence of the article after the absolute form is to be noted.
14.8. With Enumeratives as Complements:
The stem used for purposes of illustration is -mbhi (different)

Classes 1 & 1a. ngu wumbhi
2 & 2a. nga baphi
3. ngu wumbhi
4. yi yimbhi
5. li linbi
6. nga baphi
7. si si bhi
8. zi zimbhi
9. yi yimbhi
10. zi zimbhi etc. etc.

The enumerative complements in the following examples are based on -mbhi and -phi? (which?)

Ngu wumbhi u mntu lo. (This is a different person)
lit. "It is a different person, this one"

Yi yimbhi indlela leyo. (That is a different road)
lit. "It is a different road, that one".

Ku kumbhi apha. (This is a different place)
lit "It is a different place, this here"

Li liphi i hashe lakho? (Which is your horse?)
lit. "It is which one, the horse belonging to you?"

Ezi nkomo zi zimbhi. (These cattle are different ones)
lit. "These cattle it is different ones".

Lo mzi ngu wphi? (Which homestead is this one?)
lit. "This homestead it is which one?"

It is to be noted that when an enumerative functions pronominally, it itself becomes a complement. But if it qualifies a substantive and is therefore part of a substantive phrase, the whole phrase becomes the complement, the real base being the substantive qualified by the enumerative. Thus, in Ngu wumbhi u mntu (It is a different person), the complement of ngu is wumbhi u mntu. But in Ku kumbhi apha and in Lo mzi ngu wphi?, the complements are kumbhi and wphi respectively, because kumbhi and wphi? are used
14.9. Tri-positional Demonstratives as Complements or as Part thereof.

A tri-positional demonstrative, whether in itself a copulative complement, or whether qualifying a substantive which is the base of a copulative complement, merges with the copula, and the vowel of the latter is elided when preplaced to a demonstrative commencing in a vowel.

Classes 1 & 1a. ngulo, ngulowo / nguloo, ngulowa / ngulaa
2 & 2a. ngaba, ngabo / ----- ngabaya / ngabaa
3. ngulo, ngulowo / nguloo, ngulowa / ngulaa
4. yile, yileyo / yiloo, yileya / yilaa
5. leli, lelo / ----- leliya / lelaa
6. ngala, ngalowo / ngaloo, ngalowa / ngalaa
7. sesi, seso / ----- sesiya / sesaa
8. zezi, zeso / ----- zeziya / zezaa
9. yile, yileyo / yiloo, yileya / yilaa
10. zezi, zeso / ----- zeziya / zezaa

etc. etc. etc.

Examples.

Ngulo mf'azi. (It is this woman)

Ii nkomo zam zeziya. (My cattle are those yonder)
lit. "The cattle belonging to me it is those yonder"

Yile mf'azwe e sizzle nee ubhandezelo. (It is this war that brought misery upon us)

14.10. Qualificative or Qualificative Pronominal Phrases and Clauses as Copulative Complements.

Qualificative phrases, qualificative pronominal phrases and clauses introduced by demonstratives of emphasis are used as copulative complements. In such constructions the copula merges with the demonstrative of emphasis.

Examples.

ngwe yena (It is the real one) / ngulwe yena
nga bona (It is the real ones) < ngag+a bona
zo zona (It is the real ones) < zi-e zona
ye yena (It is the real one) < yi-e yena
ngu wam (It is my one) < ngu+a wam
lit. "It is the one belonging to me"
nga ban (It is my ones) < ngag+a ban
ze zam (It is my ones) < ngag+a zam
le lika Ncaphayi (It is Ncaphayi's one) < li-e lika Ncaphayi
ngo nble (It is one who is beautiful) < ngu+a nble
ze zibumbhayo (It is those that are going) < zi-e zibumbhayo.

14.11. Although constructions containing possessive, adjectival and quantitative qualificatives may function as copulative complements, these qualificatives themselves cannot function as copulative complements in Xhosa or in any N|uni language, as far as we know, in impersonal constructions.

14.12. There is evidence from some non-literary dialects e.g. the Mbho dialect and lipondimise, that the copula was once a ngu, nga, ngi. This evidence is seen in the formation of copulatives with phrases and clauses involving the demonstrative of emphasis as in 14.10. In these dialects ng-precedes the demonstrative in all classes.

Examples.
Ngo wam lo matwana (This child is mine), lit. "It is my one this child"
Nga lam abam bantuana. (These children are mine)
Ngo wam lo nzi. (This homestead is mine)
Ngo wam lo nzi. (These homesteads are mine)
Ngo lam eli ishe. (This horse is mine)
Ngo wam lo nahashe. (These horses are mine)
Ngo sam esi sandla. (This hand is mine)
Ngo sam esi sandla. (These hands are mine)
Ngo sam le nja. (This dog is mine)
Ngo sam esi zinja. (These dogs are mine)
Hgo bau'1 obu huso. (This face is mine)
Hgo ban obu buso. (This face is mine)
Hgo kau obu kutyu. (This food is mine)

This happens in all the uses of the demonstrative of emphasis e.g. nge zona instead of nge zona (it is the real ones), nge zintle (it is beautiful ones) instead of nge zintle (it is this one), nge zine instead of seko zine (it is that tribe). This is to be found in Zulu too. (See Dake, Zu. Cr. § 99)

14.13. **Locative Demonstrative Qualificatives**

Locative demonstrative qualificatives express the idea "here he is", "there he is", "yonder he is" etc. They are characterized by the formative na- which is prefixed to the copula. The copula itself is rather different from the forms we have been dealing with. But these differences are merely phonological. All the strong classes employ assimilated forms. All the weak classes and Class 10 retain the n from the cumulative root, ni. In Classes 4 and 9, the copula is ntsi due to various phonological processes: yi > zi; zgi > ntsi.

14.13. There are three positional types, and their relative significance is the same as that of the tri-positional demonstrative qualificatives. The second and third positional types are derived from the first, the second by substituting -n for the final vowel of the first, and the third by suffixing -ni to the first positional forms. The class forms are as follows:

**Classes 1 & 1a.** nanku, nanko, nankuya
2 & 2a naba, nabo, nabaya
3. nangu, nango, nanguya
4. nantsi, nantsa, nantsiya
5. nali, nalo, naliya
6. nanga, nango, nangay
7. nasi, naco, nasiya
8. nazi, nazo, naziya
9. nantsi, nantso, nantsiya
10. nantsi, nango, nantsiya
11. naku, nako, nakuya
12. naku, nako, nakuya
Locatives naku, nako, nakuya

Examples:
Nanku u matuna ushoo. (Here is your child)
Nantso ke loo ndlu ube uyifuna. (There then is the house
you have been looking for)
Kandzo ii ni a zo Khuanhlantha. (There are the Khuanhlanha
mountains)
Naluya u luandle. (Yonder is the sea)
Nangu u nti ka Laduna. (Here is Laduna's homestead)
Nakuya kulo Sipho. (Yonder is Sipho's people's place)
The form nampa, which is regularly used in Zulu for Class 2
is used by Zaze Soga:
"Namp' abantu 6exokin'umquxele" (Inti6engo, p.3)
(Here are the people being deceived by Xxele)
and also by T. H. Soga:
"Abantu abatha nampa hengandexa" (INTI6ALO KE ZOSA,
p. 147)
Here are the young people not being helped).

14. In the non-literary dialects in the Transkei, mm nanka
is used for both Classes 1 and 3 e.g. nanka u matu (here
is a person), nanka u undzango (here is the doorway), nasi
for both Classes 8 and 10, e.g. nasi i zandla zan (here
are my hands), nasi i ndzomo zan (here are my cattle), and
in Class 6, they use nanka instead of nanga e.g. nanka
a mathole (here are the calves) instead of nanga a mathole.
14.15. The older generation of Xhosa speakers use nala and its derivatives incausally to signify "here is a situation" or "Lo and behold!", while the younger prefer saline, and even more modern forms agreeing with the logical subject. Compare the following:

(1) Nala i manle lusum
    Sala i manle i lusum  
    Sala i manle i lusum.
    (Here is the rain falling/
    Lo and behold the rain falling)
    (ntasi i manle i lusum)

(2) Nala lisibelele (i salu)
    Sala lisibelele (i salu)
    Sala lisibelele (i salu)
    (Lo and behold the sky
    Sala lisibelele (i salu))
    (overcast)

(3) Nala ii noze ena sibuya sedu
    Sala ii noze ena sibuya sedu
    Sala ii noze ena sibuya sedu
    (Lo and behold my cattle
    Sala ii noze ena sibuya sedu)
    (returning alone)
    Sala ii noze ena sibuya sedu.

Here are a few examples from well known writers:

"Nala lisibelele lisibele engini umnobi" (iscangqengqo)
(There it was - the dragon - departing and going to the
painter's house)

(Candlish Koti: Longman Xhosa ReadersII p.7)

"Nala nala nala i lusum lusum!"
(For Lo and behold to-day "The land is dead": (i.e. there
is a state of war) (Lqhayi:Zoza, p.92)

"Intsho netu...nalen sifundo!".
(Lo and behold our cattle are being cold)

(C.S. Sojwa: Xikelo ka Xosa, p.147)

Summary Modality

14.16. Relative modality does not exist in impersonal
coative constructions but participial modal forms exist.
These are formed by prefixing an invariable i to the copula
in the primary modal form.

Kwizeleni
ngu matu (it is a person)    irun umtu (it being a person)
nguyo (it is he)             irunuyo (it being he)
new year (it is the real) > inu yara (it is being the real one)
new (it is these ones) > inuyar (it being these ones)
so can (it being once) > ino can (it being my once)
new thilo (it is a fine one) > inuyar thilo (it is being a fine one)
new baba bheyo (it is these who are going)
> inuyar baba bheyo (it is being oto)

Explanations

14.17. There are various ways of forming the negative of the

impersonal copulative, and in some cases the various forms
differ slightly in meaning. However, the negative forms
differ into three main groups, which may be termed absolute,

argumentative and direct. They are arranged in this order:

because of their manner of formation, the absolute being

the simplest of all and the direct the most complex. The

characteristic feature of the impersonal negative copulative

constructions is ni, which is preceded by a in primary

modality and by ma in secondary, in participial modality.

In

literary Aso to find eji, but in some of the non-literary
dialects we find both eji and eyi. Both eji and eyi

are probably contracted forms of aji.

Absolute Modality

14.18. In absolute negation, any modality, the positive

copula, whatever its form, is replaced by eji.

Examples:

eja new (it is a person) > eji new (it is no person)
vi new (it is a dog) > eji new (it is no dog)
new (it is you) > eji new (it is not you)
new baba (it is they) > eji baba (it is not they)
new baba (it is another) > eji baba (it is no other)
vi new (it is another) > eji new (it is no other)
new (it is none of nine) > eji new (it is none of nine)
new baba (it is none of nine) > eji baba (it is none of nine)

Note how absolute negative and complement would seem

to be used only when the pronoun is followed by an exclusive
enumerative qualitative.

**Examples**

Asi wena wedwa o lambhileyo (You are not the only one who is hungry)

lit. "It is not you alone who are hungry".

Asi bona bodwa f zilumko anha (They are not the only wise people here)

lit. "It is not they alone, the wise people here"

**Argumentative Negation**

14.19. Argumentative negation is found in primary modality only. It implies 'it is not, as you seem to think,...'. It is also used in making rhetorical questions with the meaning 'It is so, isn't it?' or "Don't tell me it is not...". It is formed by placing asi before the positive forms.

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngu mntu</th>
<th>asi ngu mntu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nguye</td>
<td>asi nguye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngu wumbhi</td>
<td>asi ngu wumbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngulo</td>
<td>asi ngulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ze zam</td>
<td>asi ze zam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zezo</td>
<td>asi zezo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Further Illustrations**

hayi, u thembha asi ngulo; yena ngulowa be sitetha naye chezolo. (No, Thembha is not - as you seem to think - this one: he is the one with whom we were conferring last night)

"Asingu'hllo lo, okondilo lo, wakuse a ukusa ase yinkosiyakhe?" (Isn't this your father, who brought you up, and nominated you to be his chief?) N.C. Thala: Imi6engo, p. 155

Idini lomzi liyintoni na kade?

Asingamathol' amaduna emzi na?

Asizizithandwa zesiwe kade na?

..............................

AsinguHabeli n' idini lomhlaba?

AsinguMesiya n' elasezulwini?

(For what is a communal sacrifice? Isn't it the male
offspring of the home? Isn’t it the loved ones of the community? Isn’t Abel the earthly sacrifice? Isn’t the Messiah the heavenly one?)

(Mehayi: Elegy on the Mendi disaster, Ityala, p. 80)

"Hayi! Asi lshiko la ko we! u kubuya pro mvj!"

(Never! It is not the tradition of my people to retreat!)

(Ibid: Columbia Gram. Recor) A5 61)

Direct Negation

14.20. That we have termed "direct negation" is direct in meaning only, in that it negatives the positive forms without implying anything more than the simple denial of the existence of a state. In formation it is the most indirect of all three. It is based on the absolute negative form with absolute pronominal complement. A direct negative consists of the absolute negative form with absolute pronominal complement and the original complement of the original form. The pronoun may be used in its full form or in the enclitic form. In order to make this rule clear, we give the full and contracted forms of the absolute negative forms with absolute pronominal complement. Contracted forms exist in the third person only, and they never stand alone in Xhosa:

1st person (nds > asi ndim
         sithi > asi sithi

2nd person (ngwe > asi ngwe
         nini > asi nini

3rd P. Cls.
1 & la ngwe > asi ngwe, asiye...
2 & ngabo > asi ngabo, asibo...
3. ngwe > asi ngwe, asiwo...
4. yiyo > asi yiyo, asiyo...
5. lilo > asi lilo, asilo...
6. ngawo > asi ngawo, asiwo...
7. siso > asi siso, asiwo...
8. zizo > asi zizo, agizo...
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td><em>yivo</em></td>
<td><em>asi yivo,</em> <em>asiyo...</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td><em>zizo</em></td>
<td><em>asi zizo,</em> <em>asiko...</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td><em>lulo</em></td>
<td><em>asi lulo,</em> <em>asilo...</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td><em>bubo</em></td>
<td><em>asi bubo,</em> <em>asibo...</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td><em>kuko</em></td>
<td><em>asi kuko,</em> <em>asiko...</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Full Forms of the Direct Negative**

14.1. All impersonal coxolutives, except those with an absolute pronominal complement, may be negated by placing the complement of the original positive coxolutive after the negative absolute, full form, as given in 14.2c above. These are the full forms of the direct negative.

**Examples.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(it is a person)</th>
<th>(it is not a person)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mntu</em></td>
<td><em>asi nguye mntu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bantu</em> (it is people)</td>
<td>(it is not people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngu bantu</em></td>
<td><em>asi ngabo bantu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yija</em> (it is a dog)</td>
<td><em>asi yivo yija</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vumbhi</em> (it is another)</td>
<td><em>asi nguye vumbhi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yimbhi</em> (it is another)</td>
<td>(it is not another)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuko</em> (it is this one)</td>
<td><em>asi nguye nuko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>leli</em> (it is this one)</td>
<td>(it is not this one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zam</em> (it is my ones)</td>
<td><em>asi zizo zam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kwam</em> (it is mine)</td>
<td><em>asi kuko kwam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mhe</em> (it is a fine one)</td>
<td><em>asi nguye mhe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zindala</em> (it is old ones)</td>
<td><em>asi zizo zindala</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bathayo</em> (it is those who speak)</td>
<td>(it is not those who speak)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Contracted Forms of the Direct Negative**

14.2. The contracted forms employ the original complement after the contracted forms given in 14.2c in exactly the same way as after the full forms, with out any difference in meaning. The only difference is to be found in the contracted forms themselves in those classes that employ *ngu* and *nga* as coxolutives. These are dealt with separately. For the rest of the classes the position is straightforward.

**Examples.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(it is homesteads)</th>
<th>(it is not homesteads)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mizi</em></td>
<td><em>asiyo mizi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lizi</em> (it is a voice)</td>
<td>(it is not a voice)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is doubtful if tri-positional demonstratives admit of these contracted forms before them. Investigations would seem to indicate that they do not.

14.23. The classes that employ nga and ngu as copulas do not employ the enclitic forms of the absolute pronoun in these contracted forms but change their own final vowel into -o, this by analogy with the forms in 14.22.

Examples

asingo mntu, instead of asiyeyunta
asingo bantu, instead of asibo bantu
asingo mzi, instead of asiwomzi
asingo magwi, instead of asiwomagwi
asingo mumbhi, instead of asiyewumbhi.

Eastern Xhosa uses the latter forms, which are more consistent with the rule.

Participial Modality

14.23. Participial modal forms, negative, are formed from the corresponding primary forms by replacing an invariable i and substituting nga for a before si. This results in ingasi (it not being). But the full form, ingasi, is dialectal.

Literary Xhosa elides the ẹ, and a and i coalesce to form inga e.g. asimntu > ingasimntu > inga-i mntu > inge mntu (it not being a person). This rule is quite straightforward for all

But see the note on tri-positional demonstratives immediately below the examples.
the negative forms.

**Absolute Negation**

**Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it not being a person</td>
<td>asi muntu &gt; inge muntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being a dog</td>
<td>asi nja &gt; inge nja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being you</td>
<td>asi wena &gt; inge wena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being they</td>
<td>asi bona &gt; inge bona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it being no other</td>
<td>asi wumbhi &gt; inge wumbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it being no other</td>
<td>asi yimbhi &gt; inge yimbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being my one</td>
<td>asi kem &gt; inge kem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being mine</td>
<td>asi kwam &gt; inge kwam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Argumentative Negation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it not being a person</td>
<td>asi n.:-;uye muntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being a dog</td>
<td>asi yinja &gt; inge yinja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being you</td>
<td>asi nguye &gt; inge nguye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being they</td>
<td>asi ngu wumbhi &gt; inge ngu wumbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being my one</td>
<td>asi ngulo &gt; inge ngulo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Direct Negation**

**Examples**

(a) **Full Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it not being a person</td>
<td>asi n.:-;uye muntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being a dog</td>
<td>asi ngabo b.untu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being you</td>
<td>asi yiko nja &gt; inge yiko nja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being them</td>
<td>asi nguye wumbhi &gt; inge nguye wumbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being they</td>
<td>asi yiko yimbhi &gt; inge yiko yimbhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being mine</td>
<td>asi lilo ali &gt; inge lilo ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being my one</td>
<td>asi zizo zindala &gt; inge zizo zindala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being mine</td>
<td>asi ngabo bathethayo &gt; inge ngabo bathethayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Contracted Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>it not being a person</td>
<td>asingo muntu &gt; ingengo muntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being a dog</td>
<td>asingo mzi &gt; ingayo mzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being you</td>
<td>asiyo mzi &gt; ingayo mzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being them</td>
<td>asilo lizwi &gt; ince lizwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being my one</td>
<td>asiso sandla &gt; ingeso sandla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it not being mine</td>
<td>asiyo yimbhi &gt; inkeyo yimbhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
asizo zam  > ingezo zam
asizo zindala > ingezo zindala
asizo zithethayo > ingezo zithethayo

Personal Copulatives

14.24. A personal copulative is formed by prefixing a subject-ival concord agreeing with a substantive, expressed or implied, to a noun, to a qualificative other than demonstrative or possessive, to an adverb, adverbial preposition, or copula. The element to which the concord is prefixed becomes the stem of a copulative predicate. But it must be understood that the preposition and the copula still need other elements to make their predication complete. All personal copulatives, except those with nominal or prepositional stems, express ideas of "being." Those with nominal stems may express ideas of "being" as well as ideas of "being with" or "having." Those with prepositional stems other than na express ideas of "being", and those with na ideas of "being with" or "having." The personal copulative has all three modalities. Its formation throughout is simple and straightforward, and since it follows the same pattern as the verb in the present indicative mood, the arrangement here will as far as possible be the same as that followed in treating that mood and tense of the verb.

Positive

14.25. Personal copulatives with a noun stem are used mostly when the noun is followed by a qualificative, especially an interrogative one. But an infinitive modified by an adverb or adverbial phrase also may be used as the stem of a personal copulatives.

Primary Modality

Examples

Usilo sini? (What animal are you?)
Aba bantu baluhlobo luni? (What sort are these people?)
Simadoda wambhi. (We are some other men)
Lo mfazi ubantuwa babini. (This woman has two children)
Obu buhlanti bemasanji mugwacini? (How many gates has this
cattlefold?)
Ndintshu mbinini ndilapha. (I have been here two days)
lit. "I am two days I being here"
Ndikumbona a mazeha a munindzi. (I have seen him many times)
Sikumushuza kanindzi ngali nte. (He have advised him many times
on this matter.)
Ukuya kungaphi e Khawutini? (How many times have you been to
the land?)

Participial Modality

Examples
a bantu la uhlobo lwini? (the people being of what sort?)
Babuye bemadoda wambhu. (They came back different men)
lit. "They came back they being different men"
Lo mfazi ufe ebantuwa babini. (This woman died having two
children)
Ndihle entsuku mbinini efikile. (I left two days after he had
arrived)
lit. "I left he being two days having arrived"
Ufe ekuya kuhlamu e Khawutini. (He died after having been five
times to the land)
lit. "He died he being to go five times to the land"

Active Modality

a bantu la baluhlobo lwini? (people of what sort?)
lit. "people who are what sort?"
ufu: mbinini (a woman who has two children)
Umtshu o ntshu mbinini elapha (a person who has been here two
days)
lit. "a person who is two days he being here"
"...the, zizidence, finto ezikumutha..."
"...he calls them fools and blockheads". (Tiyo Soga:UHambo
p. 103)
"Ezi ntshu zikunandichisa kungaka vezikagani nti?"
"...Whose Delectable Mountains are these...?" (Ibid. p. 153)
U6' engumedaka omnyama, omazinyo amhlopho, oliso ngathi ngum-6ane .... ongalo zindombelele, omilenze mihle".
(He was a dark-brown man whose teeth were white, whose eye was like lightning..., whose arms were shapely, whose legs were beautiful) (Mohayi: Ityala, p.24)

u mfo o kundileka ( a dignified man)

Before discussing the formation of personal copulatives with strong adjectives as stem, we give a complete set of primary modal forms. The personal and class forms are based on the adjectival stem -dala (old).

1st Person (Sing. mdala umdala (I am old)
             Plur. badala s'badala (we are old)

2nd Person (Sing. mdala umdala (You are old)
             Plur. badala nibadala (you are old)

3rd Pers. Cls.1 & la:mdala mdala (he is old)
           2 & sa:badala badala (they are old)
           3. mdala mdala
           4. midala midala
           5. lidala lidala
           6. madala madala
           7. sidala sidala
           8. zidala zidala
           9. ndala ndala
          10. zindala zindala
          11. ludala ludala
          12. budala budala
          13. kudala kudala.

Locatives kudala kudala.

14.27. The first and second persons use the class prefixes of Classes 1 and 2. The singular forms use the Class 1, and the plural forms the Class 2 prefix. To these the personal subject concord is prefixed. The formation shows clearly that the copulative is formed by prefixing the concord to a complete
strong adjective (i.e. prefix stem), and not to an adjectival stem. Of the third person forms, only Class 9 is in line with the first and second persons. The 1 in ndala is the subject concord of Class 9, prefixed to the Class 9 adjective, ndala, in exactly the same way as, in the first person singular, ndi- is prefixed to the Class 1 adjective, ndala, to form ndimdala. In Rhodesian Ndebele and in Hlubi Class 3 behaves similarly.

Examples

Ndebele: Jmziki u-mkulu kiyo. (The red buck is larger than it)
Lo imziki u-mkulu kulowana. (This kraal is bigger than that one over there)

(O'Neil: Sindebele, p. 85)

Hlubi: Ubuzo wumye nje. (There is just one question)
    lit. "The question is one just".

14.28. In Xhosa, Zulu and most other dialects, in all the third person forms except Class 9, the adjective and the copulative based on it look identical on the surface. But, in fact, there are the following differences, which have never been interpreted: (1) The length of the prefix of the adjective is short: that of the formative bembe before the adjectival stem in the copulative is long. (2) The tone on the prefix of the adjective is low: that on the formative before the adjectival stem in the copulative is high, as indicated in 14.26. The question then arises: Is the formative immediately before the adjectival stem the same in both cases? In other words: Is the copulative formed from the adjective by merely lengthening the length and raising the tone of the prefix of the adjective? Since the first and second persons employ the indicative subject concord before a complete adjective, we would expect the third class forms to do the same. Class 9 certainly does: The rest of the weak classes do not. (See 14.30). The strong classes retain the subject-ival concord and elide the prefix.

14.29. The position with the strong classes becomes clear if we refer to 14.6. e.g. si simiko si lumko; bu budenge
buM denge. Just as nouns in the strong classes may elide all or part of the prefix after a similar corula, so do adjectives in the strong classes elide all or part of the prefix after a similar subjectival concord. But with adjectives it is compulsory.

**Examples**

Class 2. babadala ba-dala  
5. lilidala li-dala  
7. sisidala si-dala  
8. zisidala zi-dala  
10. zizindala zi-nda\a  
11. luludala ludo\a  
14. bubudala budala  
15. kuku\a dala ku-dala

Locative: kuku\a dala ku-dala

It is to be noted that in Class 10 the adjective, like the noun, retains the prefix nasal, because the principle is to avoid repetition, and the preceding element has no nasal.

14.30. To explain the position in the weak classes we refer once more to what occurs elsewhere in Nguni. In Hlubi yi- is used as an alternative to i- as subject concord of Class 9 before an adjectival base of that class.

**Examples**

(1 nja) yin\a te, as an alternative to intle (it is beautiful)  
(1 nja) yinya, as an alternative to inye (it is one)

This form is to be found in Zulu too. Vilakazi uses iyinya instead of inye (he being one), and (indlela) yayiyinde instead of yayinde (it was long). (UDingiswayo, pp 88 & 96).

Nyembezi uses yimbi lento instead of imbi lento (it is bad, this thing) and yintsha leyo (it is new, that one) instead of intsha leyo. (Mntanami, pp 40 & 49)

14.51. This formation is helpful in many ways:-

(1) It refutes the idea that the in- such as we find in indala is the Class 9 prefix. (McLaren: Xhosa 45)

(2) It refutes the idea that the i is a substitute for "the
initial vowel" of "the adjectival concord" i.e. a substitute for the relative connective. (Doke : Zulu 550)

(3) It provides a clue as to the history of the subject concords employed in Nguni in the formation of copulatives from strong adjectives. The concord yi- brings the copulative with a strong adjectival base into line with the impersonal copulatives with substantival and qualificative complements. Compare: yi ndoda (it is a man), yi yimbhi (it is a different one)

yi ndala (it is an old one).

This means that once upon a time the strong adjectives used to form impersonal copulatives just like nouns i.e. they used to function as complements to copulas instead of being copulative stems after subject concords as they do to-day.

Compare the following:

Class 1: ngu mntu (it is a person), ngu mdala (it is an old one)

3: ngu mzi (it is a homestead), ngu mdala (it is an old one)

4: yi mizi (it is homesteads), yi midala (it is old ones)

6: nga mazi (it is voices), nga mdala (it is old ones)

9. yi njia (it is a dog), yi ndala (it is an old one).

The elision of the consonant of the copula gives the following results:

Class 1. u mntu, u mdala

3. u mzi, u mdala

4. i mizi, i midala

6. a mazi, a madala

9. i njia, i ndala.

The yi- still found in Hlubi and Zulu Class 9 is a relic of the time when there was no clear division between the noun and the adjective. The 1 that is common to all Nguni is a relic of a yet later stage of development, after the adjective had been de-substantivized. The same applies with the Ndebele-Hlubi Class 3 u. This is the stage illustrated above by eliding the consonant of the copula. The full forms of that
stage must have been more or less as follows:

1st Person
Sing. md-mdala
(Plur. si-badala)

2nd Person
Sing. u-mdala
(Plur. ni-badala)

3rd Person: Classes 1 & 1a u-mdala
2 & 2a ba-badala
3. u-mdala
4. i-midala
5. li-lidala
6. a-madala
7. si-sidala
8. zi-zidala
9. i-ndala
10. zi-zindala
11. lu-ludala
12. bu-budala
13. ku-kudala

Locatives: ku-kudala.

Since the tendency is to avoid in the prefix what appears in the concord the strong classes elide the prefix (Class 10 retaining the nasal). In the first and second persons such elision could not take place, because the prefix and the concord are quite different in sound. To be consistent with this principle, the weak classes should have behaved like the first and second persons. Instead of doing that, all, except Class 9, drop the concord and lengthen the prefix, as if the full forms were m-mdala, mi-midala, ma-madala. This they do by analogy with the strong classes. In fact, it is not Class 9, that we find in a false position but the other weak classes. Class 9 is an exception only in so far as it does not, like the other classes, become falsely analogous. Nor is this difficult to explain. The prefixes m-, mi- and ma are syllabic, but n is seldom syllabic in Nguni. So, while the other prefixes could make up for the lost concord by lengthening them-
selves, Class 9 had to retain the concord because n could not be lengthened.

14.32. The standpoint taken here, that there is, in all persons and classes, a concord as distinct from the class prefix, and that that is the indicative concord, is supported by the secondary modal forms below, as well as by the primary modal forms in the negative, as shown later, e.g. a-ka-mdala (he is not old), a-ba-badala (they are not old). This brings the Nguni covulative with strong adjectival base into line with Sotho, e.g. o-motlo (he is beautiful), o-motala (he is old), ba-batla (they are beautiful), ba-batala (they are old)

Participial Modality

14.33. This is formed regularly by prefixing the participial forms of the indicative subject concord to the complete adjectival.

Exam lea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>ndimdala (I being old)</td>
<td>sibadala (we being old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>umdala (you being old)</td>
<td>nibadala (you being old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person: Classes</td>
<td>1 &amp; 1a emdala (he being old)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 &amp; 2a bebadala (they being old)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. umdala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. izidala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. lilidala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. emadala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. sisidala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. zizidala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. indala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. zindala</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. juludala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. bubudala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13. kukudala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locatives | kukudala |
In Class 19 the zi of the prefix is elided, so that zi(zì)ndala zindala.

Relative Modality

14.44. The forms here look exactly the same as the primary modal ones, but in fact in this instance it is the concords that are elided in the strong classes. This is shown by the shortness of the length of the prefix and its low intonation. The relative predicate may or may not be preceded by a relative connective, according to the rules observed with verbal predicates in relative modality. After a relative connective, the subject concord of Class 9, which is a vowel, is elided. As with verbs, the relative connective in the first and second persons is employed only when other elements intervene between the antecedent and the relative clause. The classes other than Class 9 do not use the subject concord in the positive conjugation even if there is no relative connective.

Examples of Forms without a Relative Connective

Thina sibadula kunani asigali kuyibona into e nje. (We who are older than you are not seeing a thing of this nature for the first time)

La mahashe mahlé kangaka nga ka buni?
(These horses that are so beautiful, whose are they?)

Laa mfo mde ma kaze kuma kwelí cala.
(That man who is tall had better come and stand on this side)

Ezi nkomo zinindzí kangaka ze zakho zonke?
(These cattle that are so many, are they yours all of them?)

Akukho madoda makhulu na apho?
(Aren't there any men who are senior there?)

