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SOME FEATURES OF THE PHONETIC AND GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE
OF BACA

by

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(Dissertation for the M.A. Degree in African Studies)

Introduction

(1) A bird's Eye View of the Area

Baca is spoken chiefly in Mt. Frere district, but a fairly large number of Bacas, who claim to speak Baca, live in Umzimkhu district, and about a thousand live in the district of Mt. Ayliff. According to van Warmelo, there are roughly 10,050 Baca tax-payers in Mt. Frere, 4,500 in Umzimkhulu, while those in Mt. Ayliff number less than 1,000. In none of these three districts is Baca the only dialect spoken. Mt. Frere has a considerable number of Hluŋis who speak Hluŋi, Mt. Ayliff is predominantly Xesibe-speaking, and "there probably is no place where the native population consists of so many small units and different elements as the Umzimkhulu district". The Baca dialect is therefore contiguous with almost every other Nguni dialect spoken in the Transkei; for the south is inhabited by Pondomises, the south-east and the east by Pondos, while standard Xhosa too exerts its own influence on this dialect chiefly through church and school, where Baca, like all the other non-literary dialects, is being stifled to death.

(2) Collection of Material

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

My chief informants were Sicanula Mdodi, Nxhavu Mankumbu, Maphumla Mpit/hane, Nduli Maciki and Mwangeli Mawane — all from Nomt/eket/e's except the last one who came from Mchisana's. Several other Bacas from these two areas as well as from Umzimkhulu and Mt. Ayliff came and went, but these five men I found always ready to sit for hours with me, whether during a week-end or over a long stretch of time during vacations.

At Easter-tide, 1942, I went to Mt. Frere to verify doubtful information. I was there for a fortnight, spending three days at Lubacweni where I met Chief Sikhanda and one of his councillors, and the rest of the time with Chief Mafane, son of Mchisana, son of Makhawula. At Lugangeni (Mchisana's) I had occasion not only to listen to, and take part in, inkundla cases, but also to go very carefully over material gathered each day with various informants including Chief Mafane himself, his uncle Nohi and my kind host Abner Novukela, a teacher who, on account of his mother's good influence, is very proud of Baca and is recognised by all the Bacas in Mchisana's area as one of the best speakers of Baca.

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(3) The Text

As the title implies, at this stage I am not embarking on a complete text-book of Baca, but am attempting to make an exposition of those phonetic and grammatical features of Baca that are not shared with standard Zulu and standard Xhosa. Stress has therefore been laid on the differentiae of Baca. My investigation reveals that the most remarkable differences are chiefly phonological and morphological, and that syntactical differences are practically negligible in quantity. For this reason, no section of this dissertation is devoted to syntax as such. Perhaps therefore, a more suitable title would have been "Some Features of the Phonetic and Morphological Structure of Baca"; but since under some of the headings it has been found necessary to give a fairly detailed account of the syntactical use of certain forms, the present title ought to be acceptable.

(4) Soundshifting

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

(a) Primary Plosives

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

(b) Vowels

" i > i or ĩ. e.g. isiti6a (pool), In'somi (fable).

" a > a or ǎ. e.g. tshandza (love), phāsi (below).

(c) Nasal Compounds

Ur-Bantu nd > ndz. e.g. lindza (guard), indza6a (matter).

" nt > nts. e.g. intsa6a (mountain), intsambo (thong).

(d) Vowel Influence on Consonants

Ur-Bantu ti > tshi. e.g. -tshi (say), umtshi (tree).

" tu > thfu. e.g. -tshathfu (three), -thfuma (send).

" t > ti. e.g. umti (village), ti- (reflexive affix).

" li > ti. e.g. imbuuti (goat), umhluti (gravy).

(e) Nasal Compounds before Close Vowels

Ur-Bantu ndi > nti. e.g. inkunti (bull), ithfunti (shade).

" mbi > nti. e.g. In'hlanti (fish).

(f) Nasal Compounds of ni

Ur-Bantu ni + a > n's. e.g. In'somi (fable), IIn'suku (days).