Le mizi mibini isondele kakhulu e magqinini
(These two homesteads are very near the fields)

"Si za kubambhane ngqo silimela ke thina mabandla ka Phalo, Yena nkwokwez' inkulu!"
(We'll share the Pleiades, we men of Phalo's, the greatest of the stars) (Mqhayi: Columbia Gram. Record A. 61)

In relative modality the concord of Class 17 is not elided
before adjectives with monosyllabic stems.

Examples

a·ho__akuki·khona (where it is bad)
Naku_a·ho_kukhile· (Here is a place that is beautiful)

In Mpondo the relative subjectival concord is consistently a
in Class 1, and this is retained when there is no relative
connective.

Examples

lo_rfo amde kakhulu (this man who is very tall)
lo_mntwana_amhle_kangaka (this child who is so beautiful)

The presence of a subject concord in Class 17 and the evidence
from Mpondo should satisfy anyone who still doubts that these are
copulative predicatives in relative clauses and not just
adjectives.

14.35. The class forms with a relative connective are as follows-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Class Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>(ma) e_mndalala (I who am old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>(tha) e_sibadala (we who are old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>(mena) e_mdala (you who are old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>(nina_e_nibadala (you who are old)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3rd Person: Classes

1 & 1a (u_muntu) o_mdala (a person who is old)
2 & 2a (a_bantu) a_bidala (people who are old)
3. (u_mzi) o_mdala (a homestead that is old)
4. (i_mizi) e_midala (homesteads that are old)
5. (i_lizwi) e_lidala (a voice that is old)
6. (a_mzwi) a_madala (voices that are old)
7. (i_giva) e_sidala (a scar that is old)
8. (i_ziva) ezidala (a dog that is old)
9. (i_nja) e_mdala (a dog that is old)
10. (i_z'nda) e_zindala (dogs that are old)
11. (u_luvo) o_kudala (an opinion that is old)
12. (u_buso) o_budala (a face that is old)
13. (u_kutya) o_kudala (food that is old)

Locatives ---- o_kudala (---that is old)
14.36. With Weak Adjectives as Stems.

Here the formation is straightforward. There is neither elision nor analogy.

In the following personal and class forms the adjective umnyama (black) is used for purposes of illustration.

**Primary Modality**

1st Person (Sing.) umnyama (I am black)

Plur. umnyama (we are black)

2nd Person (Sing.) umnyama (you are black)

Plur. umnyama (you are black)

3rd Person: Classes

1 & 1a umnyama (he is black)

2 & 2a umnyama (they are black)

e tc. etc.

**Participial Modality**

1st Person (Sing.) umnyama (I being black)

Plur. umnyama (we being black)

2nd Person (Sing.) umnyama (you being black)

Plur. umnyama (you being black)

3rd Person: Classes

1 & 1a. umnyama (he being black)

2 & 2a. umnyama (they being black)

e tc. etc.

**Relative Modality**

(a) Without any Relative Connective

1st Person (Sing.) um na umnyama (I who am black)

Plur. thina umnyama (we who are black)

2nd Person (Sing.) um na umnyama (you who are black)

Plur. nina umnyama (you ho re black)

3rd Person: Classes

1 & 1a. (lo mutu) umnyama (this person who is black)

2 & 2a. (aba bantu) umnyama (these people who are black)

e tc. etc.

(b) With a Relative Connective
Sing.  (men) e ndir-nyama (I who am black)

Plur.  (thina) e simnyama (we who are black)

Sing.  (wena) o mnyama (you who are black)

Plur.  (nina) e ninyama (you who are black)

2nd Person:

3rd Person:  Classes
1 & 1a.  (u mntu) o mnyama, ( a person who is black)
2 & 2a.  (a bantu) a bunnyma, (people who are black)

etc. etc.

14.37. With other types of qualitative as stems.

Of the other types of qualitative only enumeratives and quantitatives may function as personal cocclusive bases. The formation is straightforward.

**Primary Modality.**

Enumeratives:  Uwumbhi u mntu (He is a different person)

Kukumbhi apha. (This is a different place)

Kwa Maduna kukumbhi? (Which is Maduna’s place)?

Quantitatives:  Sisanku ooku (We are all there now)

A bantuwa babodwa. (The children are alone)

A madoda eumahlanu, (The men are all five of them together)

The retention of the *m* of the basic qualitative concord of Class 6 is to be noted in the last example.

**Participial Modality**

Enumeratives:  umambhi u mntu (he being a different person)

bewumbhi, a madoda (they being different men)

Quantitatives:  u mfazi eyedwa (the woman being alone)

a bantuwa bebonke (the children being all there)

a madoda eumahlanu (the men being all five together)

**Relative Modality**

(a) Without any relative connective

Enumeratives:  lo mpfo uwumbhi (this man who is different)

aba bantuwa babambhi (these children who are different)

Quantitatives:  lo mfazi uyedwa (this woman who is alone)
aba_bantwana_babonke (these children who are all there)

ezi_zinja_zizombhini (these dogs that are both of them together)

(b) With a Relative Connective.

Enumeratives: _u_mfo_o_wumbhi  (a man who is different)
_a_bantwana_a_babambhi  (children who are different)
_u_kufa_o_kukumbhi  (a disease that is different)

Quantitatives: _u_mlazi_o_yedwa  (the woman who is alone)
_a_bantwana_a_babonke  (children who are all there)
_a_madoda_a_womahlanu  (the men who are all five together)

14.38. With Adverbs and Adverbial Prepositions other than na.

Primary Modality

A_bantu_baphakathi.  (The people are inside)

_Imthoto_ze_se_mlanjeni.  (The girls are at the river)

_A_madoda_aae_masimini.  (The girls are in the fields)

_A_bantwana_bakhe_bale_ba.  (His children are here)

_U_mthato_unamhla_nje.  (The wedding is to-day)

_Jntlanganise_ingo_msa.  (The meeting is to-morrow)

"Kufa, luphi na u lwamvila lwakho?"

(0 Death, where is thy sting?)

Kukancinane_u_kuba_ingangeni.  (It has nearly gone in)

lit. "It is by a little that it may not go in"

It should be noted that in the last example the subject is the whole substantival clause, "u kuba ingeneni" and the concord ku refers to it. But there are situations where it is difficult to draw any line between the personal and the impersonal.

c.e. Kukanaphi usiya e hawutini?  (How many times have you been to the Rand?), lit. "It is now many times you going to the Rand?"  But even here the subject implied by ku would seem to be u kuya, because the reply could quite naturally be: u_kuya_e_hawutini_kukabini_misiya  (As to going to the Rand, I have been there twice), lit. "Going to the Rand, it is twice
Participial Modality

_a bantu baphakathi_ (the people being inside)
_a mododa eze masimini_ (the men being in the fields)
_a bantu wasaka belapha_ (his children being here)
_u mthjato unamhla-nje_ (the wedding being today)

Relative Modality

(a) Without any Relative Connective

_a bantu baphakathi_ (these people who are inside)
_ezi ntombi e zise mlanjeni_ (these girls who are at the river)
_a bantu wasaka belapha_ (his children who are here)
_u mthjato unamhla-nje_ (the wedding that is today)
_le ntlanganiso into nje_ (this meeting that is tomorrow)

(b) With a Relative Connective

_a bantu a baphakathi_ (these people who are inside)
_ezi ntombi e zise mlanjeni_ (these girls who are at the river)
_a bantu wasaka belapha_ (his children who are here)
_u mthjato unamhla-nje_ (the wedding that is today)
_le ntlanganiso e ngo ma_ (the meeting that is tomorrow)

14.39. In this construction, the stem -kho, when used as a copulative stem, suffixes -yo by analogy with the verbs, and strictly in accordance with the rule that -yo may be suffixed only when the emphasis is on the predicate.

Examples

_abu bantu bakhoya_ (these people who are present)
_a bantu a bakho_ (the people who are present)
_abu bantu bakhoya nzinga mcinthi_ (these people who are present on this business)
_a bantu a bakho nzinga mcinthi_ (the people who are present on this business)

_thina sikhoya_ (we who are present)
_thina sikhoya nko kuhleleyo_ (we who are present in full).

The present writer noted for the first time in autumn, 1952, that in the Mpondomise dialect -yo is suffixed to this stem even in primary modality when the emphasis is on the predicate. At an assembly at the Great Place at Ntjico, several speakers
used the expression: *Ikhoxo locontsi* (Such a state of affairs does exist!)

14.40. *With the Adverbial Preposition, ma, as stem*

The adverbial preposition *na* is employed as a stem in personal correlative to express the idea of "having", "possessing", or, more literally, of "being with". The thing "had" or "possessed" is expressed by the substantive which is preceded by *ma*.

**Primary Modality**

Ndina bantwana a bathathu. (I have three children)

"Mncakuba unam wena". (For Thou art with me")

U Maduna unee nkomo e zinindzi. (Maduna has many cattle)

Sina mhini kuu phela. (We have the only)

Bona bana wambhi a masiko. (They have other customs)

Sinezi kuu phela. (We have these ones only)

Unc zakhle ih ngxaki. (He has his own difficulties)

Ndina hongathandi kuceetyiswa. (I am with those who do not want to be advised)

**Participle Modality**

ENA bantwana a bathathu (he having three children)

Bane nkomo e zinindzi (they having many cattle)

Bona bana wambhi a masiko (they having other customs)

Ene zakhle ih ngxaki (he having his own difficulties)

**Relative Modality**

(a) *Without any Relative Consecutive.*

ENA ndina bantwana a bathathu (I who have three children)

Lo muntu unawe aha rule nlu (this person who is with you here in this house)

Lo muntu unco nkomo e zinindzi (this person who has many cattle)

Abi bana wambhi a masiko (those who have different customs).

(b) *With a Relative Consecutive*

U muntu o na bantwana a bathathu (a person who has three children)

Bane nkomo e zinindzi (people who have many cattle)

U muntu o nawe kule nlu (the person who is with you in this house)
14.41. Some uses of the copulative with stem, na.
There are at least two uses of the copulative with the stem, na:
1) Describing ailments

Examples

ndine ntloko (I have a headache), lit. "I with a head"
ndine_s'au (I have a stomach-ache)
ndine_mqala (I have a sore throat)

2) Describing qualities or defects of character.

Examples

une bubele (he is affectionate), lit."he with affection
une khotji (he is conceited)
une lw'mi (he has "a long tongue")

14.42. With Copulas as Stems.

By prefixing a subject concord to a copula, an impersonal copulative is made personal. The copula then becomes the stem of a predicate, but the predicate thus formed only becomes complete when the original complement of the impersonal copulative is added. A personal copulative formed in this manner expresses the ideas 'I am...', "you are..." etc. The literal meaning is "I it is...", "you it is..." etc.

Primary Modality

Nga ndin_u mntu. (As for me, I am a human being) (n_u mntu)
Ninga ma:wala. (You are cowards) (nga ma:wala)
Aba bantu bazii ntlo'a. (These people are siles) (zii ntlo'a
Yi nya. (You are a dog) (yi nya)
Ndinuyla. (I am he) (nguye)
A bazsalwana bab bandim. (My brothers are myself) (ndim)
Ngu wuphi u Sipho? (Which Sipho are you?) (ngu wuphi?)
Thina s'inga bambhi oMaduna. (to are a different Maduna family
(nga bambhi)
Ningabaya bafazi? (Are you those women?) (ngabaya)
Ndine yena emcinane. (I am the youngest) (engo yena)
Nena ule likhulu 1 we? (You are the bigger twin?) (le likhulu)

Singa baka Vuyisile. (We are Vuyisile’s)

The opening dialogue in Mqhayi’s Ityala gives excellent illustrations of the uses of impersonal and personal copulatives, the latter being formed from the former. See also the dialogue between Jong'Ilanga and Dafula in the present writers

Ingqumbo yominyanya, pp 116-7

Participial Modality

engu mntu o thanda u kuthetha (he being a person who likes to talk)

benga magwala (they being cowards)

aba bantu bezii ntlola (these people being spies)

eyi nja (he being a dog)

ndinguye (I being he)

a basalwana bams bendim (my brothers being myself)

engu wushif u Sitho? (he being which Sitho?)
bona benga bambhi ooMaduna (they being a different Maduna family)

engo yena emcinane (he being the youngest)
yena ule likhulu 1wale (he being the bigger twin)
benga baka Vuyisile (they being Vuyisile’s)

Relative Modality

(a) Without any Relative Connective.

lo mntu ungu nyana we nkosi (this person who is the son of a chief)

aba bantu banga magwala (these people who are cowards)

aba bantu bezii ntlola (these people who are spies)

lo mntu eyi nja (this person who is a dog)

aba basalwana bams bendim (these brothers of mine who are myself)

Maduna benga bambhi aba. (These are Madunas who are different)

lowo ungu yena emcinane (that one who is the youngest)
yena ule likhulu 1 wele (he who is the bigger twin)

aba banga baka Vuyisile (these ones who are Vuyisile’s)
(b) With a relative Connective

umuntu o ngqana we phansi (the person who is the son of a chief)

a bantu a banga magwala (people who are cowards)

umuntu a bantu a basi mntloola (people who are scires)

umuntu o yimela (a person who is a dog)

a bazilwana am a bandini, (my brothers who are myself)

okuduna a banga bamba (Nadunas who are different)

onge yena mgqinane (he who is the youngest)

onge likhulu lwaile (he who is the bigger twin)

hamba a banga ba ka Vuyisile. (Here are the ones who are Vuyisile's)

14.4. With many epithet nouns as complement, personal correlative forms from impersonal ones as described above require an adjective as complement when rendered in idiomatic English.

Examples

Lo umuntu uyi mfuna. (This person is blind)

lit. "This person is a blind man"

Lo mfasile uyi vilwa. (This woman is lazy)

lit. "This woman is a sluggard"

u mfasile o li vilwa (a woman who is lazy / a lazy woman)

lit. "A woman who is a sluggard"

Lo umuntu uyi simuma. (This person is dumb)

lit. "This person is a mute"

Le ndoda lilungiswa. (This man is righteous)

lit. "This man is a right-doer"

1 ndoda o li lungiswa (a man who is righteous / a righteous man)

lit. "a man who is right-doer"

Abu bantu bazi zilumko (These people are wise)

lit. "These people are wise men"

a bantu a bazi zilumko (people who are wise / wise people)

lit. "people who are wise people"

a bantu a bazi zidenge (people who are fools / foolish people)

Le nto lilinkizi. (This thing is an abomination / ...is abominable)
Into a li akigidi (an abominable thing)
lit. 'a thing that is an abomination'.

Because the equivalent in idiomatic English is nearly always an adjective, this construction has been regarded by many Bantuists as one of several "ways of making up for the scarcity of adjectives". After what has been said about adjectives in this treatise, it should be clear that this is not evidence of the scarcity of adjectives, but evidence of the common origin of nouns and adjectives.

The Negative

14.44. The negative forms of the personal copulatives are formed from the corresponding positive ones. In primary modality, the general rule is to prefix *a* to the positive forms and to substitute the negative subject concord for the positive one. In secondary modality, the general rule is to prefix the subject concord to *ndi* nguni, and make the original copulative stem the complement of this negative predicate. There are subsidiary rules affecting copulatives involving locative and other adverbials. These will be treated separately. It is to be noted that in the negative, copulatives based on strong adjectives retain both the subject concord and the class prefix, but weak relative subjectival concords are elided after a relative connective.

**Primary Modality**

nibantu ...(you are people...)

akibantu...(you are not people)

akantu (he is many days)

akakantu (he is not many days)

mdula (he is old)

akamdua (he is not old)

intle (it is beautiful)

a ntle (it is not beautiful)

bumnyama (they are black)

abumnyama (they are not black)

alibowvu (it is red)

a libowvu (it is not red)

ndiwamba (I am a different one)

andiwamba (I am not a different one)

akawodwa (they are alone)

nakawodwa (they are not alone)

zizonke (they are all there)

azizonke (they are not all there)

ndingwumfili (I am a farmer)

andingwumfili (I am not a farmer)
Copulatives with locative adverbs other than those derived from nouns as stems may follow the general rule or become complementary to a negative copulative with kho as the stem.

Examples

ukude (he is far away) akakude/akakho kude (he is not far away)

ikufuphi (it is near) syikufuphi/syikho kufuphi (it is not near)

ngoku (it is now) syingoku/syikho ngoku (it is not now)

balapha (they are here) abalapha/abakho apha (they are not here)

The dropping of the initial j from lacha is to be noted.

(2) If the co-ulative stem is a locative adverb derived from a noun, or if the co-ulative involves an adverbial phrase with a locative import and with a noun as its base, a negative copulative with kho as its stem is introduced, and the adverb or adverbial phrase is complementary to it.

Examples

bakuCumbhu (they are in Cumbu) abakho ku/Cumbhu (they are not in Cumbu)

sikwa Maduna (we are at M's) asikho kwa Maduna (we are not at M's)

zikulo Sipho (they are at S'a people's) asikho kulo Sipho (they are not etc.)

uphakathi (he is inside) akakho phakathi (he is not inside)

inambla-nje (it is to-day) syikho nambla-nje (it is not to-day)

inge Cape (it is on Sunday) syikho nge Cape (it is not on Sunday)

syikho nga Cape it is not on S. at all
bangase ntla. (they are higher up) abakho ngase ntla (they are not etc.)

In this construction, if a modern locative with se is not preceded by a preposition, se drops out after the negative copulative.

**Examples**

base manjeni (they are at the river) abakho manjeni
use khaya (he is at home) akakho khaya
ise ndleleni (it is in the way) syikho ndleleni

(3) If the copulative involves an adverbial phrase introduced by the preposition na, the general rule is followed, but any article that merges with na in the positive form drops out in the negative.

**Examples**

une mali (he has money) akana mali (he has no money)
sino loyiko (we have fears asina loyiko (we have no fears)
bane zindlu (they have houses) abana zindlu (they have no houses)

**Participial Modality**
nibantu (you being people) ninge bantu (you not being people)
emdala (he being old) enge mdala (he not being old)
bennyama (they being black) nge mnayama (they not being black)
ndiwumbhi (I being different) ndinge wumbhi (I not being different)
swoda (they being alone) enge woda (they not being alone)
ndingu milimi (I being a farmer) ndinge nguye milimi (I not being a farmer)

s'inga baka Maduna (we being M's) singe ngabo baka Maduna.

**Examples**

esin andleleni (he being on the way) erekho ndleleni (he not being on the way)


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With any Relative Connective</th>
<th>Without any Relative Connective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lo mntu mala</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lo mntu unge mda la</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(this person who is old)</td>
<td>(this person who is not old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aba bantu banyama</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aba bantu bang e mnyama</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(these people who are black)</td>
<td>(these people who are not black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Le ndoda iyoda</strong></td>
<td><strong>Le ndoda inge yodwa</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(this man who is alone)</td>
<td>(this man who is not alone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aba bang baka Maduna</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aba bang geometric baka Maduna</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(these who are Maduna's)</td>
<td>(these who are not Maduna's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lo mntu ukude</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lo mntu unge ukude</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(this person who is far away)</td>
<td>(this person who is not far away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ezo ntoombhi ziku jumbhu</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ezo ntoombhi zin ge kho ku jumbhu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(these girls who are in 0)</td>
<td>(these girls who are not in 0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Le ndoda ine ndeleni</strong></td>
<td><strong>Le ndoda inge kho ndeleni</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(this man who is on the way)</td>
<td>(this man who is not on the way)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aba bane zindlu</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aba bang e na zindlu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(those who have houses)</td>
<td>(those who have no houses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) With a Relative Connective

| U mntu e mdala            | U mntu e unge mdala           |
| (a person who is old)     | (a person who is not old)     |
| **A ba bantu a banyama**  | **A ba bantu a bang e mnyama**|
| (the people who are black)| (the people who are not black)|
| **I ndoda e yodwa**       | **I ndoda e unge yodwa**      |
| (the man who is alone)    | (the man who is not alone)    |
| **A ba bang e baka Maduna**| **A ba bang e ngabo baka Maduna** |
| (those who are Maduna's)  | (those who are not Maduna's)  |
| **I ndawo e kude**        | **I ndawo e unge kude**       |
| (a place that is far away)| (a place that is not far away)|
| **Ii ntoombhi e ziku jumbhu**| **Ii ntoombhi e zin ge kho ku jumbhu** |
| (the girls who are in 0)  | (the girls who are not in 0)  |
| **I sitya e sikulu Sipho**| **I sitya e zin ge kho kulo Sipho** |
| (the basin that is at S's people's)| (the basin that is not at S's....) |
14.45. By analogy with the negative form of the perfect stem of the verb, many young people of the present generation commonly use such forms as akamdalange for akamdala (he is not old), ayibonwanga for ayibomvu (it is not red), azintlange for azintle (they are not beautiful) and yiwemngana for yikudanga (it is not far). Then again, by analogy with the negative of the copulative verb, some of them would say azakho mdala for akamdala, ayike bonvu for ayibomvu. While these are 'monstrosities' from the point of view of the elderly speaker of the language, they are nevertheless very interesting from the point of view of the philologist, because they show the role played by analogy in the development of language.

**Copulative Verbs**

14.46. In Xhosa, and perhaps in all Nguni, the only copulative verb that still has independent existence is u_kuba, which signifies 'to become', 'to come to be'. But the e is another verb, li, which is found only in the combination se,<salı, This signifies 'still being', and occurs in intransitives as described later in this chapter.

14.47. -ba

This verb is used in copulative construction in all moods and tenses with another word or with a phrase as complement. The complement may be any of the following:

1. **An Adjective:**
   - Ufuna u_kuba mhle. (She wants to be beautiful)
   - Bafuna u_kuba bahle. (They want to be beautiful)
   - Ufuna u_kuba nqayama. (She wants to be black)
   - Bafuna u_kuba nqayama. (They want to be black)
(2) An Enumerative:

\textit{Upxhamele u kuba wumbani} (he is inclined to become different)
\textit{Le nicimbhi inxhamele u kuba kumbhini}. (These affairs are inclined to become otherwise)

(3) A Quantitative:
\textit{Ndifuna u kuba ndedwa}. (I want to be alone)
\textit{Bafuna u kuba benke}. (They want to be all of them together)
\textit{Ndifuna u kuba nobanye?} (Do you want to be all four of you together?)

(4) An Adverb or Adverbial Phrase:
\textit{Kumandi u kuba lapha}. (It is pleasant to be here)
\textit{Kumandi u kuba se Wnatha}. (It is pleasant to be in Umtata)
\textit{Ndifuna u kuba kwa Zulu ngo mso}. (I want to be in Zululand tomorrow)
\textit{Kundzima u kuba ne gisa}. (It is difficult to be generous)
\textit{Ndile u kuba no bubale}. (It is good to have affection)

(5) An Impersonal Copulative:
\textit{Jfuna u kuba yinkosi}. (He wants to be a chief)
\textit{Le, ufuna u kuba yiko}. (Yes, he wants to be one)
\textit{Kundzima u kuba yile nedla}. (It is burdens me to be this man)
\textit{Ndifuni u kuba ngo yakho}. (I do not want to be yours)
\textit{Akafuleni u kuba se gona s\textquoteright{}thehi}. (He does not want to be the main speaker)

\textit{Upxhamele u kuba ngo yenamhle}. (She is inclined to be the most beautiful)
\textit{Kundzima u kuba ngo mncinane}. (It is burdens me to be a junior)

14.4. The negativings of Copulative expressions involving -ba in most cases means nothing more than the negativings of \textit{u kuba}.

\textbf{Examples}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{u kungabi while} (no to be beautiful)
\item \textit{u kungabi lapha} (not to be here)
\end{itemize}

All these in (1), (2), (3) and most of those in (4) and (5) are negativised as shown above. The only ones that require special treatment are those whose complements include articles and copulas.

14.4c. Articles and Copulas in Negation.

After \textit{u kungabi}, an article or copula may be retained or
dropped according to the meaning. If negation is not absolute the article and the copula are retained. If it is absolute, the article is dropped and the copula may be dropped or lowered in tone.

**Examples**

u kangabi no bubele kakhulu (not to have affection very much)
u kungabi na bubele (not to have affection at all)
u kungabi se msebendzini (not to be at work)
u kungabi msebendzini (not to be at any kind of work)
u kungabi yi nkosi e nkulu (not to be a / the senior chief)
u kungabi nkosi (not to be any chief at all)
cf. u kungabi muntu (not to be a human being at all) i.e. to be inhuman. But with copulas absolute negation may be indicated by lowering the tone instead of dropping the copula e.g. u kungabi yi nkosi, with a low tone on the yi has the same meaning as u kungabi nkosi, though not as emphatic.

14.46 Plain negation with copulative complements may be expressed by introducing a copulative with an absolute pronominal stem and making the complement of the original copulative a complement of the new copulative.

**Examples**

u kuba yi nkosi u kungabi yiyo nkosi
(to be a chief) (not to be a chief)
u kuba ngu mqeshwa u kungabi nguye mqeshwa
(to be a hireling) (not to be a hireling)
u kuba li gwala u kungabi lilo gwala
(to be a coward) (not to be a coward)

14.49 Plain negation with copulative complements and locative adverbial complements may be expressed by suffixing the enclitic form of the corresponding absolute pronoun to u kungabi and making the complement of the original copulative or copulative expression a complement of the new copulative expression.

**Examples**

u kuba yi nkosi u kungabiyo nkosi
u kubali gwala  u kungab'lo gwala
u kuba kwe zulu  u kungabikho ke zulu
u kuba se nthatha  u kungabikho nthatha
u kuba ngu masesha  u kungabingo masesha - by analogy

14.50. Numeratives, quantitatives and strong adjectives agree with the substantive they qualify, whether expressed or implied.

**Examples.**

Ndifuna u kuba ndedya (I want to be alone)
Bafuna u kuba bodza. (They want to be alone)
Ufuna u kuba wuebhi. (He wants to be a different one)
Ababantu bafuna u kuba bembhi. (These people want to be different ones)

U kuba nde kwale masi! (How long this tail is!)
U kuba mide kwale misi! (How long those tails are!)
lit. "The being long of these tails"
Le ntombi inxhamele u kuba ntle! (This girl is inclined to become pretty)

In this construction the Class 10 prefix of the adjective elides zi, so that the plural form of the last example above is: lzi ntombi zinxhamele u kuba ntle (instead of u kuba zintle).

Weak adjectives do not undergo any change e.g. U kuba lula kweli lityel! (How light this stone is!) U kuba lula kwala mityel! (How light these stones are!)

**Mood and Tense in Cumulative Construction**

14.51. In cumulative construction, only expressions implying the present indicative do not have a verb. All modal concepts other than these are expressed by means of constructions involving verbs. The verb u kuba (to become) is employed as a cumulative verb in all tenses and moods, including the present indicative. This verb is not to be confused with the tense-forming auxiliary -ba, which is to be found in the compound tenses. The latter is not a copulative verb. Compare ndihe lusafi! (I became sorrowful), in which ndihe is a copulative verb in the recent past tense of the indicative mood, non-specific aspect, and ndihe ndulu-
sizi or be ndilusizi (I was sorrowful), in which ndibe or he is a tense-forming auxiliary, the whole expression being in the recent past tense of the indicative mood, continuous aspect. The corresponding negative forms are andibanga lusizi (I did not become sorrowful) and ndibe ndinge lusizi or be ndinge lusizi (I was not sorrowful) respectively. In his Zulu Grammar, Doke confuses these two verbs in the section on "copulative conjugation". For instance, as examples of the immediate past tense of the indicative mood, simple implication, he gives usakhona (positive) and uqensakho (negative). But, in fact, these are examples of the recent past or immediate past, continuous aspect, the full forms being uxe akhona and uxe engakho, meaning "he was present" and "he was not present" respectively. Doke confuses these with uxe khona (he became present, i.e. he presented himself) and its negative form, which would be akusanga sikho (he did not become present, i.e. he did not present himself). Cf. "... akusanga sikho namunye umuntu kwaSaBemi..." (not a single one presented himself of those who were standing) (Vilakazi : Noma Nini, p. 13). The -be in the examples given by Doke is a tense-forming auxiliary, and not a copulative. It is followed by a present participial. The -be he should have used in the tense he was illustrating is the copulative one, which, in that tense, is not followed by a participial. In fact, the %% copulative -be requires the tense-forming -be just like any other verb in a compound tense, e.g. ndibe ndiba lusizi (I used to become sorrowful), ndibe ndiya kuba lusizi (I would have become sorrowful).

14.52. In its conjugation, u kuba behaves like any other monosyllabic verb. But, because it never carries any emphasis, it is never used in the long forms of the present and the recent past tenses of the indicative mood. In the present indicative, a copulative expression involving -be signifies an habitual state of being. In the other tenses and moods, it

/indicates .........
indicates "becoming", although this is difficult to bring
out by means of English translation. The coulative construc-
tions with -ba in the infinitive mood have already been given
in illustrating the different types of complement. (14.47-49)
we now proceed to illustrate its uses in the other mood.

**Indicative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yibani lusizi (Be sorrowful)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu lusizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yibani lusizi (Be ye sorrowful)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu lusizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiba wumbi (Be a different one)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu wumbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yibani bambah (Be ye etc.)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu bambah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiba wedwa (Be alone)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu wedwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yibani wedwa (Be ye alone)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu wedwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiba lapha (Be here)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu lapha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yibani lapha (Be ye here)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu lapha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiba li khalipha (Be a brave man)</td>
<td>Musan i u kabu li khalipha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yibani nga makhalipha (Be brave men)</td>
<td>Musan i u nga makhalipha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The miscellaneous coulative need not be plural after yibani.

This depends entirely on the meaning. For instance, it is
possible to say: Yibani lu manyano o luqinilelo (Be a strong
union), Yibani li thembha le sizwe (Be the hope of the nation),
Yibani nga mzekele kwa buncin ne (Be an example to the young).

This rule holds just as good for the other finite moods.

The only complements that vary according to personx and class
are qualificatives other than the weak adjectives, as illustrated
in 14.50. This also holds good for all moods. It will
therefore not be necessary to treat all the different types
of complement with the remaining moods.

**14.51. The Indicative, Potential and Subjunctive Moods.**

In these moods, both impersonal and personal constructions
are to be found with -ba. Impersonal forms are possible
with coulative complements only. The personal forms can
have any type of complement.

**Impersonal Constructions**
In impersonal constructions, the subject concord is that of the indicative, Class 3. All that is done is to inflect -be according to mood and tense, with the subject concord of Class 3, and add on the impersonal conative that is the complement. The indicative and potential moods have primary and principal modality, but no relative modality. A few illustrations will suffice.

**Positive** | **Negative**
---|---
Iba yi nkosi e phendulayo Ayibi yi nkosi e phendulayo
(It is habitually the chief who answers)
Isibaba yi nkosi e phendulayo *ingabi yi nkosi e phendulayo
(it habitually being the chief etc.)
Iba yi nkosi e phendulayo Ayibanga yi nkosi e phendulayo
(it was the chief who answered)
Iba yi nkosi e phendulayo Ingaba yi nkosi e phendulayo
(it having been the chief answered)
La ba yi nkosi e phendulayo --------------
(It was the chief who answered)
Iza kuba yi nkosi e phendulayo. Mfizi kuba yi nkosi e phendulayo
izakak (It is not going to be the chief who answers)
Iza kuba yi nkosi e phendulayo *ingaza kuba yi nkosi e phendulayo
(it being about to be the chief...)
Ingaba yi nkosi e phendulayo. *A yingabi yi nkosi e phendulayo
(It is likely to be the chief...)
u kuse iba yi nkosi e phendulayo u kuse *ingabi yi nkosi e phendulayo
(so that it may be the chief...)
Ma jibe yi nkosi e phendulayo *Ma yingabi yi nkosi e phendulayo
(It had better be the chief...)
Labi yi nkosi e phendulayo. Ayaba yi nkosi e phendulayo
(it was the chief who answered)

14.5. In the continuous aspect, there is a clear distinction between the tense-forming -be and the coactive -ba. The tense-forming -be occurs in predicatives involving the -ba of "becoming" as well as in those that use the coactive without
-ba to express the idea of being.

Compare the following:

Ibe isiba yi mkoa e phendulayo (It used to be the chief who)
( answered)

Ibe yi mkoa e phendulayo. (It was the chief who was answering)

Ibe isiba nga madoda odwa. (It used to be the men only)
( Ibe inga madoda odwa. (It was men only)

Ibe isiba bu budididi. (It used to be a great ado)
( Ibe ibu budididi. (It was a great ado.)

In these expressions, isiba is the tense-forming auxiliary. In the first example in each pair, isiba and the co-ative following it constitute the participial element that always indicates the action or state in a compound predicative of this nature. But isiba is the real participial, and the corresponding negative is formed by negating isiba alone. Thus the negatives of the examples with isiba are as follows:-

Ibe ingabi yi mkoa e phendulayo. (It used not to be the chief)
Ibe ingabi nga madoda odwa. (It used not to be the men only)
Ibe ingabi bu budididi. (It used not to be a great ado.)

In the second example in each pair above, the co-ative following isbe is the participial element that indicates the state of "being" in a compound predicative, and so the negative is formed by negating the co-ative:

Ibe inge yivo mko... (It was not the chief)
Ibe inge nga mako odwa. (It was not the men only)
Ibe inge buno budididi. (It was not a great ado)

The personal use of copulative -ba

14.56. The personal use of copulative -ba differs from the impersonal in the following respects:

(1) Copulative -ba can be predicated to any substantive, and therefore it can have no subject concord.

Examples

Ndib luizi. (I become sorrowful)
Ji mkoa isiba luizi. (The chiefs become sorrowful)
U yihlo angaba luizi. (Your father is likely to become sorrowful)
Baza kuba ne thembha. (They are going to become hopeful)
Ka kung bilapha. (He had better not be here)
Ndlelisa ne themba. (I used to become hopeful)
A bafazi abayi kuba nu mncedi. (The women will not have any helper)

(2) Relative modality exists.

Examples.
*iinkosikiza bola lusizi* (others who become sorrowful)
*a bantu a bangaba lusizi* (the people who are likely to be sorrowful)
*i sizwe e niza kuba ne thembha* (the tribe that will be hopeful)
*u muntu e na kungabi lapha* (the person who had better not be here)
*a bafazi a bangayi kuba nu mncedi* (the women who will not have any helper)

(3) Substantives, qualificatives, adverbs and adverbial phrases and impersonal copulative can be used as complements. This is sufficient indicated in 14.48 - 14.50 as well as in (1) and (2) above.

**Implicative Verbs in Copulative Construction**

14.57. The action or state indicated by a copulative expression may be modified in meaning by an implicative ver, just like a verbal predicative. Since copulatives by themselves cannot imply any mood other than the present indicative, only those implicative verbs that are followed by the present indicative participle can modify their meaning. Copulative expressions involving *be* on the other hand can have their meaning modified by implicative verbs of all classes.

**Examples**

lo muntu usaloke elapha. (This man is always here)
*endoda nel' esenzhwendini*. (The men are already at work)
'Endi! usaloke n'dinani. (I shall not always be with you)
'Oshwakani n'ingalali, asiy' shhlula sikho' (Mohayi: ITyala p. 55)

(We air ye to your homes, but lie awake, for we shall not always be alive)
Side siba ne thambu. (We went so far as to become hopeful)
Siya kabuye sibe mapha ngco. (We shall be here again to-
morrow)
Ngo esana esiba se zingxakini. (he was now and again getting into
difficulties)
Ndishantse u kuba no loyiko. (nearly became apprehensive)

14.58. The verb yawa behaves peculiarly in these constructions
also. In impersonal construction, it employs the subject
concord of Class 9, and is followed by an impersonal copulative.

Examples.
Iyana ngu madoda odwa. (As usual it is men only)
Iyawa yile nqwenkwe ka Maduna. (As usual it is this boy of
Maduna's)
Iyawa zii nkomo za kwa Maduna. (As usual it is the cattle of
the Maduna family)
Iyawa ze sakho ezi nkomo? (As usual it is your cattle, these
here?)

In personal construction, it employs the subject concord re-
ferring to the substantive that is the subject, but if the
complement implies the positive, it is employed non-copulatively,
unless it is an impersonal copulative. This means that yawa,
like copulative -ba may have a qualitative, adverbial or
impersonal copulative as complement.

Examples.
Ii ntuphali za kwa Maduna ziywa ntle. (As usual, the Maduna
girls are pretty)
I mivuzo iyawa mincinane. (Boys are low as usual)
A bantu bayawa mbalutu. (The people are few as usual)
U njamana uyawa yedwa. (The child is alone as usual)
Lo mfo uyawa lapha. (This man is here as usual)
A bazali bakhe bayawa se tyweleni. (Its parents are as usual
at a beer-party)
U Sipho uyawa no ma'ndo. (Sipho is angry as usual)
U yawa ngu plomo we ziyatha? (Are you the mouthpiece of the
stupid as usual?)
But if the state-denoting element after the implicative verb implies the negative, it becomes a complete personal copulative.

**Examples**

ziyawa ntle (they are as usual not pretty)
ziyawa azintle

iyawa mnicinane iyawa ayimincinane (they are as usual not low)

bayawa rbalwa bayawa abarbalwa (they are as usual not few)

uyawa yedwa uyawa akayedwa (it is as usual not alone)

uyawa lapha uyawa akalahha (he is as usual not here)

uyawa no ma'indo uyawa akana ma'indo (he is as usual not angry)

uyawa ngu mboro uyawa akengo mboro (he is as usual not the mouth-piece)

Since yawa implies habituality, it is incompatible with -ba when the latter conveys that same meaning. But they are to be found together when -ba conveys the meaning of "becoming".

**Examples**

I mivuso iyawa za kuba mnicinane. (The wages are going to be low as usual)

U nin uyawa be ne thuku. (His mother as usual had premonition)

The Implicative Formatives, sa and ka

14.56. The implicative formatives, sa and ka are employed with copulative verbs, sa in the positive as well as in the negative, and ka in the negative only. In addition to -ba, the formative sa is replaced to the copulative verb-stem li. In Nguni, the verb-stem li has no longer any independent existence. It is found only in association with sa. It has lost its l and the remaining l coalesces with the a of sa resulting in se. (sali sa i se). In the neighboring Sotho, the corresponding verb-stem, la, still exists independently. Cf. O sa

le motle: Use mble < usali mble. (She is still beautiful).

This copulative verb is still commonly used in other Bantu zones too, in some languages in the form li (e.g. Lambda) and in others as ri (e.g. Shona)

**Examples**

(a) **Impersonal**

Isaba yi nkosi e mweba i tyala. (It still habitually is the chief who judges the case)
Avisabi yi nkosi e wisa i sigwebo. (It no longer is habitually the chief who pronounces judgement)

Ise nguye vedwa o fikileyo. (It is still no only who has arrived) (isali nguye)

Ise ze zika maduna zodwa uzi nkomo. (It is still Maduna's cattle only these here)

Ayikabi nguya lo uzayo. (It is not yet he, this one who is coming)

Ayikabi li xesha lo kulima. (It is not yet the time for ploughing)

(b) Personal

'Ndisaba ne xhala. (still become anxious)

Andisabi na xhala. (I no longer become anxious)

Lo m-twana use mncinane. (This child is still small)

A bantwana base bodwa. (The children are still alone)

La madoda ase lapha? (Are these men still here?)

Ii ntombali zise se mlanjeni. (The girls are still at the river)

Lo mntwana ase mncinane. (This child is no longer small)

La madoda ase lapha. (These men are no longer here)

Ii ntombali azisebho mlanjeni. (The girls are no longer at the river)

U Sipho use ngu mfundisi. (Sipho is still a teacher)

U Sipho ake ase ngu mfundisi. (Sipho is no longer a teacher)

Andisabi na xhala. (I am not yet anxious)

La n-kabi ayikabi nkulu. (This ox is not yet big)

A bantu abakabi bonke. (The people are not all there yet)

La madoda akakabi lapha. (These men are not here yet)

Ii ntomba azikabi se mlanjeni. (The girls are not yet at the river)

U Sipho akakibi ngu ye mfundisi. (Sipho is not yet a teacher)

Habituality and temporal participial modality in cumulative expression is indicated by sa.

Examples.

Isakuba nga maphakathi a chendulayo. (It is as a rule the councillors who reply)

Ube esakuba ne dyudyu. (He used to become nervous)

akuba y' ndoda (when he becomes a man) esakuba.
15.1. In his Bantu Linguistic Terminology, Doke describes the ideophone as "a graphic representation of an idea in sound". He defines it formally as follows: "A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity". He goes on to say that "the ideophone is in Bantu a special part of speech, resembling to a certain extent the adverb with which it is classified as a descriptive". According to the present writer, the ideophone is not a descriptive, but an interjectional predicate.

15.2. In living speech, an ideophone is nearly always accompanied by a gesture. The ideophone and the gesture occur simultaneously often, but not always, after the verb -thi, which in such constructions does not mean "saying" but introduces the performance of the action or the entering into the state represented by the ideophone in speech and by the gesture in action. The verb -thi has no specific meaning in such constructions. In fact, it is not until the ideophone is uttered and/or the gesture performed that there is any meaning. To illustrate this point, let us consider the following expressions, which describe various manners of lying down:

- u-kuthi tywa (to lie stretched out, motionless and helpless)
- u-kuthi fokoxo (to lie in a heaped-up position)
- u-kuthi novaba (to lie perfectly still but alert)
- u-kuthi dudlu (to lie in an extremely lazy fashion).

In these expressions, 'lying' is not represented by u-kuthi. Both the action or state and manner of lying are expressed by tywa, fokoxo, novaba and dudlu.

15.3. The position is clearer still if expressions in complete sentences are considered:

- Wathi swiqi, waphuma. (he turned sharply about and walked out)
- Lhasane lathi shwaka. (The horse vanished)
- Wathi lu u Maduma. (Maduna remained silent)
I sitethi sathi noumana (The speaker paused)
I naawa ye nkosi yathi qithi phantsi (The chief's pipe fell on the ground with a dull thud).

In these sentences, the verb -thi is meaningless without the ideophone. The turning sharply about, the vanishing, the remaining silent, the pausing, and the falling with a dull thud are not represented by -thi, but by gwiqi, shwaka, tu, noumama and qithi respectively. That this is so is established beyond doubt by the fact that in all these sentences the verb -thi can be dispensed with and, far from weakening the ideophone, the exclusion of -thi brings out the dramatic effect of the ideophone even more forcefully, especially with a change of word order:

Gwiqi, waphuma (He turned sharply about and walked out)
Shwaka i hashe (The horse vanished)
Noumama i sitethi (The speaker paused)
Qithi phantsi i naawa ye nkosi (Down fell the chief's pipe with a dull thud).

It is therefore incorrect to regard the ideophone as anything else but a predicative. In fact, as the above illustrations show, it is the verb -thi that need not be there at all. The ideophone does not describe the predicate. It represents action or state, and is therefore the predicate itself.

13.4. It is to be noted too that not only in the Iamba and Zulu grammars but also in the Zulu-English Dictionary, Doke himself uses verbs as English equivalents of ideophones, even though the ideophones appear without u-kuthi, or its equivalent in Iamba. (See Iamba, pp. 354-367; Zulu, pp. 256-270). Here are a few examples from the dictionary by Doke and Vilakazi:

(i) chapha (of dropping or splashing of liquid).
On the same page, chaphaza (< chapha) has the English equivalent "not about with drops, splash" (Page 109).

(ii) daxu (of striking with a flat, pliant instrument).
The next word but one is daxula (< daxu), with the meaning "strike with a flat, pliant instrument" (Page 141).
Cf. also dazu (of splitting apart, splitting down), and dazuka (< dazu), meaning "split apart" (Page 141).
648.

By implication then Doke supports the view that the ideophone does not describe, but represents, actions or states. In fact, some of his own illustrations in the Zulu Grammar, 648, show that the ideophone can even have an object, just like a verb:

"Ye na 6oni yani mina (He spotted me)"

"... i phoyisa 6ambi yani mina" (.. and the police 'nabbed' me)"

15.5. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that it is often very difficult to distinguish between an ideophone and an adverb. Let us consider ngo (action of moving straight in a certain direction) in the following sentences:

(1) Nathi ngo waya kuyise (He went straight to his father)
(2) Ngo waya kuyise. ( do. )
(3) Ngo kuyise. ( do. )
(4) Waya ngo kuyise. ( do. )

It might be argued that in (4) ngo is an adverb modifying waya. But then, as (3) shows, ngo in itself includes the meaning "going" and therefore can stand without waya. An adverb does not cover the meaning of, or replace the predicate it modifies. Again, an adverb never needs -thi to introduce it. If therefore we want to determine whether a given word is an adverb or an ideophone, we can always test it by pre-preplacing -thi to it, or by leaving out the verb accompanying it.

Examples.

"Tabila wathi ntsi."

"Tabila ntsi."

"Ntsi u kubila"

"Ntsi nga nbito."

All the expressions above mean "he perspired profusely".

The last three show that ntsi is an ideophone.

15.6. All the illustrations given so far show that the ideophone often covers in its meaning not only action and state but also manner. That is why many Bantuists have
mistaken it for an adverb or, at least, for some kind of descriptive.

15.7. On the other hand, because of its interjectional nature, the ideophone has been regarded by some Bantuists as an interjective. It is true that many ideophones, especially those representing sound, have interjectives as equivalents in English:

- **Mnye umbane!** (Flash! went the lightning)
- **Sham ungu!** (Bang! went the gun)
- **Dlumpu e mondzini!** (Splash into the water - he went)

But here too there are distinguishing features. As pointed out earlier, the ideophone has grammatical relationship to the rest of the sentence. For instance, in the sentence: **Githi phantsi i noawa ye nkosi**, githi is the predicate, i noawa ye nkosi the subject, and phantsi an adverbial extension of the predicate.

In **Ngoo ku vii se**, the subject is "understood", ngoo is the predicate, and ku vii se an adverbial extension of the predicate.

In Doke's Zulu examples: ....**i:phovisa sambilini mina**. i:phovisa is the subject, sambilini the predicate, and mina the object. The interjective, on the other hand, has no grammatical relationship to the rest of the sentence. Again, the interjective never represents position, motion, colour etc., as the ideophone does. Most interjectives are subjective in that they represent primarily the effect of a situation on the speaker himself, e.g. **Awu!** (surprise), **Xhatshi!** (approval), **Rha!** (disgust). The ideophone, on the other hand, is primarily objective in that it primarily it represents an objective situation with, in most cases, no reference at all to the effect of the situation on the speaker.

**Classification**

15.8. According to Doke, "the most satisfactory classification of ideophones is (i) according to syllables, e.g. monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, etc. and (ii) a further subdivision according to tones! (Terminology, p. 115). This is the
method Doke follows in his Zulu Grammar. While this classi-
ification is all right as far as it goes, one wonders if it
should be regarded as "the most satisfactory", seeing that
it does not cover all aspects of the ideophone. For instance,
there is the question of derivation which also lends itself
to classification. It is also possible to some extent to
classify the ideophones according to meaning, that is, accord-
ing to the types of situations they represent, e.g. sound,
colour, smell, motion etc. It is proposed in this treatise
to indicate how ideophones could also be classified according
to derivation and meaning.

Classification according to syllables and tones.

15.9. The ideophones in Xhosa fall into four groups if classif-
ied according to the number of syllables. There are monosy-
llabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic ideophones.

Monosyllabic Ideophones.

15.10. Group 1. - Low level tone.

Examples

gw (of handling delicately)
gqi (of emerging suddenly)

Comb (of stepping aside and making way)
cwe (of cutting a tiny slice)
dwe (of standing or sitting in a long row)

na (of being amazed)

15.11. Group 2. - High level tone.

Examples

nkgo (of being straight up and down)
nkdi (of being firm)
nkzi (of squeezing or throttling)

nya (of disappearing and leaving no trace behind)

the (of flitting past)

ntjo (of gazing steadily)

he (of being silent)

15.12. Group 3. - High-falling tone. These fall into two
sub-groups, viz. those commencing in a voiceless consonant,
and those commencing in a voiced consonant. The latter
commence on a lower pitch than the former, but it is the same
tone. In a close tonal study the latter might therefore be
classified as low-rising-falling.

Examples
Sub-group (a): qhwa (of chipping off)
    thqwa (of being fast asleep)
    lqwa (of being in a long unbroken line)
    xhqa (of making a pause or waiting a little
    while)
    tywa (of coming out into the open country)
Sub-group (b): qa (of reaching up to a certain height)
    jaa (of being passionate / of bristling)
    jjwa (of flinging away)
    gxwa (of being between)

Disyllabic ideophones

15.13. Group 1. - Low level Low level.

Examples.
    bhada (of lying flat, face down)
    pharga (of sitting lazily or carelessly)
    cakra (of being quiet)
    sace (of being clear)
    cebu (of storing aside smartly / of chipping
    off)
    eathe (of being warm)
    cche (of retreating into a sheltered place)
    hiya (of being absent-minded / of being in a
    trance)
    siba (of having a mental blackout)
    qithi (of falling with a dull thud)
    xala (of being calm)

Examples

qim (of light suddenly going out)
gontji (of diving smartly)
phindzi (of passing rapidly and giving onlooker a mere glimpse in passing)
gethu (of falling or lying back)

Trisyllabic Ideophones

15.15. Group 1. - Low level Low level Low level.

Examples

guccugu (of turning about and facing)
goududu (of stumbling repeatedly)
balulu (of opening eyes weakly in a semi-conscious state)
ngumama (of pausing)
celele (of being at a distance)
cakathi (of setting foot)

15.16. Group 2. - Low level Lot level High level.

Examples

bhatala (of scattering in all directions)
bhukuqu (of overturning)
mekonxe (of being dejected)
qikili (of turning a somersault)

Cuadrisyllabic Ideophones

15.17. Group 1. - Four successive low level tones.

Examples

gogololo (of subsiding)
birimobilili (of swallowing)
nyibilili (of melting)
nyebelele (of sneaking away)
genecelile (of rolling away slowly)
thimbhilibi (of regaining consciousness or dis-engaging oneself)
ncadalala (of maintaining astonished silence by a crowd)
dlandlululu (of rousing oneself from a state of inactivity)
15.17. Group 2. - Three successive low level tones followed by a high level one

Examples

boleken (of turning, completely over)
golokoo (of locking; horn in horn)
milikinski (of holding; fast, e.g. in a vice)

Classification according to derivation

15.18. By far the largest number of ideophones are monosyllabic or disyllabic. Hardly any of these can be traced to any other source, and therefore most of them are to be regarded as primitive. Very trisyllabic ones could seem to be primitive too. The trisyllables ending in -lala,-lele,-lili,-lolo, or -ulu suggest by their endings that these are added on to basic forms. A few of them are certainly related to well known stems e.g. tongcole, which is related to qongqa (roll along the ground). There is also tjbabalala (of being destroyed or annihilated). This is both a verb-stem and an ideophone. But there is a more basic form, tjbaba (to perish, to be no more). The endings -lala,-lele etc. probably have one and the same basic meaning or significance. The vowels are always assimilated to the vowel of the preceding syllable:

- tjbabalala (of being destroyed)
- tjbethlele (of sliding along)
- tybilili (of slurring)
- qongcolelo (of drinking greedily to the last drop)
- qongululu (of lying fully stretched out, stark naked)

Those derived from other ideophones

15.19. Trisyllabic ideophones are derived from disyllabic ones, and quadrisyllabic ones can also be derived from disyllabic ones. But the derived forms only serve to intensify the original meaning. As far as we have been able to investigate, no derivative ideophonic stem alters the meaning of the basic
form. There are in addition many ideophonic stems whose meaning demands that they should always be used in reduplicated form.

15.20. Trisyllabic ideophones can be derived from disyllabic ones by repeating the final syllable of the disyllabic one.

**Examples**

bhada bhadada (of lying flat, face down)
guce guccucu (of turning sharply and facing)
guco gucudu (of stumbling)
khwarhu khwa huphu (of rising suddenly)

This formation would seem to be confined to those ideophones that indicate movement of some kind or other.

There are a few ideophones of this kind that cannot be traced to any existing disyllabic ones:

balulu (of opening eyes in semi-conscious state)
noumama (of coming to a pause)
gelele (of taking up position at a distance)

15.1. Quadrisyllabic ideophones can be derived from disyllabic ones by inserting -laka, -leke, -liki, -loko, or -luku after the first syllable, the vowels of the inserted syllable being assimilated to that of the first syllable of the original stem.

**Examples**

bhaxa bhalakaxa (of sitting lazily or carelessly)
bhecu bhelekcu (of overturning)
dyudu dyulkudu (of bursting in)
dyumcu dyulkummu (of falling with a splash into water)
gidli gilikidi (of giving in abundance)
khenkce khelekronkce (of tinkling)

15.22. With many of the trisyllabic ones in 15.20. and the quadrisyllabic ones in 15.1., repetition can be indicated by repeating the basic stem, usually twice, after the derived stem. These are compound ideophonic stems.

**Examples**

bhelekecu bhelekeu-bhecu-bhecu
(of overturning several times)
dyulukudu > dyulukudu- dyudu- dyudu
(of several people bursting in one after another)

dyulukumu > dyulukumu- dyumu- dyumu
(of several bodies falling with a splash into water)

bhada > bhada- bhada- bhada
(of several people lying flat, face down, one after another)

gyudu > gyudu- gyudu- gyudu
(of stumbling, several times).

In the famous description of the great battle in the Forest of Hoho, Shaya represents the sounds caused by the contact between ox-hide shield and spear, club or battle-axe as follows:-
"Satheth! isikhumba sentoko kwalawahlolo,
Sathi rolokongo- gongo- gongo kwalwahlolo."
(The ox-hide rounded in the Forest of Hoho,
(It went rolokongo- gongo- gongo in the Forest of Hoho)

Ityla, p. 54)

15.23. There are many ideophones that represent repetitive action or state. These are by their very nature repetitive. They fall into two groups, as follows:-
(a) those that are always used repetitively, two or three times or more:

Examples.
id-i-di-di-di (of staggering)
diki-diki (of shaking rudely)
sebe-sebe (of whispering)
ndum-ndum (of rumbling)
wayi-wayi (of assembling quietly from all directions)
(b) those that may be used singly or in reduplicated form.

Examples.
menye or menye- menye (of flashing, as of lightning)
phaka or phaka-phaka (of suddenly awakening)
leku or leku-leku (of feinting a blow or blow)

15.24. Sometimes the first syllable of an ideophone precedes the full stem, especially if the latter is to be reduplicated.

Examples.

Krhibo krhibo-krhibo-krhibo (of breaking into fragments)
Tvebo tve-tvebo-tvebo (of dry twigs or stick breaking)
Xhimfi xhi-xhimfi-xhimfi (of exchange; blows in boxing)

Ideophones probably derived from nouns

15.2b. Occasionally the first syllable of a noun-stem is used as an ideophone after the noun repetitively.

Examples.

Kings madoza do, do, do. (You are real men)
Mi nkwenke le li thi nke, nkwe, nke. (He is just a boy, a mere boy)

The retention of the prefix nasal is to be noted in the last example.

Ideophones derived from verbs.

15.2c. Etymologically and semantically, ideophones and verbs are so closely related that in some cases it is difficult to say which comes first. The present writer is convinced that the ideophone came into being before the verb, as a primitive way of representing actions and states in speech. With the development of the language, verbs came into being, most of them being derived from the ideophone. But it is possible that some ideophones are derived from verbs. In the following examples, the vowel of the first syllable of the ideophone is short and of low tone in all cases. The corresponding vowel of the verb is of normal semivowel length and may be high or low. In all cases the ideophonic stem ends in -i:

\[ \text{i} \] (of light going out suddenly or completely)
\[ \text{a} \] (be extinguished / put out light)

\[ \text{chithi} \] (of suddenly dis. sing)
\[ \text{chitha} \] (still, scatter)
\[ \text{fi} \] (of being stone dead)  \[ \text{-fa} \] (die)
\[ \text{sentji} \] (of ducking smartly)  \[ \text{sentja} \] (duck smartly)
\[ \text{gibti} \] (of finishing quickly)  \[ \text{gibha} \] (finish)
\[ \text{ngeni} \] (of going in quickly)  \[ \text{ngenja} \] (go in)
\[ \text{tjixi} \] (of locking up quickly)  \[ \text{tjixa} \] (lock up)

The "deverbative ideophones" recorded by Doke in 648 of his
Zulu Grammar are formed by suffixing -yani to the forms above. In IsiXhosa too such forms as golbiyani, ngeniyani are to be heard amongst children only, or when adults talk to children playfully in "children's language".

Classification according to meaning

15.27. To some extent, ideones can be classified according to meaning, that is, according to the actions or states they represent e.g. colour, sound, smell, position etc.

15.28. **Examples**

**Representing colour**

Wee (of being spotlessly white and covering a wide area, as snow on the mountains):

Il ntaba zinhlophe wee lli khephu

(The mountains are spotlessly white with snow)

Chwa (of being spotlessly white and covering a small area, as tennis grass immediately after cleaning)

I gihlanga zikhe zinhlophe chwa

(His shoes are spotlessly white)

Tshu (of being pitch black):

Junyana tshu chendli u ha

(It is pitch dark outside)

Khaaca (of being a shiny black and soft to the touch, as smooth hair or silk):

Il nxele zalemombhi zazinde, zimnyana khaaca

(There is the hair of this girl: long and a soft, shiny black)

Khrwe (of being red):

A mekho nhwe abomvu khrwe ku kulila

(His eyes are very red with weeping)

Saka (of being a rich green):

Incha iihulaza yaka kweli bhofo

(The grass is a rich green this summer)

**Representing sound**

**Examples**

Kholelenke (of a small bell tinkling):

[Kwakukho ntsinjana imana y kathi kholekenke]

(There was some small bell that now and again went
Kholekenkgo (of the resonant sound of a big bell):
Sithe sisa lele seva kholekenkgo i ntsimbi
(while we were still in bed we heard the big bell ringing)
Swahla (of slapping in the face):
Kamthi swahla nge mpama.
(did gave him a slap in the face with the flat of the hand)
Thaxa (of the thud of a wet or slimy object, as a wet cloth or a toad):
I xoko latbi thaxa hambhi kyaem.
(The toad landed in front of me with a slimy thud)
Cithi (of the full thud of a small hard object):
Cithi shanta! i ngawa ye nkasi!
(Down fell the chief's nose with a dull thud)
Bhurhu (of the fall of a heavy object):
Bhurhu loo mbuk Kruma ye ndola!
(Down with a heavy full case that obese man)
Biama (of collapsing with a heavy sound, as of a building):
I nfa yake bihura yi nyala...
(His house collapsed with a heavy sound in the rain)
Dyulukamny (of the falling of a heavy object into water):
Kathi dyulukamny c manzini
(He fell with a splash into the water)

15.10 Representing smell

Examples
Rham (of a sudden, passing, pleasant smell):
Kwathi rham i vumbe, babonakala bebhekabheka
(There was a pleasant whiff of a smell, and they were seen looking about them)

Rhaca (of a sudden, passing, unpleasant smell):
Kwathi rhaca kule ngwe
(There was a whiff of an unpleasant smell in this place)

Phu (of an all-pervading repulsive smell of rottenness):
Inyama yayibolile, muka phu
(The meat was rotten and had an all-pervading bad smell)
cholu (of an all-pervading pleasant smell):

Le ntlanana babekuyo cholu zil ntyatya ntho.
(The little valley in which they were had an all-pervading pleasant smell of flowers)

15.31. Representing position

Examples

thinte (of sitting as a group in an orderly manner with a singleness of purpose):

A madoda yetha thinte e nkundleni, elindele i wondulo
(The men were sitting in an orderly manner in the court, waiting for the reply)

noinde (of standing in a group, facing: one object):

A madoda afike ethi noinde
(On arriving, the men stood in a group, facing...)

zindzi (of sitting: firmly, in a possessive manner / of being firmly seated)

U mmuzana wayetha zindzi e sazulwini
(The head of the hall was firmly seated in the centre)

bhaxa (of sitting in a lazy, careless manner):

zifike ethu bhaxa / satzini
(he found him sitting in a very lazy and careless manner)

nkoo (of being in an upright position):

Lo mfana waverde, eth nkoo
(This young man was tall and stood upright)

nebaba (of lying: still but alert):

Bulala wayi nebaba ngo kungathi akakho
(He lay quite still, as if he was not there)

nea (of sticking: fast or seating: very closely):

shambonanga, kube oseh nea ngo donga
(they did not see him because he was pressed close to the wall)

15.5. Representing motion

Examples

bhiye (of turning sharply round a bend or corner):

Sathi bhiye ngaphaya kwe thango, sati shwako
(He turned sharply round the fence wall and disappeared)

chwe-chwe-chwe (of creeping slowly, as a cat does):

I kati yathi chwe-chwe-chwe, yazithi xhamfu lebo mpuku
(The cat crept slowly along and scowled on the mouse)

tjhe (of flitting past):

U mvundla yathi tjhe shambhi kwe ndlu
(The hare flitted past the front of the house)

thaphu (of suddenly coming into view):

Sithe siasem elapo, thaphu it nkabi za mheshe
(While we were standing there, a number of horsemen suddenly came into view)

nyebelele (of sneaking away):

Bathe bensh bizisana, nyebelele, warhuma
(While they were still arguing, he sneaked out)

neamu (of suddenly appearing one after another in quick succession):

".......Safoni se kusithi neamu icela labaThwa"
(They saw a troop of Thwa men suddenly appearing one after another in quick succession) (Tiyo Soga;
 Imisengo, p.33

kazi-ka-i (of gathering together quietly from all directions):

"Bathi kazi-ka-i 66aThembu ngethutyana elingani".
(The Thembu gathered together quietly from all directions in a very short time) Nchayi: Imisengo p.136.

Miscellaneous

15.33. The English translations of most of the ideophones above will have shown that the ideophone can be crowded with meaning. Because of this, there are numerous ideophones that cannot be fitted into any particular one of the classes we have suggested. The following ideophones indicating various natural phenomena show that any two or three of the divisions of colour, sound etc. can be crowded together in a single ideophone:

minyi (of smoke or mist gathering thickly):

Sithe singakabi kude, minyi l nkunyu
(Before we had gone far a thick mist gathered)
Nkwee (of a clear, calm surface, as the sky on a cloudless day or the surface of water in a deep pool in calm weather):

Nkwee i zlu namla-nja!
(no: calm and clear the sky is to-day!)