" ni + f > m'f. e.g. Im'fene (baboon), IIm'fudvo (tortoises).

" ni + hl > n'hl. e.g. etin'hlanu (five), IIn'hlo6o (sort).

* All conclusions on Swazi are based upon Dr. Engelbrecht's "Swazi Texts with Notes".

(g) Consonants before Semi-Vowels

- Ur-Bantu twa > thfwa. e.g. thfwala (bear), impethwana, dimin. of impethfu (maggot)
- " lya > ta. e.g. khatshata, causative of khatshala (be tired), veta, causative of vela (appear).
- " ntwa > ntfwa. e.g. intfwana, dimin. of intfo (thing), umntfwana, dimin. of umntfu (person)
- " ndwa > ndzwa or ndvwa. e.g. tshandzwa (be loved), umsindvwa, dimin. of umsindvo (no)

Some of these are further discussed in relation to morphology.

(5) Teketa or Tshefula?

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

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

(6) Nasal Consonants before Fricatives

Another interesting feature of Baca phonology is the tendency of nasal consonants to disappear before fricatives, in specific cases leaving their influence on the preceding vowel. This has definitely happened in regard to the adverbs phāsi (below), edāsi (at the bottom), where the homorganic nasal has disappeared before s, and left its trace on the preceding low vowel which has become ā, and in connection with the

relatives *sundvu* (dark-red), *6ovu* (red) which remain *ntsundu*, *6omvu* respectively in Zulu-Xhosa. The form *6ovu* is even more remarkable because it reveals a tendency to extend to the voiced fricatives a phenomenon that is at present more prevalent before voiceless fricatives. In fact, *6ovu* is the only instance I know of the disappearance of the nasal before a voiced fricative.

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

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

(6) Influence of Contiguous Nguni Dialects

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

- (i) A large number of "enlightened" Bacas who have been taught to look down upon their mother-tongue.
- (ii) inter-marriage with neighbouring tribes.
- (iii) immigrants from neighbouring tribes.

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

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

* In Tsolo district.

** Very likely a case of transposition. Cf. *hlinzeka* (Zulu-Xhosa), and *hlinteka* (Baca).

(8) The Influence of Sotho

A concentrated lexicological study of Baca may perhaps reveal several words of Sotho origin. So far I have been able to discover two such words, viz. amawundvu (swollen hooves, cf. Sotho maōtō) and indvunu (beer dregs drunk by old men, cf. Sotho tōnō). See also Ch. VI. p. 43, (111)a. These words may have been "loaned" during the brief contact in the days of Madzikane and Moshoeshoe.

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

(9) Conclusion

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

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

CHAPTER I

The Phonetical Structure of Baca

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

The Vowels

2. There are nine vowels in Baca, viz:-

i, ɪ, e, [̃], a, [̃], [̃], o, u.

3. i (high forward vowel). Ex.: imitshi (trees);
isitiša (peel); tshina (we); ilive (country).

4. ɪ (nasalized high forward vowel). Ex.: imfene
(babeon); imfundve (education); insomi (fable); insimbi (iron)
inhloko (head); iihlaka (doors). This vowel is found before
a nasal preceding a voiceless denti-labial fricative or a
voiceless alveolar fricative.

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

6. ɛ (the open mid-forward vowel). Ex.: usephe (spoon);
ukheleket/hane (false); inkwenkwe (boy).

7. a (the low vowel). Ex.: Gamba (seize); iBaca (a Baca);
khamba (go); tshathfu (three).

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

9. ɔ (the open mid-back vowel). Ex.: idvolo (nee);
ithfole (dwarf); umgodla (bag); eŋpoza (Npoza).

10. o (the close mid-back vowel). Ex. Govu (red);
godvuka (go home); intfombi (maiden); loŋu (this).

11. u (the high back vowel). Ex.: amafutsha (fat);
uŋadze (length); ulutshi (rod); umntfu (person).

The Consonants

(a) Plosives

(1) Velars

12. k (the radical velar plosive). Ex.: Geka (put);
bideka (be confused); injakati (bitch); ukudla (food).