Choke (of breaking):

Sindulule kanye xa kuthi choke kume
(we set out exactly at the break of day)

Tyhaha (of hitting the eye with a sharp point or dazzling light):

Bandulule u kuthi tyhaha kre langa
(They started off exactly at sunrise)

Lenya (of lightning in a thick mist):

Sasingabeponi nce nje ye nkunzu, kuu phela kumana u kuthi lenye i mibene, nce kungathi ithubeleza e nkung-gwini.
(we could not see one another on account of the mist, only flashes of lightning could now and again be seen, as if finding their way through the mist)

Thamul (of very bright flashes of lightning tearing across the sky, high-up)

Awakum! u "uthi thamul u mbane, bulondele i sithonga
(low and again lightning flashed across the sky, followed by thunder)

The Ideophone in syntactical relationship

15.34. Earlier in this chapter it was indicated that the ideophone need not be accompanied by thi. This statement must now be qualified. The meaning of a verb can be modified by means of derivative suffixes. A verb can be in the active or passive voice, can be transitive or intransitive, can be positive or negative. A verb can merely name an action or state (infinitive mood), indicate a direct command (imperative mood), indicate a direct statement or question (indicative mood), express an indirect wish or command (subjunctive mood), etc. A verb can also indicate time relations (tense). Nor, although the ideophone, like the verb, indicates actions
and states, it is incapable of meeting all the demands enumerated above, owing to its interjunctival nature. When it becomes necessary that a predicative involving an ideophone, that is inflected in such situations.

15.35. To indicate that the action represented by the ideophone is reciprocated, caused to happen etc., -thi assumes a derivative verbal suffix, just as a verb actually indicating the action would do.

Examples

Bathana lkhvwa (they gave each other a quick glance)

of. Bakhaqalena. (do.)

Inkosi yandithwa rhabu (The chief allowed me to have a draught)

of. Inkosi yandirhabulisa.

Musi u kunthela noa (Do not be amazed at him)

of. Musani u kumne kale (do.)

15.36. To indicate that the action indicated by the ideophone has a passive meaning, -thi assumes the passive form.

Examples

Imali yathwa yence kuye (The money was secretly handed over to him)

of. Imali anyengezwa kuye (do.)

Lxhane kuthwa nesu no ma'lla, kathian yamunyama kela (The lamb was caught by the tail, and the tail was cut off with a knife)

of. Lxhane lanakulwa nesu ma'lla, wakumulwa nesu bula (same meaning)

Mfana utshwa lkhvwa ngu yisc (The young man was given a quick glance by his father)

of. Mfana umthwaculane ngu yisc. (do.)

Ndithwa rhabu yi nkosi (I was allowed a draught by the chief)

of. Ndithatelana yi nkosi. (do.)

15.37. The verb -thi prefixes the object or reflexive affix referring to the noun that is the logical object of the ideophone.
Examples.

Tandithi khwamunu. (He gave me a quick glance)

cf. Tandikhwamunula (do.)

Tal’thi neaku ngo msila i xhwanu, xawuthi shungu.
(He caught the lamb by the tail and cut the tail off with a knife)

cf. Tal’neoakula ngo msila i xhwanu, xawushunguula ngx rela.

(same meaning)

Wanthi leku-leku, wanni amani e ntloko.
(He pointed at him once or twice, and struck him on the head)

tal’leku-leza, wannu ama e ntloko (same meaning)

Wandithi khrwe-khrwa e busweni. (He scratched himself once or twice on the face)

cf. Tal’khrwel-a-khrwela e busweni (same meaning)

Wandithi akulula phantsi. (He threw himself down)

cf. Tal’aakulula phantsi (do.)

(The comparisons made in 15.35 - 15.37 between ideophones and deideophonic verbs of the same meaning have been made not only to illustrate the point we are at, but also to establish even further the thesis upheld by the present writer that the ideophone is a predicative)

15.35. The verb thi can be used in any mood or tense, positive or negative

Examples

Infinitive: u kuthi cwaka (to be silent)

u kungathi cwaka (not to be silent)

Imperative: Wathi cwaka! (Be silent)

Mus’ u kuthi cwaka! (Do not be silent)

Coventative: Katheiwaka! (How silent he is!)

Akatheiwaka! (Isn’t he silent!)

Indicative: Bithi cwaka (be remains silent)

Akathi cwaka (he does not remain silent)

esithi cwaka (he remaining / becoming silent)

engathi cwaka (he not remaining / becoming silent)

u mutu e thi cwaka (the person who remains / becomes silent)
u mntu o ngathi cwaka (the person who does not ...)

Uthe cwaka (he remained silent)
Akathanga cwaka (he did not remain silent)
Waathi cwaka (he remained silent)
Uya kuthi cwaka (he will remain silent)
Akeyi kuthi cwaka (he will not remain silent)
Ube ethe cwaka (he was silent)
Ube engathanga cwaka (he was not silent)

etc.

potentials: Angathi cwaka. (he is likely to remain silent)
Akangethi cwaka. (he is not likely to remain silent)

Subjunctive: u kuze athi cwaka (so that he may remain silent)
 u kuze angathi cwaka (so that he may not remain silent)

Ma kungath1 cwaka. (he had better not remain silent)

15.30. Obviously it would not be possible to dispense with -thi to express a negative. But even in the positive, it is only in the present and past tenses, non-specific aspect, primary modality, of the indicative mood and in the commentative mood that -thi can be dispensed with. But even when these moods and tenses are implied, there must be some word to indicate that.

Examples.

U ngoza Maduna cwaka nahlwa-nje.
(The son of Maduna is silent to-day)

U ngo ka Maduna cwaka ngalo mini, yada yashuma i ntlenganiso.
(The son of Maduna was silent on that day until the meeting was over)

In the first sentence, it is only the adverbial extension, nahlwa-nje, that shows that the present indicative is implied in the second and it is indicated by ngalo mini and the clause, yada yashuma i ntlenganiso, that the past tense is implied.

15.40 Occasionally, instances are to be found of the exclusion
of -thi when the imperative mood is implied. (i) There is the well-known expression that is used when a toddler is being encouraged to stand firm on its feet:

Qingqi, mntwana! (Stand straight up and firm, child!)

(ii) There is the song of the drongo, i ntengu, that saved the two girls from their aunt who had turned man-eater, i zimi:

Ntengu-ntengu macetyana!

Kaz' a bantwana aba bendze nto ni na!

Mthana gomololo!

(Chirp! Chirp! I wonder what wrong the children have done. Dear little tree, stand erect!)

(iii) In another folk-tale, a boy who had eaten a magic charm could develop female breasts and suckle a baby whenever he wished to. Then he could order the breasts to disappear when the boy had been fed. To develop the breasts, he used to give the command: Mabele, bhaxa! (Breasts, hang loose!). To order them away, he used to call out: Mabele, t'boni! (Breasts disappear!) (iv) In IsiXhosa, p. 41, E.K. Ntsikana writes:

U6uNguni 6uafundekela ngani na, tu-tu mXhosa!

(What is the Nguni making all this noise about? Be quiet, you Xhosa!)

In present-day Xhosa the ideophone is not employed to indicate direct commands such as those above without -thi. But the occurrence of this construction in traditional folk-tales and traditional history is sufficient evidence that it was once regularly used.

15.41. If there is an implicative verb or formative, -thi cannot be dispensed with.

Examples

Hayemana endithi xhwaqo.

(Now and again he would give me a quick glance)

Bumfumana vatih noa ngo donsa.

(He helplessly pressed close to the wall)

I hashe lasuka latih swaka.

(Inc horse unexpectedly disappeared)

Na sikhe sitih u buca.  

(He was trapped in the hole)
(Let us stand aside for a little while)
A madoda ayesathe neadalala.
(The men were still maintaining astonished silence)
Asikathwa vu eko kuthe kwaap.
(We have not yet had a moment’s rest since dawn)

The contracted forms of -thi
15.42. Occasionally in the present subjunctive, but very often in the commentative mood in any of its uses, the th of thi is elided. If the vowel of the subject concord is i, it is lengthened to ii. If it is u, it coalesces with the i of -thi and becomes a long e, ortho. ee.

Examples
Ndiza kukhe ndithi ngqwa
(I am going to sleep a little)
Ndiza kukhe ndii ngqwa

Ma sikhe sithi gu bucala
(Let us stand aside for a little while)
Ma sikhe sii gu bucala

Ma bakhe bathi xhaa
(Let them wait a little)
Ma bakhe bee xhaa.

Wathi nqumama
(He paused)
Wee nqumama

"Wee tyyu u Ndluzodaka,
Ha ya kutjho kuNdand’a ko Vece,
"Ha ya kutjho kuXesi Magqagala"
(In a long unbroken line at large went Ndluzodaka, until he reached Ndand’ a ko Vece, until he reached Xesi Magqagala)
(Mohayi: A! Silimela! Columbia Gram. Record) AF. 61)

"Ndee ntjo-o, ntjobololo-o,
Ndaxel’ i nkwenkwe’ ingen’ e lifini!
(Trailing along, trailing along I go, like a star going into a cloud) (Ibid.)

15.43. Sometimes -tjho is used instead of -thi before ideophones.
This is usually done when the speaker wants to hold the listener in suspense as to the actual state or action. In speech the vowel of the subject concord before -tjho is lengthened, and
-tjho is followed by a pause:

Examples

-Watjho gqum e ntloko nge ntonga.
(He hit him on the head with a stick)

-Ndantjho swahe nge mpama.
(I struck him in the face with the flat of my hand)

"Ndithetha, ndaya kaphuma ngaphaya, ndat ho dyulukumqo emanzini!"
(I tell you, I was thrown right over, and I fell with a splash into the water) Anon.: \textit{Impisengo}, p. 171.

The elements may intervene between \textit{-tjho} and the ideophone.

Examples.

-Sema ka kuhlwe, watjho e ntloko, gqum! (He took a good aim and struck full on the head)

-Ndatjho nge mpama, swahlaf. (I struck in the face with the flat of my hand).

**Ideophones in succession.**

15.44. Any ideophone may be repeated twice or three or four times in a sentence to represent repeated action or state.

**Examples.**

-Sive nge nkabi ye hashe isithi qabadu, qabadu, qabadu, isiza nga kuthi.
(We became aware of a steed going gallo, gallop, gallo, and coming towards us).

-Sabona i baso kude, lisithi lozi-lozi, lozi-lozi, lozi-lozi.
(We saw a light far away going flicker-flicker, flicker-flicker, flicker-flicker)

15.45. Different ideophones, representing different actions or states, may occur in succession.

**Examples.**

-U Nobantu wayithi xhamfu, jwii kude
(Nobantu grabbed it and flung it far away)

-Balulu a mehlo, khwaphuphu, ggada phandle.
(He opened his eyes weakly, then roused himself and darted out)

-I hashe latithi qabadu, qabadu, chu-chu-chu-chu, qabadu, qabadu.
(The horse went gallop, gallop, trot-trot-trot-trot, gallop, gallop.)

E zantsi e gxojeni sabona ii nkanyezi zisithi danya, cimi, danya, cimi

(Down below in the marsh we saw fire-flies now flashing on, now off, now flashing on, now off).
Chapter 16.

THE ADVERB

16.1. It is very doubtful if there are any primitive adverbs or adverbial stems in Xhosa. It is true that there are one or two adverbs that undergo no inflection and have not yet been traced to any other part of speech. There are also one or two that are in all probability of Khoisan origin. Apart from these, Xhosa employs substantives, qualificatives and predicatives without inflection, or derivatives from substantives, qualificatives and predicatives to perform the work of the adverb. A large number of the derivatives are locatives, many of which can no longer function as substantives. Their formation has been treated fully in other sections of this treatise, and here it will be sufficient to illustrate their adverbial use and, where necessary, to contrast it with the substantival. All substantives, qualificatives and predicatives that are not inflected do, in fact, require to have their adverbial function illustrated in sentences, because this is the only way in which we can decide that they function adverbially in any particular expression. The only adverbs in which such illustrations are not really necessary are those derived from strong adjectival stems and from weak adjectives by prefixing ka-.

(See 16.10-16.12)

Classification

16.2. In this treatise, the adverbs are classified according to their derivation and, where necessary, according to the manner of their formation. Since adverbs signify time, place or manner (the last, according to some grammarians, with such subdivisions as degree, comparison etc.), it might be considered necessary to classify them according to these three significations too. But this would cause numerous subdivisions, because

(1) manner of formation does not necessarily coincide with signification. For instance, kudala (long ago) and kuhle (well, steadily) are formed by prefixing ku- to the strong adjectival stems, -dala and -hle respectively. But kudala is
is an adverb of time and 

**kade** an adverb of manner. (11) One and the same adverb may signify time or place, according to the context. This applies largely to locative adverbs, e.g., *phambhili*, which may mean "ahead" in respect to time or place, and *kade*, which may mean "in the distant past or future", or "far away" in a physical sense.

Presumably **prfinitive or non-derivative adverbs**

16.3. Presumably primitive or non-derivative adverbs may be subdivided as follows:-

(1) **Those of Bantu origin:**

- *futhi* (often)

- *lee* (far away), probably related to the *le of *le* (out of sight) and to the strong adjectival stem -de (long). (Cf. 2.67 and 4.50)

(11) **probabl. of Khoisan orin:**

- *acha* and *quaba*, both meaning "only" in respect to number

- *tanci* (first)

(111) **Of unknown origin:**

- *kva* (even)

- *ma* (very much).

**Locatives**

16.4. Locative nouns of Class 16, as given in 4.50 - 4.51.

These may be used as adverbs of time and/or place.

**Examples**

- *phambhili* (in former times, in front):

  - *khayu phambhili eli siko lulisakulhnelwa*

  (Then, in former times, this custom was wont to be respected)

- *nyandzelisani nibheke phambhili* (Force your way and go forward)

- *phantsi* (down, below):

  - *busu kuhlala phantsi* (Do not sit down)

- *phandle* (outside):

  - *lema phandle, wakhrana* (He stood outside and called out)

16.5. Locative nouns of Class 17. The rules for their formation are given in 4.53. Of these, those indicating place-names

Also an adverb of time in this context.
may still be used as substantives. The rest, as far as we have been able to investigate, are used exclusively as adverbials of time or place.

**Examples**

Kusuku (*in the day*):
Yena ufike kusuku lwe alinini. (As for him he arrived on the second day)

Kutsolo (*to, from etc. Tsolo)*:
Iba bantu bayela kutsolo (These people come from Tsolo)
of. Kutsolo kuvelile, kodwa kumbhu akvelile
(Tsolo is in sight, but Kumbhu is not in sight), in which Kutsolo and Kumbhu are substantival

Kubawo (*to, from etc. my father*):
'Ndiga kusuka ndiye kubawo". ("I will arise and go to my father")

16.6. Modern Locatives, as described and treated in 4.68 - 4.63

**Examples**

E mazini (*to, from etc. the water*):
Mazini, chumani e mazini ngokuthi (You have come out of the water now)

E nxamboni (*to, from etc. the forest*):
A nde ake kubawo e nxamboni. (The men have not yet returned from the forest).

It is to be noted that Locatives drop the article even in their adverbial use in negation.

**Examples**

Ihezolo andilalanga khaya at ndilele e masebendzini
(Last night I did not sleep home: I slept at my place of work)

Ihezolo andilalanga masebendzini: ndilele e khaya
(Last night I did not sleep at my place of work: I slept at home)

16.7. Locatives formed from absolute pronouns, enumeratives and demonstratives by prefixing ku-, as described in 9.9, in the case of absolute pronouns.

**Examples**

Kum (*to, from etc. me* < kum(m)na):
Andifuni u kuba eze kum. (I do not want him to come to me)

Kuye (*to, from etc. him* < kuy(ana)):
A bantu naka ndifuni u saphindela kuyi
(His children want to go back to him)

kubaphi? (to, from etc. which ones) ku baphi?

Ubhekisa kubaphi kanye?

To which ones are you addressing yourself exactly?)

kumumbhi (to, from etc. some other one) ku wumbhi

Musu u kuza kum: yiya kumumbhi

(Do not go to that hut: come to this one)

kwesziya (to, from etc. yonder ones) ku eziya

Akukho nkomo za kuthi kwesziya.

(There aren't any cattle of our family among those over there)

Demonstratives of emphasis in all their uses also prefix ku-

Examples

ko yena (to, from etc. the real one) < ku + o yena:
wewe zam (to, from etc. my ones) < ku + e zam:
wwe badala (to, from etc. those who are senior)

kwe badala: ku + a badala:

Kifiko ko yena mnini walo wzi. (You have come to the real owner of this homestead)

Ufuna u kukhetha ibe nye kwe zam (He wants to choose one out of my ones):

Bhekisa kwa badala (Address yourself to those who are senior)

16.8. Locatives formed by prefixing the locative possessive preposition kwa, to possessive nominal stems.

Examples

kwam (to, from etc. my house) < kwa + m:
kwakho (to, from etc. your house) < kwa + kho:

Ndiya hambha ngoku : ndiya kwam.

(I am going now: I am going to my own house)

Aba bantu bavela kwakho. (These people come from your house)

cf. Nukuya kwakho (Yonder is your house), in which kwakho is a substantive.

From adjectives and demonstratives

16.9. By prefixing ka- to some strong adjectival stems, to some weak adjectives and to the trispositional demonstratives belonging to lost classes, adverbs of manner are formed.

From strong adjectives

16.9. The strong adjectival stems that prefix
ka- fall into two groups as follows:-

(1) All the numeral stems:
- ngaphi? (how many?) > kangaphi? (how many times?)
- nindzi (many) > kanindzi (many times)
- nje (so many) > kanje (so many times, indicated by means of fingers)
- nje (ono) > kanye (once / exactly)
- bini (two) > kabini (twice)
- thathi (three) > kathathu (three times)
- ne (four) > kene (four times)
- hlanu (five) > kahlanu (five times)
- thandathu (six) > kathandathu (six times)

(2) The following non-numeral adjectival stems:
- de (long) > kade (late)
- khulu (great) > kakbulu (greatly)
- ncinci (small) > kancincane (to a small degree)
- nindzi (many) > kanindzi (many times).

The variants ncinci, nintji and nindzi also form adverbs of manner in the same way.

The adverbial form, kahle, <ka-+hle, also exists. But in present-day Xhosa it does not mean "well" and is not used adverbially, as in Zulu. It is used interjectively with the meaning "Well done!" "Beautiful!", e.g. Kahle, ntana ka Ndlela! (Beautifully done, son of Ndlela!) But in apostrophizing the Xhosa chief, Phalo, who died in 1775, J.H. Soga artistically uses this adverb with its original meaning:

"Hamba kahle, Tshawa. Thambabe nave iminyanya yakowenu!"
(Farewell, Tshawe! May the spirits of your ancestors go with you!)

From weak adjectives
16.11. In weak adjectives that prefix ka- fall into two groups, as follows:-

(2) All numeral adjectives:

Examples
sixhenxe (seven) > kasixhenxe (seven times)
lishumi (ten) > kalishumi (ten times)
(ii) The following non-numerical adjectives:

- chlohe (clear) \(\Rightarrow\) kamblohe (clearly)
- ndanzi (pleasant) \(\Rightarrow\) kandanzi (pleasantly)
- ndzima (difficult) \(\Rightarrow\) kandzima (with difficulty)
- ndzulu (deep) \(\Rightarrow\) kandzulu (deeply)
- lukhuni (harsh) \(\Rightarrow\) kalukhuni (harshly)
- ndzima (difficult) \(\Rightarrow\) endzima (with difficulty)
- ndzulu (deep) \(\Rightarrow\) indzulu (harshly)
- lbsizi (sorrowful) \(\Rightarrow\) kalubsizi (sorrowfully)
- lula (easy) \(\Rightarrow\) kalula (easily)
- buchali (sharp) \(\Rightarrow\) kabuchali (sharply)
- buhlungu (painful) \(\Rightarrow\) kabuhlungu (painfully)

Most of those in (ii) can function adverbially without prefix 'ka-', and without undergoing any inflection at all. (See 16.17)

From Demonstratives

16.12. The demonstratives, nje, ncaka and their second and third positional types respectively:

- nje (of this nature) \(\Rightarrow\) kanje (in this manner)
- njalo (of that nature) \(\Rightarrow\) kanjalo (in that manner)
- njeya (of yonder nature) \(\Rightarrow\) kanjeya (in yonder manner)
- ncaku (as great as this) \(\Rightarrow\) kankaka (so greatly as this)
- ngako (as great as yonder) \(\Rightarrow\) kankaka (as greatly as yonder)

There are also the emphatic form kankakanana (as greatly as all this) \(\langle\) ngakanana (as great as all this), and the interrogative kankakanani? (as greatly as what? / how much?) \(\langle\) ngakanani? (as great as what / how great?)

The demonstratives nje, njalo, njeya can function adverbially without prefixing 'ka-' or undergoing any inflection. (See 16.28)

16.13. Besides the adjectives and demonstratives above, we find stray words that form adverbs by prefixing 'ka-':

1. The strong adjectives kubu and kublu not only function adverbially without inflection but may also prefix 'ka-' to form kakuubu (badly) and kakuublu (well) respectively.

2. The enumerative stem, -mbhe, which is a dialectal variant of -mbhu, gives the non-dialectal adverb kambhe (any way)

3. The Class 17 demonstrative loku gives the adverb kaloku.
which has "now" as one of its meanings.

(4) The noun kada, of the lost Class 13, gives the adverb kakade (as of old, of course).

(5) The noun mva, of the lost Class 18, gives the adverb kama (later)

(6) The nominal-adjectival stem nene may prefix ka- to form the adverb kanene (in truth). But nene may function adverbially without undergoing any inflection.

Examples
Lo mfo uno bubele kanene. (In truth this man is kind)
Kantu uyahambha nene. (And yet he is really going)

Substantives, qualificatives, predicatives used adverbially without inflection.

Nouns and weak adjectives

16.15. Nouns belonging to non-personal, non-locative classes without any article, including those that also function as weak adjectives, as listed in 8.27. - 8.35. function adverbially. Although nouns like mgama (distance) and mva (back) originally belonged to Class 18, the term "non-locative" includes them in this context, because in present-day Xhosa they belong to Class . Both the substantival and the adverbial meaning will be given.

Examples
mgama (distance, at a distance):
wama mgama, wabakhwaza. (He stood at a distance and called out to them)
cala (side, aside):
"Yandijoka ngokuthi ma ndine cala nayo" (Tiyo Soga: UHamba p. 90)
("...she lay at me and told to turn aside with her")
mhlophe (clearness, clear, clearly):
Ndaconda mhlophe u kuba kuza konakaleka. (I realized clearly that there was going to be trouble)
mva (back, late):
Bafike mva e ntlanganisweni (They came late to the meeting)
mzuzu (space of time, some time ago):
cebethu* (narrow escape, narrowly):
	Lakinda cebethu e kubanjweni (he narrowly escaped being captured)

gadalala (rough object, roughly):

Musa u kumphatha gadalala u mntwana (Do not handle the child roughly)

ze (nothing, emptiness, nude, in a nude state):

I nk' enkwe vema se nambhi kwa madoda,
(The boy stood in a nude state in the presence of the men)

macala (sides, on both sides):

I nhepha lizele macala. (The paper is full on both sides)

ndzulu (depth, deep, deeply):

Tayectega ndzulu. (He was thinking deeply)

lubomhbo (edge, edgeways):

Ma sty'mise lubomhbo (let us set it up edgeways)

bugungu (secret'veness, secretly):

Lo m'imb'hi wuset'andzwe bugungu (This affair had better be worked in secret)

le ndoda iwmgena bunkala u m'imbhi
(This man approached the problem like a crab - i.e. indirectly)

bunkawu (nature of a monkey, like a monkey):

li ndoda e sebenza bunkawu leyo.
(That is a man who works like a monkey - i.e. cunning)

bunkungu (mistiness, hazily):

U m' wyibona bunkungu lo nto. (The community understands this matter only hazily)

bu huthawuhiyu (hurry, hurriedly):

"...az' susa euphuthu phuthu amadoda iingawa emilonyeni"
(...the man hurriedly remove d the wipes from their mouths)

(Mhayi: I'Tyala, p. 22)

16.16. Nouns with the compound pre-prefix, sabu- are used exclusively as weak adjectives or adverbs in present-day Xhosa.

c. sabunkala (somewhat like a crab):

Adverbial use: Esi silo sikhangeleka sabunkala.
(That animal looks somewhat like a crab)

*Semple regards this word as a "primary adverb" (Gr. of Xh. p. 140). But this cannot be correct, because Soga uses it as a noun (UHambo, p. 7)
16.17. In 5.45., reference was made to the prefixing of bu- to verb-stems, e.g. hubanda (rather cold), busitha (rather cosy). Most of the words so formed function as adjectives. At least one of them, bume<bu+ma, whose formation involves a change of the final vowel to e, also functions as a noun, meaning "state", "the way things stand". It has not been established if any of the rest ever function as nouns. But words so formed with certain verb-stems function as adverbs.

Examples

bume (state of things, in a standing position):
Be sinxhane kanga ngo kuba sitye bume

bušila (cryingly)<lila (cry):

buahleka (laughingly)<bleke (laugh):

buahleka bušila, okanye wališa buahleka (She laughed cryingly, or she cried laughingly)

buwxwesa (slantingly)<xwesa (slant):
U kuze ingene kakhile, ma yingene buwxwesa

(in order that it may go in properly, let it go in at a slant)

bufudumala (rather hotly)<fudumala (be warm):
"Usuzile uPheseka Sufudumala..." (Mohayi: Ityala, p. 25)

(Pheseka asked rather hotly....)

The compound sabu- is prefixed to verb-stems too to form words that may function as weak adjectives or as adverbs, e.g.
sabušila (rather cryingly), sabubahleka (rather laughingly), sabuxwesa (somewhat at a slant)

16.18. Nouns of some non-personal classes are used adverbially with the general article before them.

Examples

u muzu (a space of time):

"Athi cwaka u muzu. (He remained silent for a while)

i sithuba (a period of time):

Ube equla elele phants! i sithuba see nyanga e zimhini

(He was lying ill for a period of two months)

i nyanga (a month):

Uzile i nyanga yonke efuna u msebendzi
(He wandered for a week, looking for work)

i sifazi (woman fashion, like a woman):

Lo ndoda imithetha i sifazi. (This man talks like a woman)

u budala (old age, like a grown-up):

Lo mtwana umthetha u budala. (This child talks like a grown-up)

i sidala (a long period of time):

Uhleli i sidala, engaboni bantu. (He sat for long time not seeing any people)

But in absolute negation the article is omitted.

Examples

Andithetha sifazi. (I do not talk like a woman)

Akahlulana a sidala. (He did not stay for any length of time)

Absolute pronouns

16.19. Of the absolute pronouns, the Class 17 kholo is the only one that is commonly used adverbially. In fact, it is more commonly used as an adverb than as a pronoun, e.g. Sivela khona. (He come from there) But it is possible to use absolute pronouns corresponding to some of the nouns used adverbially in 16.18. One can 'imagine' a man saying "Uthi ndithetha i sifazi? kulungile ne ndithetha sona. Utjalo uathi ni yo?

(You say I talk woman-fashion? Very well, I speak that fashion - so what?)

Adjectives

16.20. The weak adjectives listed in 8.24., which are probably of Khoisan origin, are used adverbially without inflexion:

Examples

khrakrha (bitter, bitterly):

Umfazile wemka elila khrakrha. (The woman departed, weeping bitterly)

khrwada (raw, uncivilly):

Lo mntwana umthetha khrwada. (This person speaks uncivilly)

shushu (hot, enthusiastically):

"Yiye intombi yake futhethela fufu umkhosi" (Mchayi: IsiXhosa p.16.)

(Meanwhile his daughter was enthusiastically urging the army on)

16.21. The following strong adjectives with prefix ku- are used adverbially without inflexion. Most of them are def-
initel, locative-class adjectives, but those marked with an
asterisk probably belong to Class 15.:

kunye (as one i.e. together) < -nve (one)
kubini (into two parts) < -bini (two)
kudala (long ago) < -da (old)
kude (far away) < -de (long)
kufuphi (near) < -fuphi (short)
kubi (badly) < -bi (bad)
kuhle (well) < -hle (good)
kutjha (afresh, recently) -tjha (fresh, new)

16.22. The adverbial njini? (when?) is, in fact, as a strong
adjective, linij? of Class 5. It consists of the Class 5
prefix li-, referring to (li)xesha and the interrogative strong
adjectival stem, -ni?. The prefix, li-, has become ni by
assimilation to the stem. The word njini? is still used as
an interrogative adjective in association with xesha in the
phrase, xesha njini? (at what time?), <(li)xesha linij?,
e.g. Uya kufika xesha njini? (at what time will you arrive?).
But when it stands alone, that is, without a noun before it,
its function is adverbial e.g. Uya kufika njini? (When will you
arrive?)

In Shona, the form njini? exists side by side with linij? and
its variant, rinij? (See Loux: Karanga, p.286)

Demonstratives

16.23. The demonstratives of Classes 16. and 17, and the
demonstratives nje, njalo, njaya are used adverbially without
inflexion.

Examples

Ja beza apha. (They had better come here)
Halani apha. (Stay there)
Sivela phaya. (We come from that place over there)
Isikazi kutbetha ka oku. (He are not yet going to speak right
now)
Bayeso na mandla kakhulu oku. (He was still very strong then)
Akaangcibela okuya. (I last saw him at that time - long ago)
Imani nje. (Just stand / Stand so)
Yimisini njulje. (Set it up like that)

`so thasu, sama njy,a. (He rose smartly and stood as far as over there)

There are also the following derivatives from some of the demonstratives above:

1. From lapha is derived the interrogative adverb, phi? (where?) The full form of this adverb is laphi? and it is still used in Herschel Ilubi. The Vhosa-Zulu phi? comes as a result of elision. The bridge between laphi? and phi? is aphi?, which is used by the Ilubi people in Mt. Fronc district.

2. From nje (or from an originally full, form of which nje is a shortened form, probably njana or njala) is derived the interrogative adverb, njani? (how?), which may also prefix ka- to form ka njani?, with the same meaning.

The adverb nene (this side, this way) is in all probability the second positional form of an otherwise lost demonstrative. The substantival use of nene is referred to in the next chapter.

Quantitatives

15.24. It has already been noted in 9.95. that quantitatives are very commonly used adverbially.

Examples

Yima yedwa (Stand by yourself).

Uhlala yedwa kulaa ndlu? (Does he live alone in that house? cf. Auhlala yena yedwa kulaa ndlu? (Is it he alone who lives in that house?), in which yedwa is a qualitative.

Uhlala nobabini kulaa ndlu? (Do you live together in that house, you too?) cf. Nobabini uhlala kulaa ndlu? (Do both of you live in that house?), in which nobabini is a substantive.