13. k' (the ejective velar plosive). Ex.: inkaš1 (ox);
inkoto (grains); -akulu (big).

14. kh (the aspirated velar plosive). Ex.: kha (draw);
khaša (kick); kakhulu (greatly); ukhuni (fire-wood).

15. g (the voiced velar plosive). Ex.: uŋadvuŋadvu
(sun-dried pumpkin chips); gijima (run); gweša (judge);
umŋogodla (bony animal).

(ii) Alveolars

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

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

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

19. d (the voiced alveolar plosive). Ex.: edasi (at the

bottom); naendi (here it is); bida (confuse).

(iii) Bi-labials

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

21. p' (the ejective bi-labial explosive). Ex.: impathfo (treatment); umpenge (cough); impondvo (horns); impofu (eland); ihlwempe (pauper).

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

23. b (the voiced bi-labial explosive). Ex.: bala (write); beka (look); boba (speak); bula (thresh).

24. ɸ (the bi-labial implosive). Ex.: aɸantfu (people); deka (put); -ɸini (two); ɸona (see); ɸuya (return).

(iv) Nasals

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

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

27. mh (the aspirated bi-labial nasal). Ex.: umhana (mother); mhemha (carry on the back).

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

29. m (the syllabic denti-labial nasal). It is found before the voiceless denti-labial fricative f. This is a very soft denti-labial nasal, almost inaudible among the Basas of Mpeza. Ex.: imfene (baboon); imf'e (sweet reed); imfundvo (learning).

30. n (the alveolar nasal). It is found before all vowels as well as in the combinations nt, nts, nd, ndz, ndl. Ex.: unana (son); emini (at day-time); enta (do); intsaɸa (mountain); ukundinga (to fly); indzaɸa matter); amandla (strength).

31. n (the syllabic alveolar nasal). It is found before the voiceless homorganic fricatives s and hl. Among the Basas of Mpeza, this nasal, like the denti-labial before f, is all but imperceptible. Ex.: insimi (field); insomi (fable); iinhlaka (doors); inhlitiyo (heart); inhloko (head).

32. ny (the palatal nasal, phon. ŋ). It is found before vowels as well as in ejective combinations before homorganic affricates. Ex.: unnyati (basket); unyoko (your mother); int/engula (snuff spoon);inja (dog).

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

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

(v) Fricatives

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

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

37. s (the voiceless alveolar fricative). Ex.: isandla (hand); senga (milk); isicamba (mat); sote! (never!); susa (remove); soniswa (be shown).

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

39. / (the voiceless palatal fricative). Ex.: iha/i (horse); /iya (leave behind); i/umi (ten).

40. ʃ (the voiced palatal fricative). Ex.: ʃaca (be lean); iʃaba (brown clay used for dressing women's hair); ngo-waca (in the evening).

41. x (the voiceless velar fricative). Ex.: anqa (surround); ba ateka (fall whole length); oxisa (withdraw); xala (pull).

42. g (the voiced velar fricative). Ex.: g ag ama (growl); g ama (eat mealies in their stalks); g uzuka (be bruised).

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

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

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

(vi) Lateral Consonants

46. l (the voiced alveolar lateral). Ex.: lala (sleep); let/le (stone); letsha (bring); uluti (bark used as fibre).

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

48. dl (the voiced fricative alveolar lateral, phon. dl̥). Ex.: idlanga (vulture); idleše (ear); dlisa (poison); dlula (pass).

(e) Compound Consonants

(1) Homorganic Compounds or Affricates

(i) Labial Affricates

49. mv the voiced denti-labial affricate, phon. m̥bv). Ex.: imvula (rain); imvelaphi (source); amahlamvu (ferns).

(11) Alveolar Affricates

50. ts (the voiceless alveolar affricate, ejective). It is found in its simple form and in the combination nts. Ex.: tsitsa (ooze); itintsi (rods); intsa6a (mountain).

51. tsh (the aspirated alveolar affricate). It is found mostly before front vowels. Ex.: tshandza (love); tshemba (trust); -tshi (say); phetsha (complete). This affricate is never found before back vowels except in a few ideophones, e.g. tshu (of pitch darkness).

52. dz (the voiced alveolar affricate). It is found before front vowels. Ex. udzadze (sister); -dzala (old); ekudzeni (far away); kwedzini (you boy). Before back vowels this affricate is found only in a few ideophones, e.g. dzuu (of making a bee-line). This affricate is found also in combination with the homorganic nasal n. Ex.: indza6a (matter); endza (get married, of a woman); iqandza (egg).

53. ndl (the voiced lateral alveolar affricate, phon. ndl₃). Ex.: indlala (starvation); indlela (way); indlondlo (species of mamba) indlu (hut).

(111) Palatal Affricates

54. t/ (the voiceless palatal affricate, ejective). Ex.: it/ale (salabash); ilit/e (stone); /ut/wa (be finished). It is also found in combination with the homorganic nasal phon. μ). Ex.: ent/a (new); int/aka (mealie flower); int/oago (nicotine).

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

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

(iv) Velar Affricates

57. ky (the voiceless velar affricate). Ex.: k₁ala (white-faced); k₁waba (tan hides); k₁wela (scratch); k₁o6a (peep).

(2) Heterorganic Compounds

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

58. tʃ (the voiceless alveolo-denti-labial compound, ejective). This sound is very rare in its independent form, but is very common in conjunction with the alveolar nasal. It is followed by back vowels or by the bi-labial semi-vowel. Ex.: utfo (arrow); intfo (thing); umtʃa (person); umtʃwana (child).

59. **dy** (the voiced alveolo-denti-labial compound, ejective). It is found before back vowels and before the bi-labial semi-vowel. It is also found in conjunction with the alveolar nasal. Ex.: idvolo (knee); indvodza (man); umlandvu (debt); isidvuli (ant-heap); dvwa6a (forage for first-fruit ceremony).

60. **thf** (the aspirated alveolo-denti-labial compound). It is found before back vowels and before the bi-labial semi-vowel. Ex.: impathfo (treatment); -tahathfu (three); thfuma (send); thfwala (carry).

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

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

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

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

62. The Morphological Influence of the Nasals on Plain Consonants.

(i) Implosives

Under Nasal influence the bilabial implosive 6 becomes b. Ex.:

Gambana (hold each other)	>	imbambano (dispute)
-6ini (two)	>	etimbini (two)
Goleka (lend)	>	imboleko (lending)
Gumba (mould)	>	imbumba (compact matter)

(ii) Fricatives

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

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

Ex.: fundwa (learn) > imfundvo (learning), phon. 1m'fu:ndv
 faasla (ought to) > imfanelo (obligation), phon. 1m'fan:1
 ufudvo (tortoise) > iimfudvo (tortoises), phon. 1:m'fu:dv.

(b) Nasal + s > ns (phon. n's).

Ex.: salela (remain) > insalela (remnant), phon. in'sale:la
usi6a (feather) > iinsi6a (feathers), phon. i:n'si:6a
usuku (day) > iinsuku (days) phon. i:n'su:ku

(a) Nasal + hl > ahl, phon. n' +

Ex.: uhlanga (incision) > iinhlanga (incisions), phon. i:n'ha:n
-hlaqu (five) > etinhlanu (five) phon. etin'ha:nu
uhlo6o (sort) > iinhlo6o (arts) phon. i:n'ho:6o

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

(a) Nasal + v > mv, phon. m + v

Ex.: uvulo (breastbone) > iimvulo (breastbones), phon. i:mva:l
uluvi (grey hair) > itiwvi (grey hairs), phon. iti:wevi.