The quantitative, konke, of Class 17 is used adverbially with the meaning "at all" after negative predicatives, e.g. Akasebendz! konke ngoku (He is not working at all now)

Predicatives

15.26. Impersonal quantitatives are used adverbially with the
meaning "by...", that is, "through the agency of...".

Examples

Obe tywala buza kuselwa nga madoda.
(This beer is going to be drunk by the men)

I nabo yakhe ikraithule yi nja.
(His blanket was torn by a dog)

Ungene sel' evutha nga nsindo
(He came in already blazing with anger)

Ndifa yi ntloko
(I am suffering from headache)

A bantu bayafa yi ndlala.
(The people are dying of hunger)

Ideophones

16.25. It might be argued that when it follows a predicative other than the empty, -thi, the ideophone functions adverbially. For instance, it might be said that in expressions like Yima nkoo (Stand up straight) and Imcha iluhlaza yaka
(The grass is a rich green), nkoo and yaka are adverbs because nkoo describes the manner of standing and yaka the degree of greenness. But then nkoo in itself means "standing up straight" so that the real meaning of Yima nkoo is "Stand, be straight up" Similarly, the meaning of Imcha iluhlaza yaka is "The grass is green, is a rich green". It seems more correct therefore to regard Yima nkoo and Imcha iluhlaza yaka as compound predicatives, which means that nkoo and yaka are not used adverbially.

Compound Adverbs

16.26. There are a few compounds, noun-qualificative, that have become stereotyped and function exclusively as adverbs.

Examples

(1) mfamlibe (long ago):
The elements here are certainly mfa, a lost noun whose meaning is not known, and libe, a strong adjective whose meaning is not known. The two would seem to belong to Class 18.

(11) mahlamene (at the very beginning / on the very first occasion):
The elements here are mha (day), a noun of Class 5, and the
strong adjective *mene*, whose stem, *nene* has the basic meaning "upright, true, real", as seen in such words as *nene* (truth), *kunene* (very much), (iii) *mene* (upright man / right-handed man, right hand)

(iii) *mhlavumbhi* (perhaps):
The elements are *mhl* and the enumerative *umbhi* (different).

To these may be added *namhla*, *namhla-nje* (to-day), *namhakade* (ever) - used in negative expressions, *nonyaka*, *nonyaka-nje* (this year). The *na* prefixed here is probably a demonstrative. The form *nonyaka-nje* would seem to be a modern variant of *lo mnyaka nje*, a form used by Tiyo Soga on Page 41 and by Mchayi on Page 215 of *Imišenge*. The close relationship and probable common origin of *na*, *no* and *lo* is evident in the Mpondomise dialect, in which *namhla-nje*, *nomhla-nje* and *lomhla-nje* are all to be heard.

**Prepositions in adverbial formation**

15.27. The case for regarding the so-called adverbial formatives *na* (together with) and *nga* (by means of, etc.) as *repositions* instead of adverbial formatives is stated in the next chapter. Here it is sufficient to record that these prepositions merge with absolute pronouns and demonstratives, forming single words which are to be regarded as adverbs or adverbials, and not as adverbial phrases.

**Examples.**

*nam* (together with me) < *na+m* (*na*)
*ngati* (by means of us) < *nga+thi* (*na*)
*nle* (together with this one) < *na+eli*
*nle* (by means of this one) < *nga+eli*
*noko* (nevertheless) < *na+oko*
*noko* (now) < *nga+oku*.

But it must be noted that the prefixing of these prepositions does not necessarily desubstantivize a substantive. For instance, *naphaya*, < *nga+aphaya*, may be used substantivally.
as well as adverbially:

Substantival: Kukama ṣebebebele (The other side is not visible)

Adverbial: Tikela kwa Kukama (Go round to the other side).
Chapter 17

THE PREPOSITION

17.1. In Bantu Linguistic Terminology, p. 175, Doke quotes the definitions of a preposition by Nesfield, Bradley and Webster. He then indicates why he agrees with Heinhof that there are no prepositions in Bantu. "What most writers commonly call prepositions are not 'words' . . . but prefixal formatives of one kind or another. For instance, wa-, za-, ha- etc. (equivalent to 'of') are possessive concords; xa-, ku-, mu-, q- are locative formatives (either forming locative-class nouns or adverbs); xa-, is the conjunctive or instrumental formative; similarly nga-, ka-, njenga- etc. are adverbial formatives; while such forms as ni-, si-, ndi-ke- etc. are copulative formatives.

17.2. The present writer disagrees with this view as to the so-called possessive concords, conjunctive or instrumental formatives, and adverbial formatives. The elements in question answer not only to the etymological meaning of the word preposition but also to the definitions quoted by Doke - as far as they go. There is a definite meaning associated with each of these elements as can be found in the prepositions of language-families that are generally recognised as having this part of speech, e.g. the Indo-European family, and they are as capable of grammatical use (cf. Leillet's definition of a word quoted by Doke, op. cit. p. 220).

17.3. Let us consider the following sentences:

(1) A mal'pando eza ne mikhonto yawo
(The Mpondo came together with the spears belonging to them)

(2) U Ncaphayi wala u kubulawa nga mikhonto ya mal'pando
(Ncaphayi refused to be killed with the spears belonging to the Mpondo)

(3) U Ncaphayi wathi, "Andizi kubulawa nga mikhonto wa Mpondo."
(Ncaphayi said, "I will not be killed by means of any spear belonging to any Mpondó")
(4) U Ncaphayi wabulawa nge mikhonto wakhe.
(Ncaphayi was killed by means of a spear belonging to him)

(5) U Ncaphayi wabulawa nge mikhonto ka Ncaphayi.
(Ncaphayi was killed by means of a spear belonging to Ncaphayi)

(6) U Ncaphayi wabulawa ngawo.
(Ncaphayi was killed by means of it)

In (1) ne mikhonto (together with the spears) is not an adverb, but an adverbial phrase, consisting of the associative preposition, ne (together with), < na+i, and the noun, mikhonto (spears).

In (2), nge mikhonto (by means of spears) is not an adverb but an adverbial phrase, consisting of the instrumental preposition nge (by means of), < nga+i, and the noun, mikhonto: ya makhondo is a possessive qualitative phrase, consisting of the possessive preposition ya (belonging to), <(yi+a)+a, and the noun makhondo.

In (3), nga mikhonto (by means of any spear) is not an adverb but an adverbial phrase, consisting of the instrumental preposition nga (by means of) and the noun, mikhonto (spear). wa mpondo is a possessive qualitative phrase consisting of the possessive preposition, wa (belonging to) <(wu+a)+a and the noun, mpondo.

In (4), wakhe is a possessive qualitative - a single word - consisting of the possessive preposition, wa (belonging to), <(wu+a)+a, and the pronominal possessive stem, -khe.

In (5), ka Ncaphayi (belonging to Ncaphayi) is a possessive qualitative phrase, consisting of the personal possessive preposition, ka, and the noun, Ncaphayi.

In (6), ngawo is an adverb - a single word - consisting of the instrumental preposition, nga (by means of) and the pronominal stem, wo.

/ definition of ....
Definition of a Preposition.

For purposes of this treatise then a preposition is defined as follows:
A word generally having a fundamental meaning of possession, position, direction, time, means, association, resemblance, or other abstract relation, placed before a substantive to define its relation to some other word or words in a qualitative or adverbial sense. (Cf. Definitions by Bradley and Webster)

Classification of Prepositions.

The prepositions in Xhosa fall into two main groups, as follows:

(1) Possessive Prepositions.
  e.g. we in u mkhonto we Spondo.
  ka in u mkhonto ka Scaphayi.

(2) Adverbial Prepositions.
  e.g. ne in ne mikhonto.
  nge in nge mikhonto.
Some of these have further sub-divisions.

Possessive Prepositions.

A possessive preposition defines the relation of a following substantive to some other substantive in a qualitative sense. These relations, as will be seen later on, are not confined to possession. But, for want of more suitable terms, we use the terms "possessive", "possessor" and "possesses" in describing the constructions.

Types of Possessive Preposition.

There are two types of possessive preposition, general possessive prepositions, based on the general possessive root, a, and personal possessive prepositions, based on the personal possessive prepositional root, ka. In general, the prepositions are formed by prefixing the basic qualitative concord to the root ....
The qualificative concord refers back to the substantive indicating the possessee, so that there are class forms of the prepositions. But there are situations when the root stands alone as a preposition. It is only natural that Xhosa, with its principle of concord, should colour its possessive prepositions with a concord referring back to the substantive with which relation is being defined. On the other hand, the merging of the general possessive root with certain succeeding elements e.g. demonstratives and pronominal stems, shows that the prepositional also refers forward to the substantive indicating the possessor.

17.8. A normal possessive construction consists of three elements, in the following order:--
(1) a substantive indicating the possessee (2) the possessive preposition with a concord referring to the possessee, (3) a substantive indicating the possessor.

Examples.

u mkhonto we Npondo (a spear belonging to a Npondo)
a bantu baka Ncaphayi (the people of Ncaphayi)

The preposition and the substantive indicating the possessor form a possessive qualificative phrase qualifying the substantive indicating the possessee.

General Possessive Preposition

17.9. A general possessive preposition is formed by prefixing the basic qualificative concord agreeing with the possessor to the general possessive prepositional root, a. The vowel of the concord is elided before a in all classes except 11, 15 and the locatives, where u becomes w. The class forms of the general possessive prepositions are therefore as follows:-

// class 1 ...
Class 1. (u mntwana) wa, <wu+a
1a. (u nyana) wa, <wu+a
2. (a bantwana) ba, <ba+a
2a. (onyana) ba, <ba+a
3. (u mzi) wa, <wu+a
4. (i mizi) va, <yi+a
5. (i lizwi) la, <li+a
6. (a mazwi) wa, <wu+a
7. (i sandla) sa, <zi+a
8. (i sandla) sa, <zi+a
9. (i ndlu) va, <yi+a
10. (i zindlu) sa, <zi+a
11. (u luto) la, <lu+a
12. (u buso) ba, <bu+a
13. (u kutya) kwa, <ku+a
14. (u kutya) kwa, <ku+a
15. (u kutya) kwa, <ku+a
16. (u phambhi) kwa, <ku+a
17. (u kunene) kwa, <ku+a
Locatives
18. (mva) kwa, <ku+a
19. (e zantsi) kwa, <ku+a

If the possessor is indicated by a pronoun, the preposition refers to the class of the pronoun. For the first and second person singular, the class 1 form is used, and for the first and second person plural, the class 2 form.

In the normal word order as described in 17.8, the class 6 preposition is a. The full form, wa, is employed when the preposition is preceded by a demonstrative.

General Possessive Prepositions

before
different types of possessor.

17.10. If the possessor is indicated by a noun with a general the article, the final of the possessive preposition coalesces with article and merges with the article a.

/examples...
Examples

u mntwana we nkosi (the child of the chief), wa < wa + i
a bantwana be nkosi (the children of the chief), ba fasi
a mazwi e nkosi (the words of the chief), e < a + i
u luvo lwe nkosi (the opinion of the chief), lwe < lwa + i
phambhi kwe nkosi (in front of the chief), kwe < kwa + i
u mntwana wo mfundisi (the child of the teacher), wo < wa + i
i'andla so mntwana (the hand of the child), so < sa + u
u kutya ko mntwana (the food of the child), ko < k(w)a + u
u luvo lo mfundisi (the opinion of the teacher),
lo < l(w)a + u
phambhi ko mfundisi (in front of the teacher),
ko < k(w)a + u

e zantsi ko mzi (below the homestead), ko < k(w)a + u
a bafazi ba mal'pondo (women of Lpondo stock), ba < ba + a
i'andla za bantwana (the hands of the children), za < za + a
a mazwi a madoda (the words of the men), e < a + a
u luvo lwa madoda (the opinion of the men), lwa < lwa + a
mna we nkosi (I of the chief), we < wa + i
wena we nkosi (you of the chief), wo < wa + i
thina be nkosi (we of the chief), be < ba + i
nina be nkosi (we of the chief), be < ba + i
ezzi ze nkosi (these ones of the chief), za < za + i

17.11. If the possessor is indicated by a modern locative with a locative article, the possessive preposition merges with the article and the locative article assumes its full form, e.g.

Examples

thina base Sulenkama (we of the Sulenkama-place)
cf. sivela e Sulenkama (we come form the Sulenkama-place)

u mkhosi wase mal'pondweni (the army of the Pondoland-place)
cf. bavela e mal'pondweni (they come form the Pondoland-place)
examples cont.

ii nkomo zase Qawukeni (the cattle belonging to E. Pondoland.)

cf. zivela e Qawukeni (they come from E. Pondoland)

17.12. If the possessor is indicated by a noun without any article the possessive preposition stands alone before the noun. This happens in absolute negation and in all other circumstances when the possessee is indicated by a noun without any article, and in a few idiomatic expressions.

Examples.

akukho mntwana wa nkosi zapha.
(there is no child of a chief here)

akakhathalele luvo lwaw ndoda.
(he does not care for any opinion of any man)

a bantu ba mlambho wuni?
(people of what region /country?), lit. "of what river?"

i nkosi ye sizwe simbhi, (chief of some other tribe)

asifuni kulala mzini wa Mpondo.
(we do not want to sleep in any house of any Mpondo)

mhlabhili wa ntaka. (a huge concourse)

lit. "flock of birds".

buhle ba khiwane (good concealing bad)

lit. "the beauty of a fig" - which looks most attractive on the outside when inside is already rotten.

17.13. If the possessor is indicated by a noun of class 2a, the possessive preposition merges with the prefix co- its own vowel being elided or completely absorbed.

Examples.

i sindlu zooziwe. (the houses of their fathers )

< za+ co-

a maziwa oonyana (the words of the sons),< a + co-

This is a case of analogy, since co- is not an article but a prefix. In Zulu no such analogy takes place. The preposition merges with the article a and the full prefix is retained in the form wo-. as in a womane (our mothers), so that ixaxa

i zandla za womane (the hands of our mothers) < za+a womane

/ is quite ...
is quite consistent with the rule. (cf. 2.86. (ii))

17.14. If the possessor is indicated by an absolute pronoun the preposition merges with the pronoun, the latter assuming its enclitic form, and the result is not a phrase but a single word.

**Examples.**

*a bantwana bami (my children), lit. "the children belonging to me"*

*i zandla zabo (their hands), lit. "the hands belonging to them"*

For a full table, including intrinsically possessive pronominal stems, see 7.4. et seq.

17.15. If the possessor is indicated by a tripositional demonstrative commencing in a vowel or by a noun preceded by such a tripositional demonstrative, the preposition merges with the demonstrative, its own vowel being elided or completely absorbed.

**Examples.**

*i zandla zabo (the hands of these ones), zabo < za + aba*

*ii ntombhi zeli lizwe (the maidens of this country)*

*zeli < za + eli.*

For a full table, including demonstratives commencing in a consonant, see 9.69. et seq.

17.16. If the possessor is indicated by a pronominal phrase or clause introduced by the demonstrative of emphasis in any of its uses, the preposition merges with the demonstrative, its own vowel being elided or completely absorbed.

**Examples.**

*i zandla zo yena m'dla. (the hands of the eldest one)*

*za < za + a.*

*u mnyango we yam i ndlu (the door of my house) we < wa + e.*

"i sizukulwana sa bandithandayo" ( "a generation of them that love me"

*za < sa + a.*

/ in absolute ....
In absolute negation, when the demonstrative of emphasis is excluded, the preposition stands alone.

E.g. "angazi luhle lwamnye mzi" (who does not respect the flower of any belonging to any community) lwamnye = lwa (o) mnye.

17.17. If the possessor is indicated by an enumerative standing alone as substantive or qualifying a succeeding substantive, the preposition stands alone before the enumerative.

Examples:
- a maphakathi a yiphi i nkosi? (the councillors of which chief?)
- i zandla za wuphi u mntwana? (the hands of which child?)
- u luvo lwa wuphi u mzi? (the opinion of which community)
- i nkosi ya simbhi i sizwe (the chief of some other tribe)
- u luvo lwa wumbhi u mzi, (the opinion of some other community)

Classification of Relations other than Possessive.

17.18. In Xhosa, as in many other languages e.g. English, possessive expressions are not confined to possession, but cover numerous relations that are not really possessive. (Doke uses the terms "direct possessive" and "descriptive possessive" to distinguish between the two). Some of these relations can be classified and labelled, but there are those that are difficult to classify or label. Indeed, it is difficult to draw the line even between one relation and another. These relations may be classified as follows:

(1) Defining the relation between a person or animal or thing and the stock or species from which he or she or it comes:

Examples:
- u mntwana we mXhosa (a child of Xhosa stock)
- ii ntombhi za beLungu (maidens of white stock)
- u mfo we Bala, (a man of Coloured stock)
- i xhogo lo mndiwa (an old man of Indian stock)
- i ntongu ya ndilebo (a stick of ironwood)
(2) Defining the relation between a thing and the material of which it is made:

Examples.

i zindlu no daka (huts made of mud)

u mweha we zingwe (a kaross made of leopard-skins)

i ngawa ye muba (a pipe made of mealie-cob)

u mzimba we ndlovu (an arm-ring made of ivory)

i sithathu sa madoda (a trio consisting of men)

(3) Defining the relation between a thing and its contents:

i miphanda ya mandzi (pots of water)

i zithetha zo nyama (mats of meat)

i nkhowa yo mhlone (a bag of mealies)

i komityi yo bisi (a cup of milk)

(4) Defining the relation between a thing and the purpose for which it is used:

Examples.

i khube lo kuhlakula (an implement for cultivating)

i nto yo kutya (something to eat)

u mthundzi we kuphumla (a shade to rest in)

a mandzi o kusela (water to drink)

i sitya nokuhlabhele (a basin to wash in)

(5) Defining the relation between a thing and its position in relation to other things of its kind in order of succession:

Examples.

i ndoda yo kuqala (the first man)

lit. "the man to commence with"

u suku lwe sibini (the second day)

lit. "the day of the two-number"

i butho le sine (the fourth regiment)

lit. "the regiment of the four-number"

u mthetho we shumi (the Tenth Commandment)

lit. "the commandment of the ten-number"

/ 6. defining ...
(6) Defining the relation between a thing and its position in respect of time and place.

Examples.

i mabhalela ya nyakenye (last year's drought)
i misibendzi yase mini (day-time jobs)

lit. "jobs belonging to the day-time"

a bantwana ba ngoku (children of nowadays)
i ntlanganiso ya ngo mso (to-morrow's meeting)
i ntlanganiso ya rhesolo (last night's meeting)
a mazabiso a phambhi kwe mfazwe (pre-war prices)

lit. "prices belonging to the front of the war"

a bantu ba Phesheya kwe Ncibe (people of the Transkei)

lit. "the people belonging to the other side of the Kei"

i i ntombhi za kuTso (Tsoi girls)

lit. "the girls belonging to the Tsoi-place"

a mahashe a kwa Xhamela (the horse of Xhamela's house)

lit. "the horses belonging to Xhamela's household"

a mahashe a kulo Dumisani (Dumisani's people's horses)

lit. "the horses belonging to Dumisani's people's place"

ii ntombhi za lapha (girls of this place)

* "a magwancwa a ko Nibe" (the light red enes of Nibe's (mother's house.)

It must be noted that these expressions indicating time and place have a locative substantive meaning. That is why it is possible to employ them as "possessor". To regard the construction as a "Possessive with Adverbial Base" is to miss the point. (Doke; Zulu, § 309). One has only to try an adverbial phrase of manner as "possessor" to see the difference. For instance, while we can use nyakenye (last year) and nge Cawa (Sunday) as "possessor", e.g. in i mfazwe ya nyakenye (last years war) and i ntlanganiso ya nge Cawa (Sunday's meeting), we do ...

*See 17.34.
we do not say i mfaxwe va nga mipu but i mfaxwe ve mipu (the war of the guns) to express the idea "the war fought by means of guns". Similarly, ngo Mvulo (Monday) can be used as a "possessor" e.g. i intlanganiso ya ngo Mvulo (Monday's meeting) or u masebenzi wa ngo Mvulo (Monday's work), an adverbial phrase of manner ngo kuhlakanipha (smartly), lit. "by means of smartness" we do not form u masebenzi wa ngo kuhlakanipha, but u masebenzi wo kuhlakanipha (smart work).

(7) Defining the position of a thing in relation to another, Class 17 prepositions are employed after locative substantives to express the relationship.

Examples.

phantsi kwe tafile (under the table)
lit. "the ground-side in relation to the table"

phesheya kwe Gali (across the Orange River)
lit. "the farther-side in relation to the Orange River"

phonoshono kwe Keiha (this side of the Kei)
lit. "the nearer-side in relation to the Kei"

phakathi kwa masimi (among the fields)
lit. "the interior in relation to the fields"

e ntlalena mlela (above the road)
lit. "the upper-side in relation to the road"

e zantsi ko mzi (below the homestead)
lit. "the lower-side in relation to the homestead"

In this construction phambili (the front-side) and phazulu (the sky-side) as "possesses" elide their final syllables and become phambhi and phazu respectively.

Examples.

phambhi kwa ngwelo (in front of the waggon)
lit. "the front-side in relation to the waggon"

phazulu kwa ndlu (above the house)
lit. "the sky-side in relation to the house"

/ (8) defining ...
Defining the relation between a thing and the quality, habit or state by which it is characterized.

**Examples**

- u mntu wo xolo (a man of piece)
- u mntu wo kuthetha (a person given to talking)
- i nto ye ntsini (a laughing-stock, lit. "a thing of laughter")

cf. "a man of action", "a thing of beauty", "The Lord is a man of war", "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief".

(9) The following perhaps belong to (2) above, but there is this difference, that the "possessor" is in all cases an epithetologe followed by a qualitative phrase in which the noun indicates the "species". There is also the big difference, that while those in (2) are plain statements of fact, the expressions to follow are used for purposes of emphasis. There is not always a direct equivalent in English.

**Examples**

- i tsendye le mndana (a dandy of a young man)
- i ndzwakazi ye ntombhi (a beauty of a girl)
- i ciko lo mfo (an orator of a man)
- i aziha so mntu (a fool of a person)
- i tshivele lo mntwana (a good-for-nothing of a child)
- i nxikela yo mtjiheto (a big-affair of a wedding)

17.19. In defining kinship relationship, e.g. "mother of", the preposition is preplaced to the pronominal stem -bo-<bona, of Class 2, and this is followed by the name of the one specifically mentioned as representative of the group "possessing" the mother, brother etc. as the case may be.

**Examples**

- u dadu bo bawo, or even u dad' o bawo (my father's sister)

"i ndlu yo chinha bo Jwara" (the house of the mother of Jwara "and them")
"umninawa bolhala" (Whala's younger brother)  
(W.B.Rubusana : Zemka, p. 270)

This is a favourite construction in zibongo (praise poems), when the praised one is identified in terms of a senior half-brother of his. Thus the Hlubi warrior-chief, Mpangazitha is styled "Tjo Mpangazitha wabo Jobe" (This is Mpangazitha of the Jobes), Jobe being the personal name of his senior half-brother, Kthinkhulu, (see Ndawo : Amahlubi namaBaca, pp 12 and 16). The Xhosa chief, Mdange, half-brother of Tjhiwo, is known as u Mdange bo Tjhiwo (Mdange of the Tjhiwos), and his followers as i miDange bo Tjhiwo.

The elision of this preposition in kinship terms was described in 2.84.(4). e.g. mnakwethu (brother - woman speaking) < m(nu)na wa kwethu (male of our house), mnakwethu (younger sister - woman speaking) < mna wa kwethu (female of our house).

17.20. When mnini (proprietor) and its feminine form mnikazi and their plural forms indicate the "possessee", the possessive preposition including the article, may be elided unless a qualitative precedes the noun indicating the "possessor" or unless the "possessor" is indicated by a qualitative pronoun. An absolute pronoun indicating the "possessor" assumes its enclitic form if the preposition is elided.

Examples.

u mnini we ndlu or u mnini ndlu  
(the proprietor of the house)  
but, u mnini wela ndlu (the proprietor of this house)

a banini bee nkomo or a banini nkomo  
(The proprietors of the cattle)

a banini bazo or a baninize  
(the proprietors of them)

The tendency is to regard a noun following mnini etc. as forming a single noun with mnini and to write the two conjunctively e.g. u mnini-nkomo, a banini-nkomo or / a banini-ndlu...
a banini-ndlu or a baninindlu. But the possibilities of syntactical relationship, at least as far as Xhosa is concerned, are such that one is not persuaded that this is correct word-division. These are some of them:—

u mnini ndlu leyo (the owner of the house aforesaid), in which leyo qualifies or is in apposition to ndlu, and not to the whole expression. On the other hand, u mnini ndlu lowo is also possible, but this is merely a contraction of u mnini we ndlu lowo which is also possible. It is also possible in Xhosa to say:—

u mnini kuyithetha loo nto (the person responsible for saying that) and even a banini kulungisa i zinto e zilolu klobo (the people responsible for putting things of this sort right).

These are some of the possibilities overlooked by extreme advocates of the conjunctive method.

(Cf. Introduction §9).

17.21. A general possessive preposition may "control" a whole clause introduced by a substantitive functioning as a relative connective or conjunctive.

Examples.

(i) Before temporal nouns functioning as relative connectives:—

ii ngxolo za xa kusayo (the noises of the time when dawn is breaking.)

ii ntetho za mhla kuxatwenweyo (the utterances of a day when people are quarrelling.)

i sihelegu sa nyakana kwafa i lizwe

(the calamity of the year when war broke out)

(ii) Before verbal nouns functioning as conjunctives:—

u daba lo kuba uyahamba (the news that you are going)

lit. "the news relating to the being you are going"

i sizathu so kuba shambha (the reason for his going)

lit. "the reason relating to the being he may go"

i sigwebo so kuba ma kafe (the judgement that he should die)

lit. "the judgement relating to the being he should die" /phambhi.....
examples cont.

**rhombi yo kuba uhambe** (before you go, lit. "front-side in relation to the being you may go")

**li ndaba za laphe uvela bhoma** (news of the place where you come from)

"Mrendawo zokuzi lizwa lingabhubhi"  
*Zema, p. 492*

i.e. **mpere ngawo zo kuze i lizwa lingabhubhi**  
(On measures to prevent the outbreak of war, lit. "Concerning points relating to the coming-to-be that the world may not die")

**Personal Possessive Prepositions**

17.**2.** A **personal possessive preposition** defines the relation between a personal name or other noun of Class 1a and some other substantive. The relation is definitely possessive. If the possessee is indicated by a substantive belonging to a weak class, the possessive root *ka* stands alone as preposition before the Class 1a noun indicating the possessor. If the possessee is indicated by a strong-class substantive, the basic qualificative concord is prefixed to *ka* (but see also 17.24.)

(This *ka* was probably a concord originally < Ur-Bantu *ya*, and that would explain the absence of the article after it, or whatever its origin, its function in present-day loose is preposition). The absence of the class concord before it in certain cases also suggests that the prepositional function is a comparatively recent development)

The class forms of the personal possessive prepositions are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>(u mntwana)</th>
<th><em>ka</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(u nyame)</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(a hantwana)</td>
<td><em>baka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>(onyana)</td>
<td><em>baka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(u mzi)</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(i rizi)</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(i lizwi)</td>
<td><em>lica</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(a razwi)</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>(i sandla)</td>
<td><em>sika</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ Class 8...
Class 3. (i zandla) zika
9. (i ndlu) ka
10. (i zindlu) zika
11. (u luvo) luka
14. (u buso) buka
15. (u kutya) kuka
16. (phambhi) kuka - dialectal

and all other locatives

17.23. The substantive indicating the possessor follows the
preposition in word order, and the possessive phrase thus formed
qualifies the substantive indicating the possessee. The Class 1
noun indicating the possessor does not employ any article.
The following examples illustrate the formation:

Class 1. u mntwana ka Ncaphayi (a child belonging to Ncaphayi)
1a. u nyana ka Ncaphayi (a son of Ncaphayi)
2. a bantwana baka Ncaphayi (the children of Ncaphayi)
2a. oo nyana baka Ncaphayi (the sons of Ncaphayi)
3. u mzi ka Ncaphayi (the homestead of Ncaphayi)
4. i mizi ka Ncaphayi (the homesteads of Ncaphayi)
5. i liswi like Ncaphayi (the word of Ncaphayi)
6. a mazwi ka Ncaphayi (the words of Ncaphayi)
7. i sandla sika Ncaphayi (the hand of Ncaphayi)
8. i zandla zika Ncaphayi (the hands of Ncaphayi)
9. i ndlu ka Ncaphayi (the house of Ncaphayi)
10. i zindlu zika Ncaphayi (the houses of Ncaphayi)
11. u luvo luka Ncaphayi (the opinion of Ncaphayi)
14. u buso buka Ncaphayi (the face of Ncaphayi)
15. u kufa kuka Ncaphayi (the death of Ncaphayi)
but 16. phambhi ko Ncaphayi (in front of Ncaphayi)
| e mva ko Ncaphayi (at the back of Ncaphayi)

17.24. The first and second persons as possessee employ the
Class 1 and 2 concords before the preposition.

/examples ....
Examples.

"ma ka Ncaphayi (I of Ncaphayi)

"thinga haka Ncaphayi (we of Ncaphayi)

"wena ka Ncaphayi (you of Ncaphayi)

"ina baaka Ncaphayi (you of Ncaphayi)

17.25. In some Zuni dialects the concord of Class 6 is not dropped. Thus in Zulu the Class 6 preposition is aka in some dialects. Vilakazi uses this form in his Zulu works:

"ngamagama akaNomkhosi noNsikana" (NombaNini, p.7.)

(about the names of Nomkhosi and Nsikana)

"ngamawzi akaNsikana" (op. cit. p. 112)

(about the words of Nsikana)

"amahlo akaJevuza" (U Dingeswavo, p. 10.)

(the eyes of Jevuza)

In Ntlangwini the general and the personal prepositions are compounded at least after a class 9 possessee.

e.g. i ntombi waka bani? (whose daughter?)

17.26. The use of the general possessive preposition kwa instead of kuka when the "possessors" is a locative substantive is not as illogical as it looks. The root ka defines definite possession. The use of kuka after phambi would therefore indicate definite possession of "the front side". But the idea to be expressed is not possession of the "front side" by Neaphayi but "frontness" in relation to Neaphayi. Since it is the general kwa and not the personal kuka that expresses the idea, it is understandable why Xhosa makes this "exception".

See also 17.32.

17.27. There are situations when the general possessive preposition seems to be preferable even if the possessor is indicated by a noun of Class 1a. These are as follows:

(1) when the noun of Class 1a is a generic rather than a personal name.

*In some Zulu dialects the whole concord wa is retained after a demonstrative of emphasis e.g. "awaka Tshaka, nawaka Dingane, nawaka mpunde (amabutho)" (those belonging to Tshaka and those belonging to Dingane etc.) Fuze : Abantu Abamnyama, p.155.
Examples.

i ndlu yo thekwana (the nest of a hammerhead)
a mehlo o nonkala (the eyes of the crab)
i qanda lo khet'he (the egg of the hawk)
u mntwana akalideli i lizw' lo vise. (a child does not disregard a father's word)

"esikhundleni sodela bovise lmove" (in the place of that aunt of his)

(N.C. Mhala : Imibengo, p. 146

"mengani ebengumfazi woyisekazi" (although she was the wife of an uncle of his)

W.K. Ntsikana: Imibengo, p. 15)

(2) when the noun of Class 1a is a non-personal name followed by a possessive qualitative.

Examples.

"indlu vonina boJwara" (W.K. Ntsikana : Imibengo, p. 14)

"Situlo senyano ze Tix'akwethum". Nghayi: Tyala, p. 72.