(b) Nasal + dl > ndl, phon. nd +

Ex.: dilala (play) > indilala (play), phon. indila:l

(c) Nasal + ʒ > nj, phon. nd +

Ex.: jamelana (glare at each other) > injamelwano (mutual hatred)
phon. indjamelwa:n
jonga (aim at) injongo (aim), phon. indjo:g

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

(iii) Aspirates

Aspirates become ejective under nasal influence. Thus:-

(a) Nasal + ph > mp, phon. mp'

Ex.: uphawu (mark) > iimpawu (marks), phon. i:mp'a:wu
uphondvo (horn) > iimpondvo (horns), phon. i:mp'ondv

(b) Nasal + kh > nk, phon. nk'

Ex.: khatshata (exasperate) > inkatshata (disturbance), phon. i:katshat
ukheleket/hane (falcon) iinkeleket/hane (falcons), phon. i:keleket/han

(c) Nasal + tsh > nts, phon. nts'

Ex.: -tshathu (three) > etintsathu (three), phon. etints'a:th
ulutshi (rod) > itintsi (rods), phon. iti:nts'i

(d) Nasal + thf > ntf, phon. ntf'

Ex.: uthfuli (dust) > iintfuli (clouds of dust), phon. i:ntf'u:li
u~~buthfongo~~ (sleep) > iintfongo (gummy matter in the eyes),
phon. i:ntf'o:g

thfomba (sprout) > intfombi (maiden), phon. intf'o:mbi.

Although the aspirated palatal affricate t/h exists, there do not seem to be any incidences of nasal influence on it.

63. The relationship between the Alveolar Affricates tsh, dz, and the Heterorganic Compounds thf, dv.

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

Ex.: phatsha (handle) > impathfo (treatment)
 chitsha (spend) > incithfo (expenditure)
 phetsha (conclude) > umphetfo (conclusion)

Consider also the following:

Verb	Verb	Ideophone
cotsha (walk slowly)	cothfota (walk lazily)	cothfe-cot
nqutsha (cut short)	nqutshaka (Neuter form)	nquthfu

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

Ex.: tshandza (love) > utshandvo (love)
 needza (help) > uncedvo (assistance)
 qondza (perceive) > inqondvo (perception).

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

Click Consonants

(i) Dentals

54. c (the plain dental click).

Ex.: icala (side); isicamba (mat); cela (beg); u6ucopho (brain)

55. ch (the aspirated dental click). Ex.: chana (hit); che6a (shear); chwesa (rave).

56. nc (the nasal dental click). Ex.: -ncani (small); nca (of sticking fast); needza (help); incwadzi (book).

57. nch (the aspirated nasal dental click). Ex.: incha (grass); inchube (first-fruit ceremony); -munchu (sour).

58. gc (the voiced dental click). Ex.: goagca (elope); -gc6elu (seven); igcokwe (chicken).

(ii) Palatals

59. q (the plain palato-alveolar click). Ex.: iqa6ata (drop); iqela (group); umgwago (road).

60. qh (the aspirated palato-alveolar click). Ex.: iqhinga (trick); u6uqhafuta (officiousness); qhela (be used to)

61. nq (the nasal palato-alveolar click). Ex.: inqawe (pipe); inqina (hoof); isinquadvu (tree-stump).

62. nqh (the aspirated nasal palato-alveolar click). Ex.: inqhalu/e (smooth round stone); inqhina (witness); inqhumbe (wrath).

63. gq (the voiced palato-alveolar click). Ex.: egqa (jump over); gqila (of falling over); umgquba (manure).

(iii) Laterals

74. x (the plain lateral click). Ex.: isixathfu6a (shoe); ix6/a (time); xina (defeat); iboxo (gate-post).

75. xh (the aspirated lateral click). Ex.: ixhala (anxiety); ixh6gu (old man); xhola (hurt the eye).

76. nx (the nasal lateral click). Ex.: inx66a (wound); inxanc (thirst); minxa (clutch); umx66a (grass rope).

77. nxh (the aspirated nasal lateral click). Ex.: nxhama (be angry); unxhawu (pot); inxhiwa (bag); nxholisa (scold).