(Footstool of the God of the land of my fathers)

17. 28. But in the old praise-poems (i zibenge), the general possessive proposition is used before proper names to form qualificatives of the epithets applied to the chiefs. The following are to be found in the anthology Zemk'inkomo magwalandini. The names of the chiefs referred to are given in brackets after the quotations:

"Yintsundu yo- Nomza" (Sarbili ), p. 236.
(the brown offspring of Nomza)

"ngumdana wo-Nohuta" (Sigcawu Sarbili), p. 236.
(the dun-coloured offspring of Nohuta)

"ingoombo yo-Sondaba" (Sibozo Madzabele), p. 239.
(the reddish-white offspring of Sondaba)

"isijora so-Notonto" (Iqoma), p. 261.
(the furious offspring of Notonto)

"uNlwato-lunadolo lo-Notonto" (Ibid.)
(the strong-kneed parang of Notonto) / it is...
It is notable that all the proper names in the above quotations except So-Ndaba, are mother's official names. It is therefore possible that the use of the non-personal possessive preposition has a deeper social significance than mere "poetic licence". But that is outside the scope of this work.

Emphatic Word Order.

17.29. It was shown in 8. (1) that possessive qualificatives formed by prefixing possessive prepositions to pronouns and demonstratives may be made emphatic by placing the qualitative before the substantive qualified and placing a demonstrative of emphasis before the qualitative.

-e.g. u mutwana wam (my child) o wam u mutwana (my child). It
was further shown/(2) in such constructions the demonstrative of
emphasis functions as a substantive in apposition to the
substantive indicating the possessee. Thus o is in apposition to
u mutwana. It was further shown/(3) the demonstrative and
the qualitative may together form a pronominal phrase and can
therefore function substantively. These rules apply equally to
possessive qualificative phrases whether based on root a or root
ke.

Examples.

u mutwana we nkosi > o we nkosi u mutwana
(the chief's child) (the chief's child)
u luvo lwa madoda > o lwa madoda u luvo
(the men's opinion) (the men's opinion)
ii nkosi zase Gawukeni > e zase Gawukeni it nkosi
(the chiefs of W.Pondo-) (the chief of W.Pondoland)

i nkundzi ye gusha > e ye gusha i nkundzi
(the male of a sheep) (the male of a sheep)
i zindlu zo daka > e zo daka i zindlu.
houses made of mud (houses made of mud)
i ndoda yo kucala > e yo kucala i ndoda
(the first man) (the first man)

/a bantwana...
Examples cont.

a bantwana ba ngoku > a ba ngoku a bantwana
(children of nowadays) (children of nowadays)

u luto lwa wuphi u mzi > e lwa wuphi u mzi u luto?
(the opinion of which) (the opinion of which
(commodity?) (community?)

a bantwana baka Neaphayi > a baka Neaphayi a bantwana
(Neaphayi's children) (Neaphayi's children)

i liswi lika Neaphayi > e lika Neaphayi i liswi.
(Neaphayi's word) (Neaphayi's word)

ii ncoxolo za xa kusave > e za xa kusave ii ncoxolo.
(the noises of the break od dawn) (the noises of the break of
dawn).

i sizathu so kuba a hambhe > e so kuba a hambhe i sizathu
(the reason for his going) (the reason for his going)

17.30. Even an expression already in this emphatic form
qualifying a substantive can be preplaced to that substantive
and a demonstrative of emphasis preplaced to the whole.
Thus in: u mnyango we yam i ndlu (the door of my house),
we yam i ndlu is based on e yam i ndlu which is the emphatic form of i ndlu yem. But we yam i ndlu can precede u mnyango
if the demonstrative of emphasis a referring to u mnyango is
preplaced to the qualitative phrase: u mnyango we yam i
ndlu (the door of my house) > o we yam i ndlu u mnyango (the
door of my house)

17.31. In absolute negation the demonstrative of emphasis is
not admissible in this construction. But note the presence of
the article before the noun indicating the possessor.

Examples.

akukho nyana wa nkosi > akukho wa nkosi u nyana
(there is no chief's son) (there is no chief's son)

andiboni nkomo za kuni apha > andiboni za kuni ii nkomo
apha.

(I don't see any cattle belonging to your family here )
(I don't see any cattle belonging to your family here)

/ andibonanga....
examples cont.

andibonanga bantu base Mjika (I didn't see any people from Mjika.

andibonanga base Mjika a bantu (I didn't see any people from Mjika.

17.32. Of the expressions defining relations other than those definitely possessive, there are some that do not admit of this construction. These are as follows:

(1) when the "possesses" is indicated by a locative substantive e.g. phambhi kwemvelo (in front of the waggon), phambhi ko Neaphayi (in front of Neaphayi)
e zantsi ko mai (below the homestead)

(2) when the "possesses" is indicated by an epithet noun. e.g.
i ndzwakazi ye ntombhi (a beauty of a girl),
i tyendya lo mfana (a dandy of a young man)
i ciko lo mfo (an orator of a man)
i tshivela lo mntwana (a good-for-nothing of a child)

(3) when the "possessor" is indicated by a qualitative substantive e.g. u mntu wo xolo (a man of peace), i nto ye ntsini (a thing of laughter)

(4) when the "possesses" is indicated by an absolute pronoun. e.g. thina base Sulenka (we from Sulenka)

wena ka Neaphayi (I of Neaphayi)

17.33. On the other hand, in (4), if the absolute pronoun is followed by a noun in apposition, the qualitative phrase may precede that noun, but the absolute pronoun does not shift from its position. The noun so shifted assumes an article. There is no demonstrative of emphasis before the qualitative phrase.

Examples.
thina base Sulenka a bantu < thina bantu base Sulenka
(we people from Sulenka)

wena ka Neaphayi u mfana < wena mfana ka Neaphayi
(you young man of Neaphayi's)
Once preceded by a demonstrative of emphasis, a possessive qualitative phrase need not be followed by the possessive. The demonstrative and the qualitative thus form a substantival expression.

Examples:
- e so entwana (that of a child, a child's one), e.g. i sililo
- a base Sulenkama (those of the Sulenkama-place), e.g. a bantu
- e zo daka (those made of mud), e.g. i zindlu
- e za xa kusayo (those of the break of dawn), e.g. tizzen
- e so kuba abambhe (that of his going), e.g. i sizathu
- e za lambhle uvela khona (those of the place where you come from), e.g. ii ndaba

But possessive expressions consisting of a Class 17 general possessive preposition and a noun of Class 1a are substantival though they are not preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. kwa Zulu (Zulu's domain, i.e. Zululand), kwa Lhlonle (Lhlonle's domain), kwa Ishaca (Bhacaland), kwa Bezwana (BezwanaLand).

Related in derivation and meaning to this preposition are kulo and ko, both meaning "the house belonging to the people of". This is a locative preposition, consisting of the locative formative ku- and a lo that remains a puzzle (but cf. 17.35.) e.g. kulo Sipho (Sipho's people's house), ko Hibe (Hibe's people's house). These too have a locative possessive meaning. Substantives involving these prepositions can be related to other substantives in a possessive qualifying sense by means of general possessive prepositions.

Examples:
- ii ntombhi za kwa Zulu (the girls of Zululand)
- i hashe la kulo Sipho (the horse of Sipho's people's house)
- "a mazwangs a ko Hibe" (see 17.17.)
Adverbial Prepositions.

17.36. An adverbial preposition defines the relation of a following substantive to a verb in an adverbial sense. The preposition and the substantive together form an adverbial phrase modifying the verb. The basic prepositions in this group are na and nga. These may stand alone as prepositions or be compounded with other elements to modify their meanings.

17.37. na: The prepositional use of na is not to be confused with its conjunctive use. In U havo no ma bayahambha (father and mother are going), no (� na + u) is used conjunctively, and no ma is part of a compound subject. The na makes u havo and u ma plural. Hence the subject concords ba-. In u havo uhambha no ma (father is going together with mother), no is used prepositionally. It defines the relation, in an adverbial sense, between u ma and uhambha. In this sentence no ma is an adverbial phrase, modifying the uhambha. The difference in word order and use of the short form of the present indicative, uhambha, in the latter illustration, indicate that the function of no ma in the two sentences cannot be the same. We could say u havo uyahambha no ma, with the emphasis on the predicate, to convey the meaning "father is going together with mother". Here again no ma is adverbial. If the intention is to convey the meaning "father is going, and mother too", we say u havo uyahambha, no ma uyahambha or u havo uyahambha, ne ma, the verb uyahambha being "understood" after no ma. The pause, indicated by a comma in writing, shows that no ma does not modify uyahambha. In the last sentence no ma is substantival. (Cf. Jespersen: Philosophy, p. 90 for and and with in English).

Meinhof fails to make this distinction and therefore comes to the conclusion that there are no prepositions in Bantu. (See Grundzüge, V. I. and Cf. Ashton: Chapter XXXI )

/ 17.38. as a ...
17.38. As a preposition, *na* has a fundamental meaning of association, meaning "together with".

**Examples:**

Uashlala na bazali bakhe (he still lives with his parents)

Buva ne bashe jam (come back with my horse)

With this meaning, *na* can be preplaced to substantives and qualificatives in the same way as the possessive prepositions. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:

Bafike nes akosi zabo, nes < na+jii

(they came together with their chiefs)

A majoda na keze noonyana' bawo

(let the men come together with their sons)

Akafuni u kuthetha nam, nam < na+m(na)

He does not want to confer with me)

Godukani neli lizwi, neli < na + eli

(take this word home with you)

lit. "go home together with this word"

Ndize kuthetha noyenma mdala, na < na + o

(I am going to speak with the eldest one)

Ndize ne yan i nkabi, ne < na + e

(I have come together with my ox)

Uthetha na bangasekhoyo, na < na + a

(he is communicating with those who are no more)

Ube utetha na wuphi u mpha?

(With which young man were you speaking?)

Uge ngome beza na lumbhi u luyo.

(On the following day they came with a different opinion)

OR na luyo lumbhi (with a different opinion)

But *na* may be preplaced to adjectival pronouns too.

e.g. Ubuye na mbhini kwaphela

(he came back with two only)

17.39. This preposition is used after verbs indicating similarity, equality, association.

/examples/
Examples

1. I mungutwe ifana ne nj'a (A fox is similar to a dog)
2. I mungutwe ilingana ne nj'a (A fox is equal to a dog)

Ndihlangeni no mkhuw'wa ukho phezolo
(I fell in with your elder brother last night)

17.40. A comparatively recent development is the use of na after certain locative substantives to define the relation of other substantives to such locatives. In this construction na supercedes the locative possessive preposition kwa as used in 17.17.(7).

Examples

mgana no mlambano (some distance from the river)
lit. "some distance in relation to the river"
malungasa ne ntaba (somewhat in line with the mountain)
malungana neli xesha (about this time)
kude ne ndlela (far from the road)

lit. "a long distance in relation to the road"
kufuphi ne khaya (near home)

lit. "a short distance in relation to the home"

A century ago mgana was followed by kwa e.g. "mgana kwesango" (a little distance from the gate) (Tiyo Soga: Ulambo, p. 46)

There is also kufuphi kuko instead of kufuphi kazo (op cit p.58)

17.41. kuna (in comparison with): This is either a compound of ku- and no or a copulative expression literally meaning "this is in relation to/this is in comparison with".

Examples

1. Indlovu inxulu kune kuvuba > (kuno < kuna + i)
(The elephant is bigger than the hippo)

lit. "The elephant is big in comparison with the hippo"

2. Thekwini kubale kunase Pitoli
(Durban is more beautiful than Pretoria)

lit. "The Durban-place is beautiful in comparison with the Pretoria-place"

/ u mtwana .........
710

Ilirihwana wapho mlala kuno wam, (kuno < kuna + o)
(your child is older than nine)

Ilirhule e khuluma zintle kuna zihonyu, (kune < kuna + e)
(Black hair is more beautiful than red)

"Emkhwa a basekhwe kune bangasekweyo, (kuna < kuna + a)
(I trust those who are living better than those who are dead.

17.42. 

Examples:

Emaka nco nxvane (nco < nco + u)
(Cause cause suspension) (He faced towards the east)

Ababambile nco ndelela (They are not walking along any road)

Liil'eka nco kintva? (nco < nco + u)
(la arrived at nightfall)

Encane nco enyange (nco < nco + u)
(I entered by the door)

Luncu luhhala nco enyange
(to not sit near the door)

Eethatho nco nimia (nco < nbo + i)
(They are talking about dogs)

Eithatho nco zam (nco < nbo + e)
(I am talking about my ones)

Ehein nco bangasekweyo (nco < nco + a)
(I am thinking about those who are no more)

Ejalala nco ribhonto (nco < nco + i)
(They stabbed him by means of spears)

Ela nco lubola (nco < nco + u)
(Sit calmly) lit. "sit by means of calmness"

Pancane nco bahlathu
(They entered in tears).

As the above illustrations show, an adverbial phrase consisting of nco and a succeeding substantive may express that place, time or manner. This means / nco defines a much greater variety of abstract relations than na.
17.43. Like the general possessive preposition and na, the preposition nga may precede qualificatives as well as substantives. Illustrative examples will be sufficient:

pathetha nga nkosi (They are talking about a chief)
abathethi nga nkosi (They are not talking about any chief)
sakhe ngase Tsitsa (We reside near the Tsitsa)
uhlala nga kuQumbhu (He lives near Qumbhu)
ma bayska u kuthetha ngathi (They (They had better stop talking about us)
Ndiza kumbhha ngeli hashe
(I am going to travel by means of this horse)
Bemka nga yona mini imbhi
(They departed on the worst day)
Ndiza kumbhha ngo lwam u lucxa
(I am going to dig with my own digging-rod)
ugula nga kovikayo* (He is terribly ill)
waphendula nga libandayo(i lizwi)
(He answered in a cold voice)
la zingene nga mthini (Let them enter in twos).

17.44. In defining relations of position, nga is preplaced to locative substantives with the meaning "there or thereabouts", e.g. nga phantsi (underneath), nga phambhili (in front, towards the front), nga phandle (outside, the outer regions), ngase ntla (the upper regions), ngase kunene (towards the right) nga kwa Zulu (near Zululand), nga kule Sipho (near Sipho's people's place).

17.45. Sometimes nga occurs in an adverbial expression after a temporal noun used without any article.

*Doke in this formation mistakes relative predicates for infinitives (Zu. Gr. §610) ngokwesasakayo < uya + a kwesasakayo, and not from nga + ukwesabeka.
Examples

mbla ngo mtjhato (on the day of the wedding)
"mbla nzogayi" (on a day of great occasion)
(i.chayi : 1Tyala, p. 24)
"zixel amafu mhla ngendudumo"
(They resemble clouds on a day of thunder)
(i.chayi : op. cit. p. 54)

The phrases in which nga occurs in the above illustrations would seem to be orfulificative and not adverbial.

nga in Compound Prepositions

17.46. There are two compound prepositions in which nga is involved. These are nje nga (like, in the same manner as), and nga nga (to the same degree as, of the same quantity as)
(i) nje nga : The first element, nje, is a demonstrative functioning adverbially, with the meaning "in this manner", so that the combination nje nga means "in this manner as shown by means of ....". The combination is replaced to a substantive to which an action or state is likened in manner.

Examples

Kilwe nje nga madoda ("you fought like men"
Una mandla nje ngo yise ("he has strength like his father"
(ii) nga nga : This combination sometimes takes the form kanga nga. The first element is a contracted form of ngaka.
As a qualificative : ngaka means "of this amount or size", and functioning adverbially it means "to this degree", so that nga nga or kanga nga means "to this degree as shown by means of ....". The combination is replaced to a substantive to which an action or state is likened in degree.

Examples

I hlosi alili hulu nga nga ngwe
("The lynx is not as big as the leopard"
lit. "The lynx is not big to the same degree as the leopard"
Ukhule, uba nga nga vilile!
(lay you grow and be as great as your father!)

Cf. Southern Sotho kala ka which may be contracted to ka ka.
Chapter 18.

THE CONJUNCTIVE

18.1. In Xhosa there is a very small number of presumably primitive conjunctives. These may be called conjunctions. Besides these, other parts of speech are used conjunctively. The conjunctive therefore has no morphological characteristics of its own. Conjunctives may be co-ordinative or subordinative. All the presumably primitive ones are co-ordinative. Besides these, a few predicatives, verbal and non-verbal, and some adverbials can be used as co-ordinative conjunctives. The rest of the conjunctives are \textit{verb} the verbal infinitives \textit{u kuba, u kuthi, u kuda, u kuze} and adverbials involving these verbal infinitives. All these are subordinative.

18.2. Since the derivation is obvious, it has not been found necessary to classify the subordinative conjunctives according to their derivation. But it is necessary to sub-divide them according to their relationship to the kinds of clauses to which they are subordinated and also to indicate, as far as possible, the mood that may follow each conjunctive or group of conjunctives.

I. Co-ordinative Conjunctives.

(i) Presumably primitive conjunctions

18.3. \textit{na} (and, even, or, nor)

This conjunctive joins together substantival or adverbials, including substantival and adverbial clauses. It does not join predicatives or independent clauses.

Examples

Ndibone i ndoda no mfazi (I saw a man and a woman)

Ingwe ne ngonyama ziyafana (The leopard and the lion resemble each other)

Ziliileleni nina na hantwana benu (Weep for yourselves and for your children)

Eli hashe neli nea ka Maduna (This horse and this/belong to Maduna).

/Yena .......
examples cont.

Yena no minawa wakhe bayeza.
(he and his younger brother are coming)

Akoyiki mtu na silo. (He fears neither man nor beast)

Nee nkosi ziyawuthobela u mthetho.
(Even chiefs obey the law)

O sebendzayo no ngasebendziyo bagwele ngo kufanayo.
(He who works and he who does not work are equally destitute)

Undixelela u kuba uyahambha, no kuba akazimisele kubuya.
(He tells me that he is going and that he does not intend to (return. )

ngoko na kaloku (then and now)

nga mabhini na nga ntathu (in twos and in threes)

kabini na kathathu (twice and three times)

e mini nase busuku (day and night)

Ndimeilinga xa ndilelevo na xa ndihleliyo.
(I think of her when I am asleep and when I am awake)

U kuze aphile no kuze abuye omelele kwa kamsinyane, ma kalale ngo kwanelevo.
(In order that he may recover, and in order that he may quickly
(regain his strength, he must have sufficient sleep. )

Ndiza kuthetha nje ngo kuba ndithanda na nga ngo kuba ndithanda.
(I am going to speak according as I wish and as much as I wish)

18.4. ke (and now / and so)

Ke, xa kunjalo, ma ndithi ni mna?
(And now, if that is so, what must I do? )

Wonile na ke? (has he sinned then?)

Siyahambha ke ngoku (and now we are going)

18.5. kanti (whereas / when, in fact / after all)

Bathi bayasebendza, kanti abasebendzi.
(they say they are working, whereas they are not working)

Kanti lo mfo akaso sibibi!
(after all this man is not a fool!)

/ 18.6. phofu...
18.6. **phofu and pho** (and yet, but then):

Uvasela, phofu akalilo nxila (He drinks, but he is not a drunkard).

Ubakhathaza neca nto ni pho? (But then what are you worrying them about?)

In all probability phofu comes from pha fu, the s of pha becoming a by assimilation to the u of fu (cf. Hlubi phozu as against Xhosa-Zulu phezu (above)). In Xhosa phofu often goes together with ke as phofu ke or ke phofu or ke pho. In some dialects, e.g. Lrendomise, we find pha ke or ke pha. The latter form is also found in Zulu (written kapha and regarded by Doke as a primitive conjunctive "652").

(ii) Other parts of speech and phrases used as co-ordinative conjunctives.

18.7. **Those involving quantitatives.**

Kodwa (but):

Ndivanzi, kodwa andimchelile
(I know him, but I am not used to him)

Akahlakaniphile, kodwa umzansiwekile
(He is not quickwitted, but he is honest).

18.8. **Those involving demonstratives**

(1) kuloko and koko (but that):

Ufunu u khombha ngo mso, kuloko akuphilile
(He wants to leave to-morrow, but that he is not well)

(2) phezu koko (in spite of that):

Phezu koko, warvanzelisa, wathetha
(In spite of that, he forced his way and spoke)

(3) nga phezu koko (moreover):

Nga phezu koko, i nto e njalo eyivumelile
(Moreover, such a thing is not permissible)

(4) nga phandle koko (besides):

Nga phandle koko, asikaluvakalisi u luvo lwethu
(Besides, we have not yet voiced our opinion)

(5) ngoko, ngoko ke, ngako oko, ngako oko ke (therefore)

Ma simbulele ngoko (Therefore let us thank him)

akana uvanisa ¥...
Akana nyaniso, ngoko ke a bantu abana kuthembha  
(He is not truthful, therefore the people cannot trust him)
(6) ngoko (nonetheless):
Nge simnceda ngoko (We ought to help him nonetheless)

18.9. Those involving copulatives.
(1) o kukhona ..... ko kukhona (the more ..... the more)
O kukhona athitywayo ko khona anxhamayo (The more he is 
curbed, the more impetuous he becomes)
(2) kunjalo nje (besides, what is more):
Uvemka, kunjalo nje akazimbele kubuya (He is going away, 
and, what is more, he does not intend to return)
(3) kunge njalo (otherwise):
Nambha kwa ngoku, kunge njalo uva kuhlvelwa 
(Go at once, otherwise you will be benighted)
(4) ngokunjalo (likewise):
Ngo kunjalo ndithi kuni....(Likewise I say unto you ...)

18.10. Those involving verbs.
   u kuye, with stem -ye (and, what is more):
Uvahambha, wave akazimisele kubuya (He is going, and, what 
is more, he does not intend to return)
Balambhile, bave badiniwe (They are hungry, and, what is 
more, they are tired)

18.11. Miscellaneous.
(1) o kanye (or, otherwise):
Uvahambha, o kanye akuhambhi? (Are you going, or are you 
not going?)
(2) no kuba (or):
Yi ndoda no kuba ngu mfazi? (Is it a man or is it a woman?)
(3) no kuba....no kuba (whether....or):
No kuba yi ndoda, nokuba ngu mfazi, ndiza kuyazi loo nto 
(Whether it a man or a woman, I shall find that out)
Sixolale no kuba uvanuma, no kuba uyala na (tell us 
whether you are willing or refusing).

/II. Subordinative .....
II. Subordinative Conjunctives.

(a) Those introducing substantival clauses

18.12. Subordinative conjunctives introducing substantival clauses are followed by any finite mood, primary modality only.

u kuba, o ko kuba, u kuthi (that):
Akacondi u kuba uyana nthwana
(He does not realize that he is being cheated)
Ndiciniselile o ko kuba bayeza ngoku
(I am sure that they are coming now)
Mna ndicinza u kuba hambha ngo mso
(I personally think, "Go to-morrow")
Kuyi nene na u kuba ufikile?
(Is it true that he has arrived?)
Ngumkwemo wam u kuba afike adikhe
(It is my wish that he should come while I am present)
Andithembhi u kuthi angafika
(I do not trust that he can come)

(b) Introducing adverbial clauses

18.13. Conditional

(1) u kuba and o ko kuba (if):
Followed by the indicative or potential mood, primary modality:

U kuba nizinisele u kuhambha, hambhani kwa ngoku
(If you intend to go, go at once).
O ko kuba bangeza, ra beze
(If they can come, let them come).
and
(2) no kuba/no ko kuba (even if):
Followed by the indicative and potential mood, primary modality:

No kuba ivana ngo mso, siva kusehendza
(Even if it rains to-morrow, we shall work)
Be ndinsayayayo no ko kuba shongafika ngoku
(I should be glad even if he could come now)

(3) no kuba
(3) no kuba ..... no kuba (whether ..... or):
Followed by the indicative or/potential mood, primary modality:
U mthetho uza kubha no kuba uyafika no kuba sakafiki.
(the court is going to proceed whether he arrives or (not.

(4) nga phandle ko kuba (unless):
Followed by any finite mood, primary modality, except the imperative.

Andihambhi nga phandle ko kuba nawe uyahambha.
(I am not going unless you are also going)

Nga phandle ko kub' ii nkomo zizindze musan'u kudlala.
(unless the cattle settle down, do not play)
Nga phandle ko kuba ingasuke ine, andiyiboni i nto e no kuthintela u mdalalo.
(unless it might possibly rain, I do not see what can stop the game.


na kuba and na kubeni (even though):

phezu ko kuba (in spite of the fact that):
All followed by the indicative or potential mood, secondary participial modality.

Na kuba engathethi une zimvo zakhe ngale nto.
(even though he does not speak, he has his opinions on the matter)
Phezu ko kuba sasimcebisile, waahambha nga yibonayo.
(in spite of the fact that we had advised him, he decided things in his own way.

Ndiza kuya phezu ko kuba be ndithembhise o kukumbhi.
(I shall go in spite of the fact that I promised otherwise)

Na kuba engazilwe layo andifuni u kuba alwe.
(although he can fight for himself, I do not want him to fight)

18.15. Causal.

Followed by the indicative or/potential mood, primary or secondary participial modality.

kuba, ngo kuba, ngo ko kuba, nga kuba (because):
The last follows a negative predicative only.

/ ndicima ....
Ndicima i sibane, kuba ndifuna u kulala.
(I put out the light, because I want to sleep)

Umthethelela ngo kuba enthanda.
(He speaks for him because he loves him)

Asizanga ng-a kuba simenyiwe.
(We have not come by reason of our being invited)

Akasonge zandla nga kuba engebi na kwendza nto.
(He has not folded his arms by reason of his being unable (to do anything.)

18.16. Final.

u kuba and (khona) u kuze (in order that):
bleze (lest/in case)

All followed by the subjunctive mood.

Bancengca u kuba ababonise i ndlela.
(They begged him to show them the way)

Bancedeni (khona) u kuze nabo banincede ngo mso.
(HELP them in order that they also may help you to-morrow)

Ma singabasi bleze sitjhise i dlelo.
(Let us not make a fire in case we burn the pasture)

18.17. Temporal.

(1) u kuba (as soon as), phambhi ko kuba (before):

Followed by the subjunctive mood.

U kuba athethe nje, ma ze uphakame uphendule.
((Just as: soon as he speaks just, you are to rise and reply)
Phambhi ko kuba athethe kha nimazise e mśni.

(Before he speaks, please introduce him to the community)

(2) emva ko kuba (after): Followed by the indicative participle.

emva ko kuba sisebendze kangaka asizi kuvuzwa?
(After we have worked so hard are we not going to be rewarded?)

18.18. Manner.

(1) nje ngo kuba (as, according as):

Followed by the indicative or potential participle modality.

Yendza nje ngo kuba besendza (Do as they do)

Uxakanisekile, nje ngo kuba nawe ube ungaxakanisekayo.
(He is offended just as you also could be offended)

(2)
(2) (ka)nga ngo kuba (as much as/ so much so that)

Followed by the indicative or/potential mood, primary or secondary modality, or by the subjunctive mood.

Ndiza kumneeda kanga ngo kuba naye endineeda.
(I am going to help him as much as he helps me)

Ugula kanga ngo kuba siphelelwe lithembha.
(He is so ill that we have lost all hope)

Ugula kanga ngo kuba angafa na ninina.
(He is so ill that he can die any time)

Ugula kanga ngo kuba singabi na thembha.
(He is so ill that we haveno hope)

(3) ngo kungathi (as if):

Followed by the indicative or/potential mood, primary modality.

Lala cwaaka ngo kungathi ufile
(jie quite still, as if you are dead)

Lo mfo ukhangeleka ngo kungathi angendza ii nto e zinkulu.
(This man looks as if he could do great things)

(4) (ka)nga ngo kude and ngo ko kude (to such a degree)

Followed by the subjunctive mood.

Wagula (ka)nga ngo kude elale phantsi.
(He was so ill that he took to bed)

Umfazi wothuka ngo ko kude awe i siduli.
(The woman was so startled that she fainted)

18.19. In his Zulu Grammar, Doke classifies the conjunctives, according as to whether they are influencing or non-influencing. He regards those that are followed by the subjunctive or participial mood as influencing and these "few conjunctives which do not affect the subsequent verb form as non-influencing.

18.20. Before we consider the appropriateness or otherwise of these terms, it is necessary to comment on some of the forms that Doke regards as conjunctive. In his introduction he says that "in many cases it is difficult to distinguish the conjunctives from deficient verbs" (our implicative verbs)

In his list of conjunctives he includes such forms as ake:

/ ake shiale lapha ....
ake ahlale lapha which Doke translates "Just let him sit here", but should be translated "let him just sit here" or "let him sit here a little"; and konje ngahle bawudle-nje? which is translated "will they really eat it?" when it should be "so then will they possibly eat it?" or "so then they are likely to eat it?"

18.21. Both ake and ngahle are implicative verbs with stems ke and -ble respectively. The a of ake is also an implicative verb, used as an alternative to ma in the hortative use of the subjunctive mood. (See 13.13). The Xhosa equivalent of ake ahlale lapha is ma kakhe ahlale apha or ma khe ahlale apha. The equivalent in Mpondoland is kake ahlale apha or a ke ahlale apha. The ka of kakhe and kake is the subject concord which, as shown elsewhere in this treatise is often elided before implicative verbal stems. Similarly in ngahle the subject concord, which should be be, to make bangahle, is elided. The verb bangahle is in the present tense of the potential mood.

18.22. It is difficult to see why Doke regards these as conjunctives, as neither the original Zulu nor Doke's own English translations suggest a conjunctive function or meaning. (In konje ngahle bawudle nje, it is konje that is conjunctive). But what is still more puzzling is the recording in the Dictionary (Doke & Vilakazi) of ake as verb (pp.4-5) and of ke both as a conjunctive (e.g. Ke slinge-nje! - just let him try!) and as a deficient verb (i.e. implicative:) "followed by subjunctive mood" (p. 371). This forces one to draw the conclusion that Doke does not realize that he is dealing with one and the same verbal stem, ke, and that in all the illustrations he has given, its basic meaning is the same. Also, he does not seem to recognize the a in ake as the he mentions in the Grammar (§ 453).

18.23. Similarly, ngahle is recorded twice in the Dictionary (p.546), as a conjunctive and as a deficient verb, as if the authors did not see any etymological relationship. Then again -ble is recorded separately (p.328) as a deficient verb. That nga is the formative of the potential mood as illustrated in the Grammar ....
Grammar (§ 466), does not seem to be realized. As far as the present writer has been able to investigate, Doke has not indicated anywhere in his writings that he is aware of the fact that in Nguni the subject concord of a deficient verb is often elided. In fact, it would seem that he is not aware, because in the Dictionary, nqahle, ngake and ngase (which should have been recorded as -nqahle, -ngake, -ngase) are described as "defic. v. (of cop. type)" i.e. deficient verbs of a copulative type, in other words, verbs used as non-verbal predicatives. A similar verbal form *ngaba is described as an ideophone (p. 546).

In fact -ngaba is made up of the potential formative, -nqa-, and the verb-stem -ba (be), to make -ngaba (-can be) or (-may be). Because it is often used without a subject concord e.g. Ngaba baye phi? instead of bangaba baye phi? (where can they have gone to?), the authors failed to recognize its verbal nature.

18.24. Again, in recording hleze (least) in the Dictionary, no reference is made to its derivation, -hle (happen) + -ze (come) which, as implicative verb-stems, become -hle + -ze.

(Cf. of this treatise).