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

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

(a) Under nasal influence the plain clicks c, q, x become aspirated nasal clicks. c > nch; q > nqh; x > nxh. Ex.:

calula (analyse)	>	inchalulo (analysis)
cinga (think)	>	linchinga (thoughts)
qondza (perceive)	>	inqondvo (mind)
qumba (be wrathful)	>	inqhumba (wrath)
xabana (quarrel)	>	inxhabano (quarrel)
xela (report)	>	inxhele (report)

BUT ucephe (spoon) > iincephe (spoons)
uqagasi (ridge) > iinqagasi (ridges)

(b) The aspirated clicks ch, qh, xh, become nasal clicks (non-aspirated) under nasal influence. ch > nc; qh > nq; xh > nx.

Ex. chitsha (spend) > incithfo (expenditure/waste)
chaza (explain) > incazelo (explanation)
qh66a (proceed) > inq66o (procedure)
qhatsha (cheat) > inqathfo (cheating)
xhasa (support) > inxaso (support)
xhankleka (make efforts in vain) > inxamleko (vain efforts)

80. Palatalization.

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

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

81. Elision

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

Examples:-

- (i) ita apha, mtfwana ndzini (Come here, child)
- (ii) leli thfole (this calf)
- (iii) unyawo lukamhama (my mother's foot)
- (iv) tshina maBaca (we Bacas)
- (v) aBona semi (the real inhabitants).

In regard to the elision of the final vowel, in addition to the well known elisions of the vowel of the subjectival concord before vowel-verb stems, and that of the locative formative ku before nouns of Class 1a, the following standard elisions are worth noting:-

(i) Elision of the final vowel of a monosyllabic demonstrative pronoun before a qualificative whose initial vowel is identical with the vowel of the demonstrative.

- Ex.: lo omncani > l' omncani (this little one)
 lo omnye > l' omnye (this other one)
 le enhle > l' enhle (this fine one)
 le' etimbini > l' etimbini (these two)

(ii) Elision of the final vowel of the locative demonstrative adverb la' (< lapha) before locatives in e-.

- Ex.: la' endlini > l' endlini (here in the hut)
 la' emsamo > l' emsamo (here opposite the door)
 la' etulu > l' etulu (here at the top)

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

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

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

- l' etifunu (here on the buttocks)
- le' tifunu (these buttocks)

Elision of Syllables

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

Elision of the final syllable takes place:

(i) In the interrogative noun uBani? when it is at the end of a sentence. The tone of Ba' in this case is raised to the level of that of the elided -ni.

- Ex.: Ukhamba naba'? (With whom are you going?)
 Kantsi iinkomo leto hetikaba'? (And whose did the cattle prove to be?)

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

(iii) Is-the If a demonstrative pronoun precedes a noun whose first syllable is identical with the final syllable of the pronoun, the final syllable of the pronoun is always elided.

- Ex.: leti tindlu le' tindlu (these huts)
 leti tandla le' tandla (these hands)
 loBn Guhlalu lo' Guhlalu (these beads)
 loku kudla lo' kudla (this= food)

In addition it may be mentioned that the first syllable of the word kh/ikh/a is perhaps always elided when the emphasis is on its adjunct. Thus a Baca would say:

Ewe, ndiya vuma ukutshi ndamkh/ikh/a (Yes, I admit that I did strike him)
 Funjalo nje ndam'kh/a kahle (And I struck him full)
 Siyeva ukutshi umkh/ikh/ile (We do understand that you struck him)
 Kodxi ke um'kh/e ngantfoni? (But with what did you strike him?)

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

Thus: *inkomo yakowethfu* > *i'm'akowethfu* (the beast to which I am very greatly attached)
inkomo yakowa6o > *i'm'akowa6o* (the beast to which he is very much attached)
inkomo yakowenu > *i'm'akowenu* (the beast to which you are very much attached)

It is to be noted that *i'm'akowethfu/akowa6o/akowenu* are stereotyped phrases, and that their use is extended to horses.
 Ex.: *Ndandikhwelele i'm'akowethfu emnyama* (I was riding the black horse to which I am much attached)
Iphi i'm'akowenu ephela-ndle? (Where is the dark-red, bright-eared, bright-muzzled ox of which you are so proud?)