18.25. In his list of "conjunctives followed by the Participial Mood", Doke includes such substantives as mhla, in mhla sifikayo (on the day we arrived), mzukwana, in mzukwana ifa inkosi (on the day the chief died), lapho in lapho ameva emaninzi khona (where the thorns are thick). But surely in these constructions mhla, lapho, mzukwana are substantivals qualified by the indirect relative sifikayo, ifa inkosi and ameva emaninzi khona respectively.

18.26. We may now go back to the question whether the terms "influencing" and "non-influencing" are appropriate. Doke's so-called "conjunctive followed by the sunjunctive mood" are, in fact, implicative verbs, and most of them are used with their /primary.....

* The derivation of nqahaza (doubt/surmise) from -ngaba (-may be) is understandable. But if the Zulus ever use any such expression as u kuthi ngaba meaning "to doubt/to surmise", they use it with the meaning "to say 'may-be'" and not ideophonically.
primary function as implicative verbs in the very illustrations that Doke gives, (see §§ 653 - 662), and it is their primary function as implicative verbs, and not the conjunctive use, that necessitates their preceding, or their being followed by, the subjunctive mood. Again, even if we agreed with Doke that mhla, mzu kwana and lapho are conjunctives, there would still be no grounds for asserting that the relative predicatives that follow these words are in the mood in which they are as a result of the influence of mhla, mzu kwana, and lapho, per se.

18.27. Even if Doke had not had the difficulty to which he confesses in distinguishing "the conjunctives from deficient verbs" (§ 651), there seems to be no case for the classification he was attempting. A look through the conjunctives in Xhosa as classified in the foregoing pages of this chapter reveals the following facts:

(1) that one and the same conjunctive may be followed by different moods, the meaning being different in each case. Consider u kuba in the following sentences:

- Ndicinga u kuba uyangena (I think he is entering)
- U kuba uyangena ma ze uphume (if he enters, you must come out)
- Ndifuna u kuba angena (I want him to enter)
- U kuba angena, ma ze uphume (as soon as he enters you are to come out)

(2) that even when the construction involved in the formation of one or more conjunctives is identical and the types of subordinative clause introduced identical, the moods of the verbs in the subordinate clauses may be different.

e.g. phambhi ko kuba angene (before he enters)
e mva ko kuba e ngenile (after he had entered)

18.28. This then leads to the conclusion that besides classifying the conjunctives according to the type of clause introduced, the only other method is according to derivation, e.g.
(1) *u kuba* and compounds involving it, such as *ngo kuba*, *nje ngo kuba*, *no kuba*.

(2) *u kuthi* and compounds involving it, such as *ngo kungathi*.

(3) *u kude* and compounds involving it, such as *kanga ngo kude*, *ngo ko kude*, etc. etc.
Chapter 19.

The Interjective.

19.1. Interjectives fall into two main classes, viz. (1) primitive interjectives, which may be called "interjections", and (2) other parts of speech and even sentences used interjectively.

I. Primitive Interjectives.

19.2. Primitive interjectives may be classified according to the emotions they express, as follows:

1. Understanding: Oo! (I see!)
2. Surprise: O! (Oh!), Awu! (What!), Tyhini! (Hallo!)
3. Approval: Heka! (That's it!), Nxhatjho! (Well done!)
4. Disapproval: Hi awu!
5. Admiration: Si! (How nice!), Halala! (Bravo!)
6. Disgust: Rha! (Pooch!)
7. Triumph: Huntju! (Hurrah!)
8. Despair: Yeha ke!, Athi ke! (Alas!)
9. Entreaty: Tarku(ni)! (Mercy!)
10. Calling attention: Metjho! (I say!)

Miscellaneous.

{Mhamhase!
{Mamaase! (The darling!), expression of tender feeling, especially towards a child.

Tjho-tjho! (It serves you right!)

/II. other ......
II. Other Parts of Speech.

19.3. Nouns with their articles, and nominal phrases:
- U Nelanii! (By Nelanii!)
- U mta' la Nelanii! (By the child of Nelanii!)

19.4. Nouns without any article, and nominal phrases:
- Nnumzana! (Greetings, Sir!)
- Mfondini! (Man!)
- Madoda! (Fellows!)
- Mhleka.zi! (Your Excellency!)
- Nozici! (By Nozici!)
- Mxpondomise! (By the Mpondomise people!)
- Bantu ba kwa Mgwanya! (By the people of Mgwanya!)

19.5. Nominal phrases with demonstrative qualificatives:
- Eli gwala! (You coward!), lit. "this coward"
- Eli xoki! (You liar!)
- Esi sibhanxa! (You fool!)
- Esi zinja! (You dogs!)

19.6. Pronominals:
- Buthu! (Poor thing!)

19.7. Verbal Predicatives:
- Suka(ni)! (Get away!), Yitih0(ni)! (Greetings!)
- Wafe! (Look out!), lit. "You die"
- Wanyathelwa! (Danger behind!), lit. "you are trodden upon".
- Bayetha! (Hail to the chief!), lit. "bring them - the enemy"

19.8. Non-Verbal Predicatives:
- Yini le! (What's this! How dare!)
- Naanko! or Nantsao! (Got him!)

19.9. Adverbials:
- E zinkosini! (Greetings to the great ones!)
- Na kanye! (Never!), lit. "(not) even once". 

/sentences ...
19.10. Sentences:

Wabulaw' apho! (Look out!), lit. "You are killed, there"

Inkosi ma zithambhe! (May the chiefs be calm!)
Chapter 20.

**SOME ASPECTS OF SYNTAX.**

The Syntax of the Substantive.

20.1. **As a Vocative:** A substantive may be used as a vocative, or subject of address:

- Bafana, hlabani phantsi!
  (Young men, sit down!)
- Siyanibulis, makhosikazi!
  (We greet you, ladies!)
- Yimani apha, nina!
  (Stop there, you!)

20.2. A noun in its vocative use is not preceded by any article (9.23.). If there are more subjects of address than one, all the substantives may be vocative. Alternatively, only the first one may be vocative, the rest being in the third person, employing the article if they are nouns, and linked to the vocative and to one another by means of the conjunctive, na:

- Ncwawa! Diliza! Ntombhenkulu! Jaji! Ndibyanibiza.
  (Ncwawa! Diliza! Ntombhenkulu! Jaji! I am calling you)
- Bafana! Zintombhi! Yihlan i e ngweleni.
  (Young men! Girls! Get down from the waggon)
- Ncwawa no Diliza, niyabizwa ngu yihlo.
  (Ncwawa and Diliza, you are called by your father)
- Bafana ne drowned, yihlan i e ngweleni.
  (Young men and girls, get down from the waggon)
- Mgcini-sibale no ntlanganiso!
  (Mr Chairman and the meeting!)

20.3. If it is desired to emphasize each and every subject of address, the absolute pronoun of the second person is introduced before each vocative, and na is preplaced to the pronoun in its enclitic form:

/ examples ....
examples:

Nowaxa, nawe Diliza, niyabizwa ngu yihlo.
(Nowaxa, and you Diliza, you are wanted by your father)
Bafana, nani sintombhi!
(Young men and you girls!)

20.4. Nouns indicating generic names are often made emphatic by suffixing -ndini:

Mfazindini! (You woman!) mfazi (woman)
Bantwanandini! (You children!)
The noun nkwenkwendini has been contracted to kwedini.

20.5. Possessive qualificative pronominal phrases may be used vocatively:

Siza kuthi ni, ba kuthi?
("What are we going to do, my compatriots?")
lit. "you of my home"

Nina ba kwa Zulu! (You of the House of Zulu!)
Nina ba kwa Nyawuza, nani ba kwa Ngwanya!
(you of the House of Nyawuza, and you of the House of Ngwanya!

Here too any substantive other than the first may be in the third person, in which case the demonstrative of emphasis is employed, and na preplaced to it to link the substantives together:

Mzi wase maTolweni, no wa kwa Gcina!
(Community of the Tolo and that of the Gcina!)
Bandla lika Mehlo, ne lika Dipha!
(Assembly of Mehlo and that of Dipha!)

20.6. As the Subject of a Sentence: A substantive may function as the grammatical subject of a sentence containing a verbal or personal copulative predicative, in which case the predicative employs a subject concord agreeing with the substantive in person and/or class; or it may function as the logical subject of a sentence containing a verbal or impersonal copulative predicative, in which case the predicative bears no concordial relationship to the subject.

/ 20.7. a substantive....
20.7. A substantive functioning as grammatical subject normally precedes the predicative:

- A bantwana bayalila. (the children are crying)
- Ll nkomo zitya kakuhla. (the cattle are grazing well)
- Thina sivahambha. (As for us, we are going)
- Lo ma kathi cwaka. (This one had better keep quiet)
- A bazali bakho balapha. (Your parents are here)
- Ezi ndaba zimnandi. (This news is pleasant)

But if the emphasis is on the predicative, the substantive follows the predicative:

- Bayalila a bantwana. (They are crying, the children)
- Ma kathi cwaka lo. (He had better keep quiet, this one)
- Balapha a bazali bakho. (They are here, your parents)
- Zimnandi ezi ndaba. (It is pleasant, this news is)

20.8. If the emphasis is on the substantive, especially if contrast is implied, it follows the predicative in word order. The verbal predicative, if non-copulative, employs the subject of class 17:

- Kufike a madoda a mane. (There came four men)
- Kwangsala kwathetha u Maduna. (Maduna was the first to
  (speak)
- Kutjho wna. (I say so)
- Ma kungene wena. (You had better enter)

Interrogative substantives, e.g. bani? (who?), wuphi? (which one?) always follow the verb in word order, and the latter always assumes the impersonal form before them:

- Kuza kuthetha bani? (Who is going to speak?)
- Kwangena wuphi kugala? (And which one entered first?)
- Kuhle ni? (What has happened?)

20.9. If the predicative involves an impersonal copulative, the substantive functioning as the logical subject precedes the predicative, if there is no special emphasis, but follows the predicative if the emphasis is on the latter:

.examples ......
Examples:

I nkosi ngu Sigcawu. (The chief is Sigcawu)
Ngu Sigcawu i nkosi. (Sigcawu is the chief)
Nga bazali bakhe aba. (It is his parents, these are)
I sithethi yaaba ngu Maduna. (The speaker was Maduna)
Yaaba ngu Maduna i sithethi.

(It was Maduna who became the speaker)

(1) 15.54. A substantive functioning as the grammatical subject may be left out and merely indicated by the subject concord referring to it:

Bayalila (a bantwana) (They are crying)
Ma kathi cwaka (lo). (He had better be quiet)
Balapha (a bazali bakhe). (They are here)
Zimmandi (ezi ndaba). (It is pleasant)

20.11. This is done when it is obvious what the substantive implied is. Hence in expressions that are commonly used e.g. in describing weather conditions or seasons, the substantive is nearly always left out:

Lisibekele (i zulu). (The sky is overcast)
Iyana (i mvula). (It is raining)
Libalele (i langa). (There is drought)
Litjhonile (i langa). (The sun has set)
Ithwasele (i nyange). (The moon has come to life)

20.12. As the object of a sentence:

A substantive object normally follows the verb:

U mfazi wanyisa u sana lwakhe.
(The woman is suckling her baby)
Sondezani a mahashe. (Bring the horses near)
Ma kathenge i nowadi. (He had better buy a book)

20.13. An object concord referring to the substantive object may be prepended to the verb-stem. If the substantive object referred to is obvious, the latter may be left out:

Andibazi aba bantu. (I do not know them, these people)
Andibazi. (I do not know them)

/ 20.14. If there ....
20.14. If there is no special emphasis, the object concord is excluded:

Sive i nxeolo. (We heard a noise)
Baza kuthenga ii nowadi. (They are going to buy books)

20.15. If there is special emphasis either on the verb or on the substantival object or on both the verb and the substantival object the object concord is included:

Sivivile i nxeolo. (We did hear the noise)
Baza kuzithenga ii nowadi. (They are going to buy books)

If contrast is implied, the substantival object precedes the verb:

I nxeolo sivivile. (As to the noise, we did hear it)
or, (a noise we did hear)

II nowadi baza kuzithenga.
the
(As to books, they are going to buy them)
or, (books they are going to buy)


Two or more substantives may be co-ordinated as the subject or object of one sentence. The substantives may stand separately or be linked together by means of na, functioning conjunctively:

U Thembha, u Lizo, u Mxoli balapha.
or
U Thembha no Lizo no Mxoli balapha.
(Thembha, Lizo and Mxoli are here)
Ndibone u Thembha, u Lizo, u Mxoli.
or
Ndibone u Thembha no Lizo no Mxoli.
(I saw Thembha, Lizo and Mxoli)

Very often, the second substantive is linked to the first by means of a personal copulative, indicative present participial, of which na is the stem and the second substantive a complement.

U Thembha beno Lizo no Mxoli balapha.
lit. "Thembha, they being with Lizo and Mxoli are here"
Ndibone u Thembha beno Lizo no Mxoli.
Lit. "I saw Thembha they being with Lizo and Mxoli"

/ 20.17. In word ....
20.17, In word order, (i) the first person takes precedence over the second and third, and the second over the third:

Mna, nawe no Sipho. (I, you and Sipho)
Wena no Sipho. (You and Sipho)

(ii) people take precedence over things:

a bantu ne mfuyo yabo. (people and their livestock)

(iii) adults take precedence over youngsters:

a madoda na bafazi no sapho.
(the men, the women and the young)

(iv) males take precedence over females:

a madoda na bafazi. (men and women),
a bafana nee ntombhi. (young men and young women)
a makhwenkwe na mantombhazana.
(young boys and young girls)
i nkundzi ne mazi. (a male and a female)

(v) people of high rank take precedence over people of lower rank:

ii nkosi na maphakathi. (the chiefs and/councillors)
a banumzana na bafokazana.
(men of standing and men of low rank)

20.18. The concord referring to co-ordinated subjects or objects is naturally in the plural. If the substantives co-ordinated belong to different persons, the subject or object concord used is the plural form of whatever person takes precedence. Thus, if there is a substantive in the first person the concord of the first person plural is used. If there is a substantive in the second person, and none in the first person, the concord of the second person plural is used:

Thina nani na beSuthu siyazalana.
(We and you and the Sotho people we are related)
Nina na beSuthu na beTswana siyazalana.
(You and the Sotho and the Tswana you are related)
Wena no Sipho me nihambhe. (You and Sipho had better go)

/ 20.19. If all...
20. 19. If all the substantives are third person and belong to one class, the plural concord related to that class may be used:

U mThembhu no mXuthu hayazalana
(The Thembhu man and the Sotho man are related)

"Utsikana lo XenoSoga na jabe sadengamazana"
(This Ntsikana and Soga must have been close acquaintances)

(Zaze Soga: Imilenge p. 4)

"amagama namazwi amathi enamenalise..."
( (words and statements that astonished me)

Lengayi: Jdon Jadu, p 28)

lo mntwana ubaxakile u yise no xina
(This child really embarrasses his father and mother)

Inka ne mpuntuya ziyafana
(The dog and the fox resemble each other)

20. 20. If the substantives are third person and belong to different classes, concordial agreement may be expressed in the following ways:

1. By using the concords of Class 2 if the substantives indicate persons, and concords of Class 10 if they indicate things:

U laduna nes ntombhi zakhe se hesikile
(Laduna and his daughters have already come)

"isikolo netvalika zachhaza..."
(the school and the church were broken down ...)

(Lengayi: Jdon Jadu, p. 28)

"Imurulo nomloro se rincwunu..."
(The nose and the lips wore a night ...)

(Madva: Goboka, p. 24)

Chabonile u laduna nes ntombhi zakhe?
( Did you see Laduna and his daughters? )

(ii) By using the concords of the referring to the first substantive, if it normally takes precedence over the substantives co-ordinated with it:

ii ngesi na nqaphathi ziza kuhla le akha
(The chiefs and the councillors are going to sit here)
examples cont.

U mgcini-sihlalo ne ntlanganiso uya kundizolela.
(The chairman and the meeting will forgive me)

Sizimemile ii nkosi na maphakathi.
(We have invited the chiefs and the councillors)

Ndiyamcela u mgcini-sihlalo ne ntlanganiso.
(I beg the chairman and the meeting)

(iii) By using the concords referring to the substantive nearest to the predicative:

"Imikhala nessali zizezingaphaya...."
(The bridles and the saddles being of superior quality)

(Mqhayi: Imibengo, p.193)

Ndiwuthengile u mkhala ne sali.
(I did buy a bridle and a saddle)

Ii rhabu na matyala se siwahlawule.
(We have already paid the taxes and the debts)

Asikazihlawuli ii rhabu na matyala.
(We have not yet paid the taxes and the debts)

There are situations in which we cannot be sure whether (i) or (iii) applies:

"sangena iinchuka nezandawana, namanye amapamcwana"
(hyenas, strandlopers and other beasts of prey came into the scene.

(Gqoba: Imibengo, p.95)

(iv) By putting one substantive before or after the predicative as subject in concordial agreement and making the rest bases of adverbial phrases preceded by na or kunye na:

"(U Thana) wasuka weenza icebo nominiswa wakhe...."
"( " " ) he unexpectedly plotted with his younger brother.

(Gqoba: Imibengo, p.91)

"waphuma uDingiswayo nana buho akhe"
(Dingiswayo set out with his troops)

/ umlilo lowo .....
examples cont.

"umlilo lowo wawunekaši kho, kunye nesabokhwe eso seBulu"

(the fire was not yet there, together with the Boer's)

(Iqhayi: Imiengo, p.131)

"UTaraše) weenje njeya, ekunye noonyana Bakhe, nesinzana lamadoda".

(He set out together with his sons and a small troop of men)

(Ibid: p. 136)

"Sadl'isilwangangušo nezinja zaso kwelakwaHoho"

(he vulture and his fellows too feasted in the forest)

lit. "together with his dogs"

(Ibid: ITeyla, p. 54)

Ii nkomo bazithimbha na mahashe.

(They captured the cattle and the horses too)

(v) By repeating the predicative after each subject and/or before each object:

& bantu bayafa, imphala iyafa, yenke i ntlo iyafa.

(People are dying, stock is dying, everything is dying)

I mali ayikho, no kutya akukho.

(Money is not there, and food is not there)

"(I Britani) isithumel'U mfundisi, yasithumel'i mbhodlela"

(She sent us the missionary, she sent us liquor)

(Iqhayi: Columbia Gram Record.)

"(Incwadi) yaawel'i Nciba yawel'u Lbashe?"

(It crossed the Kei and crossed the Bashee)

(Ibid.)

(VI) By introducing a substantive in apposition to all the co-ordinated substantives and using its concords:

Ii nchuka na maxhwiši nes mpungutye, ezo zilo zenza

u monakalo.

(Hyenas, wild-dogs and foxes, those animals cause damage)

/ i Tsitsa .....
I Tsitsa, i Thina, u Mzimvubu, loc milambho nayiwela nga mini nye.

(The Tsitsa, the Thina and the Uzimvubu, those rivers I crossed in one day.)

"iiintombi zombini nashafo aSathathu, aSantwana aSathi
kanya saenza udumo..." (Mhakyi: lwayengo, p. 136)

(two daughters and three sons, children who in afterlife
achieved fame.)

vii) By supplying the predicative before or after the substantive
with an impersonal concord:

"Amafara Be

(Rharhabe's followers and the Thwa people did not spare one
another.)

The following examples come from Gqoba, Imiengo, p. 102 - 6:

"... ku$ambene uzwide noGodongwana"

(Zwide and Godongwana were vying with each other)

"... se kukhala asafazi nezinja kumzi ongaphajeya .."

(women and dogs already wailing at the homestead on the
other side.

"... kukhala nja, namntwana, namfazi, nankomo,isisijwili"

(dogs howling, children and women wailing, cattle lowing,
(it being a general lamentation.

"Kufa mfazi, nmtwana, kwada kwafa nezinja"

(women died, children, and even dogs died)

20.21. Subjects and objects "of respect":

There is a use of the substantive that resembles the
Latin accusative of respect.

e.g. "manus iuvenem ... revinctum"

(a youth bound as to his hands)

"ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine"

(and as to their burning eyes suffused with blood)

(Virgil: Aeneid, II, lines 57 & 210)

Such a substantive may have subjectival or objectival
relationship to the verb.

/subjectival ...
Subjectival relationship is possible with possessives and with verbs and copulatives indicating states of being:

_Ufe i cala._ (His side is paralysed)

lit. "he is dead a side".

_U sana luhanjwa u mzimba ngu nine._

(the baby is being washed as to the body by the mother)

_Wathambha a madolo._ (He became weak as to his knees)

_Udumbhe u mcale._ (He is swollen as to the throat)

_Ndibuhlungu i ntliziyo._ (I am sore as to the heart)

"Ikwabab' elishlope amapiko!"

(A rook that is white as to the wings) (Zemke, p. 247)

The predicatives above are not transitive and the substantives are in effect the subjects of the sentences in which they occur.

Objectival relationship is possible with a transitive verb that has also a direct grammatical object:

_Nambla-nje siza kunquumla a matakena i misila._

(To-day we are going to cut the lambs as to the tails)

_Bamaphule i ngalo._ (They have broken him as to the arm)

_Le nto indihlungisa u mphefumlo._

(This matter makes me sore as to the soul)

_Ma kazixolise u mphefumlo._

(Let him appease himself as to the soul)

_Ufuna u kuziva a manila._

(He wants to test himself as to his strength)

20.22. Another kind of objectival relationship resembles the Latin "accusative and infinitive" construction. But in Xhosa the second object need not be infinitive:

_Lo mfo ubika i nkosi u kungaphili._

(This man reports the chief not be well)

_Ba mmcona u kutyeba._ (They say he is rich)

lit. "they praise him to be rich"

_Ndimothuka u kuhula kangaka!_

(I am surprised at his having grown so much)

lit. "I am surprised him to have grown so much"

/ aba bahambahaa.....
examples cont.

Aba bahambhi bazibika u kulambha.
(These strangers confess themselves to be hungry)

Loo ntombhi inonywa u bubha.
(That girl is commended for her beauty)

Ndazisola u kungabi na nkomo!
(I blame myself for not having any cattle!)

Usuke wazibona u bunumzana.
(He simply saw himself a man of standing)

20.23. Cognate Objects. These are very commonly used.

Saahambha u hambho o lude. (We travelled a long way)
lit. "we journeyed a long journey"

Loo ndoda ysalala u buthongo o bumnandi.
(That man slept a pleasant sleep)

Ufe u kufa kwe khalipha. (He died the death of a brave man)

20.24. Substantival Phrases: There are nominal and pronominal substantival phrases.

Nominal Phrases: These have infinitives as their base. The infinitive may be the subject or object of the sentence and have its own adjuncts:

u kuvuka nge xesha. (to get up in time)
u kuhlala wedwa. (to live by yourself)
u kuvana na bantu. (to be on good terms with the people)
u kufihl' i ntloko. (to conceal one's opinion)

lit. "to hide one's head"

lit. "to beg for hands"

Examples.

U kuvuka nge xesha akulula e busika.
(To get up in time is not easy in winter)

U kuhlala wedwa kunzako zako.
(Living alone has its own difficulties)

/zifundisi...
examples cont.

Zifundiseni u kuvana na bantu.
(Teach yourselves to be on good terms with the people)

Kwe'u kusigqelisa u kufihl'1 ntloko!
( Don't allow yourself to get used to concealing your opinion! )

Pronominal Phrases: There are absolute qualificative and possessive qualificative pronominal phrases. These are discussed in 7.13 - 7.15.

Examples.

A bona-bona abakafiki. (The real ones have not arrived yet.)

O wam uza kufundela u bugqwetha.
(Mine is going to train for law)

Ndibonisapha za kwa Maduna.
(Show me those belonging to the Maduna family)

"U jola-nkundla-mbhini,
E vuse m'lungwinini ne ya kwa Gcaleka".

(He, steward of two courts, that belonging to the White man and that belonging to the Gcalekas)

Mqhayi: Ai Ngangomhlaba! Columbia Gram Recor. AEE 60

20.25. Substantival Clauses: A substantival clause may be the subject or object of a sentence. There are nominal as well as qualificative pronominal substantival clauses.

Nominal Clauses are introduced by the conjunctives u kuba, o ko kuba and u kuthi. (See 18.12.)

20.26. As Subject: A nominal clause functions as the subject of a sentence containing a stative predicative or copulative predicative;

Examples.

Kuyathandabuzakâ u kuba angafika nemhlâ-nje.
(It is doubtful if he can come to-day)

Kuyinene u kuba u nkosi avisekho?
(Is it true that the chief is no more?)

Kumacile u kuba akathethi nyaniso.
(It is clear that he is not speaking the truth)

/ Asibâ ....
examples cont.

Asibo bulumko u kuba shlale apha.

(It is not advisable that he should stay here)

lit. "it is not wisdom"

20.27. As Object: A nominal clause functions as the object of a sentence containing a transitive verb, whether finite or infinitive.

Examples.

Mxeleleni u kuba ndiyahambha.

(Tell him that I am going)

Soyika u kumxelela u kuba u vise akasekho.

(We feared to tell him that his father was no more)

Simazisile u kuba i ntlanganiso imisiwe.

(We have informed him that the meeting has been postponed.

20.28. Qualificative Clauses: A qualificative pronominal clause is a relative clause indicating a substantive without being its name:

Examples.

A bafuna u kubamba bangehambha.

(Those who want to go may go)

"E phandela e nje ye me thole" (Proverb)

(The one that scratches for another is the one that has a fledgling.

i.e. "Each one looks after his own"

"cvuku'mini akahonanga nto.
Kub'akayibonang'inamb'icombuluka"

(Who slept late did not see anything, for he did not see the python uncoil himself)

(Zemka: Anon. p.233)

A badela ma baluleke a bancinane.

(Those who are old had better instruct those who are young)

"Ngubani n'o ngevanga?

(Who is it who has not heard?)

(Mqhayi: ASilimela! Columbia Gram.Record)
examples cont.

O nge zantsi ngo nge zantsi!
(He who is at the bottom is he who is at the bottom)
i.e. "you are at my mercy!"

A bange na nkomo beyangonywa.
(Those who have no cattle are lent cows to milk)
"N ne thunga ayisengelwa phantsi" (Proverb)
(One that has a pail is not milked onto the ground)
i.e. "Waste not, want not".

"Ikhab' o yisengayo" (Proverb)
(It kicks the one who milks it)
i.e. "violence is suffered by the one who provokes it"

20.29. Clauses in Reported Speech.

Speech may be reported in two ways, namely, directly
in the words of the speaker (Oratio Recta), or indirectly
(Oratio Obliqua). The reported speech may be a statement or a
question. Whether direct or indirect, whether a statement or a
question, reported speech is substantive in function.

In Oratio Recta, reported speech is most commonly
subordinated to the verb - thi before the reported speech. But it
may also be subordinated to -tho, following the reported speech.
If it is a question, it may be subordinated to buza (ask), used
impersonally after the question.

Examples.

Wathi, "Ne ndingawuqandanga u mbuza".
(He said, "I had not understood the question")

"Uwulile ke ngoku u mbuza", watjho u Maduna.
(And now you have heard the question", said Maduna)

"Uwulile u mbuza?" kubuza u Maduna.
("Had you heard the question?" asks Maduna)

20.30. If the reported speech follows the main clause, -thi must
come immediately before it, even if there is a more specific
verb indicating telling or answering or asking in the main clause.

/ examples....
Exam;les.

Bamx~lela, bathi, "I cebo e linjalo alizi kunceda"
(They told him and said, "Such a plan will not help you")

Yaphendula i nkosi, wathi, "Ndivile".
(The chief answered and said, "I have heard")

"Ubuzaile uPekesa Sufudumala, esithi, 'Phofu ndive kanjani na?'
(Pekesa asked rather hotly saying, "But how did I hear?")

(Mqhayi: ITyala, p.25)

20.31. If -tjho, buza or some such word is used, it can be
interposed between the actual words of the speech if there is a
break e.g. after an interjective or introductory word like gxebe
or kanene (by the way).

Exam;les.

"Kaloku mnuzana", watjho u Maqoma, "yi nkundla la".
(As you should know, sir", said Maqoma, "this is a court")

"Kanene", wabuza u Maqoma, "ulii Ngeni?"
("By the way", asked Maqoma, "you are an Englishman?")

20.32. Any verb other than -thi may be used personally or
impersonally in the active as well as in the passive voice,
either before -thi or after the reported speech. But -thi cannot
be used impersonally in the active voice even if preceded by an
impersonal predicative.

Exam;les.

Waphendula u Maqoma, wathi, "............"
Kwaphendula u Maqoma, wathi "............"
Wabuza, wathi, "............"
Kwabuzwa, kwathiwa, "............"
Watjho esithi, "............"
Kwatjho u Maqoma, esithi, "............"
Kwatjhiwo kusithiwa, "............"

20.33. In Oratio Obligua, the reported speech is controlled by a
verb indicating reporting, asking etc. or by the verb -thi. The
controlling verb, if not -thi, is followed by a conjunctive,
u kube, o ko kuba etc, which introduces the reported speech.

\* the verb ......
The verb -th1 is not followed by any conjunctive. The examples in 20.27 are all Oratio Oblique.

**Examples.**

Uthi uya kuzakeka nge mso.
(He says he will be busy to-morrow)

Ndicinga u kuba nge sihambha ngoku.
(I think we ought to go now)

If the reported speech is a question, the interrogative na is added after that part of the sentence on which the emphasis is laid.

**Examples.**

Ndithe kuye uvalshamba na no kuba hayi.
(I said to him was he going or not)

Ndimbuzile u kuba umshamba nini na.
(I asked him when he was going)

Andazi no kuba siya kuphumelela na.
(I do not know if we shall succeed)

Bambuza u kuba ube yeye phi na.
(They asked him where he had been)

Ndixe lele u kuba a bazali bakho bakho na.
(Tell me if your parents are present)

Qinisekisa u kuba ze zakho na.
(make sure if they are yours)

Buza u kuba yi ndlu ka bani na le.
(Ask whose house this is)

20.34. **Substantives in Apposition.**

Substantives may be in apposition to each other. The substantives may be noun and noun, noun and pronoun, noun and substantival phrase, noun and substantival clause, pronoun and pronoun, pronoun and substantival phrase, pronoun and substantival clause, substantival phrase and substantival clause, substantival clause and substantival clause.

/ examples.....
Examples.

u Neaphayi, u nyana ka Madzikane.
(Neaphayi, the son of Madzikane)

u Mhlontlo, i nkosi ya mPondomise.
(Mhlontlo, the chief of the Mpondomise)

u Thembha lo vena. (Thembha here, as for him)

u Sigcawu, e yase Qawukeni.
(Sigcawu, the Eastern Pondoland one)

le nto u kuba asebendze yedwa.
(this situation that he should work alone)

aba bona. (these, as for them)

e za kwa Maduna zona. (those of the Maduna's, as for them)

a bangasebendziyo bona.
(those who are not working, as for them)

e zika Maduna, e zintle kunene.
(Maduna’s ones, very beautiful ones)

e zinkulu, e zine mPondo.
(those that are big, those that have horns)

o lulamileyo, o thetha kamnandi.
(one who is gentle, one who speaks pleasantly)

20.35. The subject concord refers to the first substantive.

U Mhlontlo, i nkosi ya mPondomise, waahlasela uNkwiliso
(Mhlontlo, the chief of the Mpondomise, attacked Nkwiliso)

Le nto u kuba asabendze yedwa akayithand’anga.
(He did not like this situation that he should work alone)

20.36. A Substantive may be in apposition to a substantive involved in a qualificative or adverbial or predicative phrase.

Examples.

ii nkomo zabo maXhosa.
(the cattle belonging to them, the Xhosa)

kuloo ndoda, u Maduna.
(to that man, Maduna)
Relative Clause Construction.

20.38. There are two forms of relationship, namely, direct and indirect. There are therefore relative clauses of direct relationship and relative clauses of indirect relationship.

**Direct Relationship.**

20.39. In a relative clause of direct relationship, the subject concord of the relative predicative bears concordial relationship to the antecedent, expressed or implied, the latter being, in effect, the subject of the relative clause.

**Examples.**

lo mntu uthetayo. (this person who is speaking)
a bantu a bange bade. (people who are not tall)
i mizi e kufuphi ne ndlela.
(the hovesteads that close to the road)
u bubele o buse gazini. (kindness that is in the blood)
a bafazi a bana bantwana. (women who have children)
le ndoda ingu mhambhi. (this man who is a stranger)
a bantu a hamazwi akakalyo.
(peoples who have voices that are audible)
lit. "people whose voices are audible".

i silo e simkhondo ungaziwayo.
(an animal whose trail is not known)
lit. "an animal which (is) trail is not known"

/it is to.....
It is to be noted that in each of the last two examples there are two relative clauses. The first in each case involves a copulative predicate, a bamaziwi and e simkhondo, respectively. The second in each case involves a verbal predicate and its antecedent is the noun involved in the preceding copulative. This has eluded Nguniists, and that is why Doke found it necessary to provide for what he terms "subjectival possessive relationship". (Zulu Gr. § 761)

Cf. 14.25 of this treatise.

**Indirect Relationship.**

20.40. In a relative clause of indirect relationship, the subject concord of the relative predicate either bears concordial relationship to a substantive, expressed or implied, within the relative clause itself, that substantive being the grammatical subject of relative clause, or it is impersonal, there being a logical subject, expressed or implied, within the relative clause:

**Examples.**

lo mntu ndimbonayo. (this person that I see)

u mzi a bakufuphi nawa. (the homestead to which they are close)

u bubele e nisamkale ngabo.

(the kindness with which you received us)

u mntu e silundwendwe lwakhe.

(the person whose guests we are)

a bantu o ntliziyo ibuhlungu ngabo.

(the people about whom your heart is sore)

lit. "the people who you are heart that is sore about them"

apho kutya ii nkomo zethu. (where our cattle graze)

lit. "there (where) there graze the cattle belonging to us"

Mhla kwafa u Madzikane. (the day Madzikane died)

lit. "the day there died Madzikane" /subject concord....
Subject Concord.

20.41. In indirect relationship, the subject concord of the relative predicate in classes 1 and 1a is in all tenses and aspects of the indicative mood except the remote past tenses:

- lo mntu athetha ngaye.
  (this person about whom he is speaking)
- ezi nkomo azithengileyo.
  (these cattle that he has bought)
- eli hashe aza kulibopha.
  (this horse that he is going to harness)
- le ndlu abe eza kuyithengisa.
  (this house that he was going to sell)

This is one instance in which the relative connective has dropped out completely, irrespective of the nature of the antecedent (see 21.56. et seq.) In Hlubi, the connective and the subject concord are kept separate by retaining the k of the subject concord:

- u mntu a kambonako.
  (the person whom he sees)
- i nto a kayifundile.
  (the thing that he has learnt)
- ii nkomo a kazithenge lapha.
  (the cattle that he bought here)

The Relative Connective.

20.42. The relative predicate may be preceded by a relative connective, the demonstrative of emphasis, as a pronoun in apposition to or replacing the antecedent. (The rules for the presence or absence of the relative connective are given in 21.45. et seq.)

20.43. In clauses of direct relationship, the antecedent, the connective and the relative subjectival concord agree in the third person. In the first and second persons, there being no class demonstratives, the connective is not related to any particular class, and therefore remains in the classless form, (1)a.

/cf. ....
(cf. 9.43.). The a of (l)a is partially assimilated to the vowel of the relative subjectival concord.

(l)a ndi- > e ndi-

wena, nyana ka Gana, e ndinca mmeli wenu.

(I, son of Gana, who am your representative)

(l)a si- > e si-

thina, boonvana baka Gana, e singa bamevi benu.

(we, the sons of Gana, who are your representatives)

(l)a u- > o u-

wena, nyana ka Gana, o ngu mmeli wezha.

(you, son of Gana, who is our representative)

(l)a ni- > e ni-

nina, boonvana baka Gana, e ninguna bamevi bethu

(you, sons of Gana, who are our representatives)

20.44. In clauses of indirect relationship, even when the antecedent and the connective are in the third person, the vowel of the relative subjectival concord exerts influence on the connective.

o ndi remains o ndi-, or becomes e ndi-

u mntu o ndingamaziyo, or u mntu e ndingamaziyo.

(the person that I do not know)

a ndi- remains andi-, or becomes e ndi-

a mazwi a ndiwathethileyo, or a mazwi e ndiwathethileyo

(the words that I have spoken)

a ba > a ba:

i ndlu e bayaziyo > i ndlu a bayaziyo.

(the house that they know)

a ku- > e ku-

a bantu e kuthiwa bayeza

(the people who are said to be coming)

lit. "the people who it is said they are coming"

As with the locative article, there is a strong tendency towards an invariable e as the relative connective of indirect relationship. Due to this tendency, even o becomes e before the / impersonal ...
impersonal ku-:

\[(u\,mfo)\,o\,kuthiwa \rightarrow e\,kuthiwa\]

The form \(e\,kuthiwa\), which is still regularly used in Zulu, was a regular form in Xhosa till about the end of the nineteenth century:

"... ndabona umfo okuthiwa ngukujumayeli"

(... and I saw a man named Evangelist)  

(Tiyo Soga: Umhango, p.18)

"... umzi ... okuthiwa kukulowelane"

(a house known as Gwelane's mother's)

(N.C. Mhala: See Imibenge, p.150)

Classification of Relative Clauses

of

Indirect Relationship.

20.45. The relationship between an antecedent and the relative clause of indirect relationship that qualifies it may be objectival or adverbial. Both objectival and adverbial relationship may also be possessive. There are therefore plain objectival relationship, possessive objectival relationship, plain adverbial relationship and possessive adverbial relationship. In the following illustrations, Example (a) in each case illustrates plain relationship, and example (b) possessive relationship.

20.46. Objectival Relationship:

(a) when the antecedent is, in effect, the object of the relative predicate:

\[a\,madoda\,o\,wabonileyo\,\,(the\,men\,whom\,you\,saw)\]

(b) when the antecedent is, in effect, the possessive qualitative of an object in the relative clause:

\[a\,madoda\,e\,nibone\,conyana\,bawo\]

(the men whose sons you saw)

lit. "the men who you saw their sons"

/ 20.47......
20.47. Adverbial Relationship. i.e. (a) when the antecedent is, in effect, the base of an adverbial adjunct of the relative predicate, (b) when the antecedent is, in effect, the possessive qualitative of a substantive involved as the base of an adverbial adjunct of the relative predicate. Adverbial relationship may be sub-divided into various types, as indicated below:

(i) Locative Adverbial Relationship:
   (a) indlu a bahlala kuyo  
       (the house in which they live)
   (b) indlu a bahlala ngaphaya kwayo  
       (the house beyond which they live)

(ii) Conjunctive Adverbial Relationship:
   (a) u mfo e ndandisebendza mave  
       (the man with whom I was working)
   (b) u mfo e ndandisebendza no nyana wakhe  
       (the man with whose son I was working)

(iii) Instrumental Adverbial Relationship:
   (a) u mpu a bambulele ngawo  
       (the gun with which they killed him)
   (b) u mpu a bambulele nge sikhanda sawo  
       (the gun with whose butt-end they killed him)

(iv) Agentive Adverbial Relationship:
   (a) a bantu e sincedwe ngabo  
       (the people by whom we have been helped)
   (b) a bantu e sincedwe li cebo labo  
       (the people by whose advice we have been helped)

(v) Manner-comparative Adverbial Relationship:
   (a) u mntu e ndimde kunaye  
       (the person than whom I am taller)
   (b) u mntu e ndimde kuno nyana wakhe  
       (the person than whose son I am taller)

20.48. Since a relative predicate may have a substantival or adverbial clause as its adjunct, it is possible for the antecedent to have relationship through an adjunct clause.

/examples...
Examples.

(1) *u mntu e ndicinga u kuba uyandazi*

(the person who I think knows me)

*u mntu* is, in effect, the subject of uyandazi, which is the predicate of the substantival clause *u kuba uyandazi*. This clause is the object of the relative predicate, ndicinga.

(2) *u mntu e ndicinga u kuba onyana bakhe bayandazi*

(the person whose sons I think know me)

lit. "the person who I think that his sons know me"

*u mntu* is, in effect, a possessive qualitative of onyana which is the subject of the substantival clause *u kuba .... bayandazi*, and object of the relative predicate ndicinga.

(3) *i ndlu e ndicinga u kuba ufuna u kuyithenga.*

(the house which I think he wants to buy)

*i ndlu* is, in effect, the object of the infinitive *u kuyithenga*, which in turn is the object of ufuna, which is the predicate of the adjunct substantival clause, *u kuba ufuna u kuyithenga*.

(4) *i ndlu e ndicinga u kuba ufuna u kuthenga u phahla iwayo.*

(the house whose roof I think he wants to buy)

*i ndlu* is, in effect, the possessive qualitative of *u phahla* which is the object of *u kuthenga* etc.

20.49. These examples are sufficient to indicate that there are further sub-divisions of indirect relationship that need investigation. Such investigation would also have to give far more attention than has been given hitherto to the possibilities of relationship (i) when the relative predicate is in the passive voice with an impersonal subject concord and (ii) when the relative predicate is a copulative. The following examples from Sigila's *Ndalikhekelha* give an idea of the possibilities:

p. 24. "*Kweziya ntsa kuthiwe idolophu wase Wepener iphantsi kwazo*"

(towards those mountains below which the town of Wepener was said to be)

p. 25. "*Kwelihya cala ilokisi ingakulo*"

(towards that side in whose direction the location is)

p. 26. "*Ngomthanthatho omthsha endaliwela iGolili usakhiwa*"

(by a new bridge which was being built when I crossed the Orange River.)

/ lit. "by a ...
lit. "by a bridge which is new that I crossed the Orange River it being built"

In the last example the antecedent, u mthantatho is, in effect, the subject of usakhiwa, which is a participial used absolutely.

It will also be necessary to expand our terminology to cover some of those adverbial relationships that are at present bundled together under "instrumental relationship". The preposition, nga, as we have shown in Chapter 17, has several significations besides instrumentality. For instance, in the expression u mcimbhi e kungakabikho sigqibo ngawo (a matter concerning which there is as yet no conclusion), the significance of the nga in ngawo is not instrumental.

The Antecedent.

20.50. The antecedent of a relative clause is a substantive, whether functioning as a vocative or as subject or object, and whether involved and even inflected in a qualitative predicative or adverbial expression.

Examples.

Vocative: Bantu bafikayo, yizani kweli cala.
(People who are just arriving, come this way)

Subject: A bantu a bafikayo ma beze kweli cala.
(The people who are just arriving had better come this way)

Object: Khoba a bantu a bafikayo
(Beat on the people who are just arriving)

Qualitative Base: Nazi i zihlahlo za bantu a bafikayo
(Here are the seats for the people who are just arriving)

Copulative Complement: Nga bantu a bafikayo
(It is the people who are just arriving)

Adverbial Base: Ndibhekisa kubantu a bafikayo
(I am addressing myself to the people who are just arriving)

/ndithetha....
Ndithetha nga bantu a bafikayo
(I am talking about the people who are just arriving)
Ndithetha na bantu a bafikayo
(I am conferring with the people who are just arriving)

20.51. Substantival phrases and clauses too can function as antecedents.

Substantival Phrases:

A ba kuthi a basebendza e Kapa babini kuqhelha.
(Those of my people who work in Cape Town are two only)
E zakhe e zingekapheleiswa zise mashange.
(Those of his that have not yet been trained are at the reserve pastures)

Substantival Clauses:

Endimaziyo o funa u kuthetha ngu Maduna.
(Those known to me who wants to speak is Maduna)
O yibonileyo e nee ukomo ma ze ixelelwe.
(Any you see who has cattle had better be told)

Position of the Antecedent.

20.52. The normal position of the antecedent, as all our examples hitherto have shown, is before the relative clause, But if the emphasis is on the qualificative clause it precedes the antecedent, and the latter is added rather parenthetically:

- a bafuna u kuhambha a bantu
  (those who want to go - people)
- e zingakwaziyo u kusina ii nombhali
  (those who do not know how to dance - the girls, I mean)
- e linga na mia i kasihe
  (one that has no tail - a horse, I mean)
- a bambahlohe a bantu
  (those who are white - the people, I mean)
- nendisa kakhakanya i zizwe
  (those that I have not mentioned - tribes, I mean)
- e sasihlala nabo a bafana
  (those with whom we lived - young men, I mean)

/20.53. It is....
20.53. It is important to note that a noun that has no initial vowel in the normal position as antecedent assumes an article when placed after the relative clause. Compare the following pairs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aba bantu bakhoyo} & \quad \text{(these people who are present)} \\
\text{aba bakhoyo a bantu} & \\
\text{Akukho mntu ndimaziyo} & \quad \text{(There isn't any person that I know)} \\
\text{Akukho ndimaziyo u mntu} & \\
\text{e yona ntombhi intle} & \quad \text{(the most beautiful girl)} \\
\text{e yona intle i ntombhi} & \\
\text{Asi bantu ndibaziyo} & \quad \text{(It is not people that I know)} \\
\text{Asi ndibaziyo a bantu} & \\
\text{Asi ya mntu ndimaziyo} & \quad \text{(It does not belong to any person that I know)} \\
\text{Asi ya ndimaziyo u mntu} & 
\end{align*}
\]

Omission of the Antecedent.

20.54. There are situations in which the antecedent may be omitted, if it is obvious what it should be. For instance, in all the examples in 26.52, it could be omitted. In the following examples the antecedent implied is enclosed in brackets:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kukho (u mntu) o phikayo?} & \quad \text{(Is there some one who denies?)} \\
\text{Kukho (mntu) uphikayo?} & \quad \text{(Is there any one at all who denies?)} \\
\text{Akukho (mntu) waziyo.} & \quad \text{(There isn't any one who knows)} \\
\text{"Liliphi ke (iwele) elithe thu tanci?"} & \quad \text{(Which one is it then who appeared first?)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
20.55. There is a difference of opinion amongst grammarians whether a relative clause whose antecedent has been dropped should be regarded as qualitative or substantival (see, for instance, Sommerschein's *A New English Grammar*, § 306, and Jespersen's criticism thereof in *A Modern English Grammar*, Vol. III. p. 54. But our own immediate task is to consider the circumstances in which such omission is permissible, and any syntactical re-adjustments that may be necessitated by such omission.

A noun functioning as subject or object or as the base of a qualitative, predicative or adverbial expression may be omitted if it is obvious, but a vocative cannot be omitted. It is necessary to give illustrations of the omission of a subject or object, because no re-adjustment is necessary. But if the noun involved in a non-substantival expression, is omitted, the element that preceded it is preplaced to the relative connective which after all, is a mere repetition of the antecedent.

**Examples.**

\[ \text{i zendo zo mntu o ngaciniyo} \]

(the deeds of a person who does not think)

\[ \text{i zendo zo ngaciniyo} \quad \text{zo} \sim \text{za} + o \]

(the deeds of one who does not think)

\[ \text{i cebo le ndoda e na mava} \]

(the advice of a man who has experience)

\[ \text{i cebo le} \quad \text{na mava} \quad \text{le} \sim \text{la} + e \]

(the advice of one who has experience)

\[ \text{Ngo mntu o ngathandi ngxabano} \]

(It is person who does not like any quarrelling)

\[ \text{Ngo ngathandi ngxabano} \quad \text{ngo} \sim \text{ngu} + o \]

(It is one who does not like any quarrelling)

\[ \text{L} \quad \text{Lizwe e lithandwa yi mvula} \]

(It is a country that is favoured by rain)

\[ \text{Le lithandwa yi mvula} \quad \text{le} \sim \text{li} + e \]

(It is one that is favoured by rain)

/ kumntu o funa....
examples cont.

kumntu o funa u kutya
(to the person who wants food)

ko funa u kutya
(to the one who wants food)

Ma siye kubantu o basiyo
(let us go to the people who know)

Ma siye kwa basiyo
(let us go to those who know)

na bantu e ndibathandayo
(together with the people that I love)

ne ndibathandayo
(together with those that I love)

nge lizwi e libandayo
(in a voice that is cold)

nge libandayo

The presence or absence of the relative connective:

20.56. Subject to the modifications in 20.72., the rules governing the presence or absence of the relative connective are as stated below:

Noun as antecedent:

20.57. (1) If the antecedent is a noun used vocatively, not accompanied by any absolute pronoun, a connective is employed:

Munzana o bekekileyo! (Honourable sir!)

".. mfazi osithandane kazi .." (beloved wife)

(Tiyo Soga: Uhambo, p.17)

20.58. (2) If the antecedent is a noun used vocatively, accompanied by an absolute pronoun or ndini, a connective is employed:

"Wena Manyuveli, Thix'usaSantwini"

(Thou Emmanuel, God who art in the people)

(Mchayi : Inzuo, p. 14)

/wena hlaThi...
examples cont.

"Wena hlathi lehumbhayo lase-Ntemvukazi"
(Thou moving forest of Ntemvukazi)
(Zemka, p. 335)
Bafanandini bafikayo, yizani aphal
(You young men who are just arriving, come here!)
Mfondini unga na ndawo, naa i sihlalo.
(You man who has no seat, here is a seat for you)

20,59. (3) If the antecedent is a noun with an article and not followed by a demonstrative qualitative, or a noun, semantically admitting of an article, involved in a non-substantival expression as a base, a connective is employed:

Ndibone u mntu e ndingamaziyo.
(I saw a person whom I did not know)

Ngumntu e ndingamaziyo.
(It is a person whom I do not know)

Ndiya e mntwini e ndingamaziyo.
(I am going to a person whom I do not know)

Ndile le kwindlu yo mntu e ndingamaziyo.
(I slept in the house of a person whom I do not know)

Pathetha... ngomntu e ndingamaziyo.
(They are speaking about a person whom I do not know)

Ndithetha na mntu e ndingamaziyo.
(I am conferring with a person whom I do not know)

20,60. (4) If the antecedent is a noun without any article in any of the circumstances described in Chapter 9, if it is a noun semantically not admitting of any article, involved in a non-substantival expression, no connective is employed:

Andibonanga mntu ndimaziyo.
(I did not see any person that I know)

Asi mntu ndimaziyo.
(It is not a person that I know)

Andiyi mntwini ndimaziyo.
(I am not going to any person that I know)

/ andizi ....
examples cont.

Andizi kulala ndini ya muntu ndingamaziyo.
(I am not going to sleep in the house of any person I do not know)

Abathethi nga muntu ndimaziyo.
(They are not speaking about any person that I know)

Andizi kuthetha na muntu ndingamaziyo.
(I am not going to confer with any person that I do not know)

20.61. (5) If the antecedent is a noun with an article followed by a tri-positional demonstrative of any position with a definite demonstrative meaning, no connective is employed:

A bantu abo bafikayo ma bavulelwe i ndawo.
(The people there who are arriving had better be given room)

I nkwenkwe le ileleyo iyagula.
(The boy here who is in bed, is ill)

Khoba a bahambhi abaya balahlekayo.
(Beckon the strangers yonder who are getting lost)

The significance of the demonstrative here is not to be confused with the use of the second positional demonstrative in parenthetical sentences. In the latter the demonstrative is not qualificative but substantival and, in fact, parenthetical. Hence the connective is employed after it:

u mbuzo lowo o ngekaphendulwa.
(a question that has not yet been answered, that one)

i nto leyo e yaamangalisa u mzi wonke.
(a matter that amazed the whole community, that one)

i sihlo eso e sasingalindelwe
(a happening that was not expected, that one)

In fact, in these parenthetical sentences the demonstrative can be placed after the relative clause or dropped entirely:

i nto e yaamangalisa u mzi wonke leyo
or
i nto e yaamangalisa u mzi wonke
(a matter that amazed the whole community)

J.M. Jeanjaquet failed to make the difference in meaning between these two uses of the demonstrative, and that is why he is puzzled....
puzzled by the use of the "long form of the relative concord" with the latter of the two. 

Absolute Pronoun as Antecedent.

20.62. (6) If the antecedent is an absolute pronoun with a definite meaning, no connective is employed:

"Wen' unga phesheya, ndinazele!"
(You who are on the other side, give me some tobacco!) 

(Traditional Mxhentso song)

"Uphahlwe nge Na Zwile no Na Gamanda,
Bona bathe le nkosi namhla ayi kuggitha".
(Attended by the son of Zwile and the son of Gamanda, they who said this chief to-day would not pass)

(Mqhayi: Aizweliyazaza! Columbia Gram.Record)

The position of the absolute pronoun in the construction in 20.62. is fixed. If the noun implied were included, it would follow immediately after the pronoun, without any article, e.g.

wena mntu unga phesheya ...., bona bantu bathe le nkosi ....

This use is not to be confused with the indefinite use of the third person absolute pronoun meaning "any", which is followed by a connective.

Zona e zingatofanga (ii nkomo) ziza kufa.
(As for any that have not been inoculated, they are going to die)

Lona e liyi mazi (i hashe) andilifuni.
(As to a female one, I do not want it)

In these examples, zona and lona imply the nouns in the brackets in their respective sentences. These nouns have articles. Both the pronoun and the noun could be expressed in each case:

Zona e zingatofanga ii nkomo ziza kufa.
Lona e liyi mazi i hashe andilifuni.

The noun can be dropped and the pronoun shifted to where the noun is:

/ E zingatofanga....
ï zingatofanga zona ziza kufa.
(Those that have not been inoculated, as for them, they are going to die)

ï liyi mazi lona andilifuni.
(One that is a female, as for it, I do not want it)

The pronoun can change places with the noun:

ï nkomo e zingatofanga zona ziza kufa.
(Cattle that have not been inoculated, as for them, they are going to die)

I hashe e liyi mazi lona andilifuni.
(A horse that is a female, as to it, I do not want it)

Enumerative Qualificative Pronoun as Antecedent:

20.63. (7) If the antecedent is an enumerative qualitative pronoun, the connective may be employed or omitted depending on the emphasis. If the noun implied would have followed the qualitative, in which case the noun would have an article, a connective is employed:

Wumbhi (u mntu) e ndimbonileyo ngu Maduna.
(A different one whom I saw was Maduna)

Zimbhi (ii nkosi) e zivilayo kodwa azakholwa ze za ba-Thembhu.
(Other ones who heard, but did not believe, were the Thembhu ones)

If the noun implied would have preceded the qualitative (in which case the noun would have no article) no connective is employed:

(Mntu)-wumbhi ndimbonileyo ngu Maduna.
(Another one I saw was Maduna)

(Nkosi) zimbhi zivilayo kodwa azakholwa ze za baThembhu.
(Others heard, but did not believe, were the Thembhu ones)

/ Demonstrative ....
20.64. (8) If the antecedent is a demonstrative qualitative pronoun, a connective is not employed:

Ezi zivala kwa Zulu ma zingathengiswa.
("these that come from Zululand had better not be sold")

Balani abaphoye.
(Count those who are present)

Ngoobani abaya bezayo?
(Who are those over there who are coming here?)

Quantitative Qualitative Pronoun as Antecedent:

20.65. (9) If the antecedent is a quantitative qualitative pronoun, a connective is employed:

Bonke a bamxhasayo ma baphakamise i zandla.
(Let all those who support him raise their hands)

Zontathu e zifileyo ze za kwa Maduna.
(All three that are dead belong to the Maduna family)

Absolute Qualitative Pronominal Phrase as Antecedent:

20.66. (10) If the antecedent is an absolute qualitative pronominal phrase, no connective is employed:

O yena ndimaziyo akakhosapha.
(The one I really know is not here)

Khetha e yena uyithandayo.
(Choose the one you like best)

Possessive Qualitative Pronominal Phrase as Antecedent:

20.67. (11) If the antecedent is a possessive qualitative pronominal phrase, a connective is employed:

Ndiphuthuma a bam a base sikolwene.
(I go to fetch my ones who are at school)

E zika Maduna e zifileyo be zingatofanga.
(Those of Maduna's that have died had not been inoculated)
Qualificative Pronominal Clause as Antecedent:

20.68. (12) If the antecedent is a qualificative pronominal clause, the connective may be employed or omitted, depending on the meaning of the noun implied. If the noun implied would have an article, were it expressed, a connective is employed:

\[(U \text{mntu}) \text{e ndimbonileyo o ngo walapha ngu Maduna.}\]

(The one that I saw who belonged to this place is Maduna.)

If the noun implied would have no article, were it expressed, no connective is employed:

\[\text{Akukho (mntu) ndimbonileyo ungo waxpex walapha.}\]

(There isn't any that I saw who belongs to this place)

Modifications to the rules above.

20.69. Some of the rules governing the absence of the relative connective are modified when the relative clause does not follow immediately after its antecedent. It happens occasionally, when the antecedent is a noun, and even more frequently when it is an absolute pronoun, that other elements are interposed between the antecedent and the relative clause. To maintain the link, as it were, a relative connective is introduced after a connective whose nature otherwise does not admit of a connective:

\[\text{nina, bantu base Mjika, e nifika se kuxoxwa.}\]

(you, people from Mjika, who find the discussion already in progress)

Cf.\[\text{nina nifika se kuxoxwa.}\]

(you who find the discussion already in progress)

\[\text{mna, nyana ka Dana, e ndingu mmeli wenu}\]

(I, son of Dana, who am your representative)

Cf. \[\text{mna ndingu mmeli wenu}\]

(I who am your representative)

20.70. In a relative clause of indirect relationship the substantival subject, if expressed, is in most cases placed at the end of the relative clause:

\[a \text{madoda e siwabonileyo thina}\]

(the men whom we did see - we)

\[a \text{madoda e siwabone kakhule thina}\]

(the men whom we saw clearly - we) / ezi nkomo ....
examples cont.

**ezincomo bazithimbileyo a beNguni**

(these cattle that they have captured, the Nguni people)

**i nto e libe liyixhalele i bandla**

(the matter about which the assembly was anxious)

20.71. But if the antecedent is a locative-temporal noun or demonstrative which is not followed by a connective, the substantival subject may be placed before or after the relative predicate:

**Le nto yendziwa xana u mntu agulayo.**

(This is done at a time when a person is ill)

**Sinduluke xa i langa liyishiyayo i ntaba.**

(We started off at the time when the sun was leaving the mountain behind)

" - uthe xa atshoyo u Khulile..."

( - just at the time when Khulile was saying so ...)

( Mqhayi : IMtyala, p.22)

"Itthe xa ifikayo inkosi namaButho ayo ..."

(When the chief was arriving with his regiments ...)

( Ibid : op.cit., p.53)

**Yi ngoma e vunywa mhla u mkhosi uphumayo.**

(It is a song that is sung the day the army marches out)

**Kumazwe a phesheya, apho u mlungu avela khona.**

(In the countries overseas, whence the White man comes)

**Asikamboni apha, oko u yise wemkayo.**

(We have not seen him here since the time when his father went away)

**Hambhani ngoku i zulu lizolileyo.**

(Now that the weather is calm)

The Relative Predicate in the Commentative Mood.

20.72. When temporal nouns are used as antecedents, the relative predicate is very often in the commentative mood:

"Mnyakana uJwara waya kwaDiko"

(A certain year when Jwara went to Diko's)

(Imiṣeŋo, p. 13)

/ mhla .....
examples cont.

"Mhla a mahash' aphum' ii mpondo" (idiom)
(the day when horses will grow horns) i.e. "never"
Kwahlwa e mini, kwaxela mhla kwafa u Madzikane.
(It became dark at day-time, as on the day when Madzikane died)

"Lethw' izwi lesigodlo mini kwandulukwa,

.................................
Mhla sayiwela le Kiba siqule saggiba,
Mhla wesuk' uZanzolo' engenazwi lamlomo".

(So sounded the voice of the horn the day we set out, ..... the day we crossed this Kei ready for the fray, the day Zanzolo rose without a word)

Enclitic -yo as a Relative Predicative Suffix.

20.73. The suffix -yo is a feature of the verbal predicative in secondary modality. It has the same significance as the -va and the -le of the indicative mood, present and recent past tenses respectively, in that in those modal and tense forms in which it occurs, it is used when the emphasis is on the predicate.
(See 12.36. and 12.66.)

In relative construction, it is suffixed to the verbal relative predicate in some aspects and tenses of the indicative and potential moods as described below.

20.74. Indicative Mood: It occurs in the non-specific aspect only, in the present tense in both conjugations and in the recent and remote past tenses in the positive conjugation only.

Present.

u mntu o yaziyo i ndlela.
(the person who does know the way)

u mntu o ngayaziyo i ndlela.
(the person who does not know the way)

i zinto a bazibonayo. (the things that they see)

i zinto a bangaziboniyo (the things they do not see)

/ recent past...
Recent Past.

u mntu o zibonileyo ezo nkomo.
(the person who has seen those cattle)
i zinto a bazifumenevo.
(the things that they obtained)

Remote Past.

u mntu o waabancedayo.
(the person who helped them)
i ndlela a baasinda ngaye.
(the manner in which they escaped)

20.75. Potential Mood: It occurs in the present in both conjugations and in the past tense in the positive conjugation only.

Present.

u mntu o ngandibonisayo i ndlela.
(the person who is likely to show me the way)
u mntu o ngenibonisiyo i ndlela
(the person who is not likely to show you the way)
i zinto a bangazithethayo.
(the things that they are likely to say)
i zinto a bangezithethayo.
(the things that they are not likely to say)

Recent Past.

u mntu o be enganibonisayo i ndlela
(the person who might show you the way)
i zinto a babe bangazithethayo
(the things that they might say)

Remote Past.

u mntu o wabe enganibonisayo i ndlela
(the person who might show you the way)
i zinto a babe bangezithethayo
(the things that they might say)

Relative clauses....
20.76. If two or more relative clauses are in succession and qualify or imply one substantive, they are not linked together. But if they qualify different substantives, the substantives are linked together by preplacing the conjunctive, na, to the relative connective:

{men who are eloquent and brave}  
{men who are eloquent together with those who are brave}  
{a child that is blind and deaf}  
{a child that is blind together with one that is deaf}  
{those who are hungry and destitute and sick}  
{those who are hungry together with those who are destitute together with those who are sick}  
{those whom I saw together with those whom I did not see}  

20.77. Because participials and relatives are so closely related, repetition of relative clauses is sometimes avoided by making only the first qualificative clause a relative, and making the rest participials:

{men who are eloquent, they being brave}  
{a child that is blind, it being deaf}  
{those who are hungry, they being destitute, they being sick}