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

82. Vowel Harmony.

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

- (i) Coalescence: $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{iha/i} \\ \text{amasi} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{la} + \text{inkosi} > \text{lenkosi} \text{ (of the chief)} \\ \text{a} + \text{umtswana} > \text{omtswana} \text{ (of the child)} \end{array}$
- (ii) Elision : $\begin{array}{l} \text{ku} + \text{oo6awo} > \text{koo6awo} \text{ (to our fathers)} \\ \text{ndi} + \text{enta} > \text{ndenta} \text{ (I do)} \end{array}$
- (iii) Consonantalization: $\begin{array}{l} \text{i} + \text{am} > \text{yam} \text{ (of me)} \\ \text{u} + \text{aya} > \text{waya} \text{ (He went)} \end{array}$
- (iv) Assimilation : $\begin{array}{l} \text{6ona} > \text{6onisa} \text{ (show)} \\ \text{b6aka} > \text{b6ekile} \text{ (look)} \end{array}$

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

(i) The final vowel of the indefinite locative formative *nga-* coalesces with initial *e-* of the locative.

Ex.: $\begin{array}{ll} \text{nga} + \text{emnyango} & \text{ngemnyango} \text{ (by the door)} \\ \text{nga} + \text{endlini} & \text{ngendlini} \text{ (by the hut)} \\ \text{nga} + \text{etulu} & \text{ngetulu} \text{ (on the summit)} \end{array}$

(ii) Prelocative *-k-* is preplaced to initial *e-* of a locative when the locative is preceded by (a) the conjunctive formative *na-*, (b) by the possessive concord and (c) by the subjectival concord in a copulative predicative.

Ex.: (a) $\begin{array}{l} \text{na} + \text{emtini} > \text{nakemtini} \text{ (even at the village)} \\ \text{na} + \text{eLutateni} > \text{nakeLutateni} \text{ (even at Lutateni)} \end{array}$

(b) $\begin{array}{l} \text{wa} + \text{emtini} > \text{wakemtini} \text{ (from a strange land)} \\ \text{ya} + \text{eMpoza} > \text{yakeMpoza} \text{ (of Mpoza)} \end{array}$

(c) $\begin{array}{l} \text{u} + \text{ejikini} > \text{ukejikini} \text{ (he is in a beer party)} \\ \text{si} + \text{eGoli} > \text{sikeGoli} \text{ (we are in the mines)} \end{array}$

83. Tone.

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

(a) Semantic Tone

Ex.:

Nouns

em ac alen i (on the sides); em ac aleni (at the law-court)
isifana (group of young men); isif an a (small sweet reed garden)

Verbs

fundz a (learn) f u n dz a (spoon-feed)
'ukw ethfuk a (to swear) ukwethf uk a (to be startled)
'uk ul ingan a (to vie with each other); uk uling an a (to be equal)

Miscellaneous

im itshi (trees) imitch i (she is pregnant)
'isiv e (tribe) 'is ive (that he may hear us)
ngale (by means of this one) ng ale (on the other side)
imil e (it has stopped) imil e (that it may grow)

(b) Grammatical Tone

Ex.: nd ent a (I do) nd'enta (I doing)
nd 'ikh a mbe (that I may go); ndikhamb'e (I went)
andihl oniphe (let me hlonipha); 'andihlon 'i phe (let her respect me)

(c) Emotional Tone

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

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

84. Transposition

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

85. Semi-vowels

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

Chapter II

The Noun

(a) Classes of Nouns

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

	Ur-Bantu	Baca
Class 1	mu-	um-
2	ya-	a6a- (plur. of 1)
3	mu-	um-
4	mi-	imi- (plur. of 3)
5	li-	ili-
6	ma-	ama- (plur. of 5)
7	ki-	isi-
8	yi	iti- (plur. of 7)
9	ni-	i(N)-
10	lini-	iti(N)- (plur. of 9 & 11)
11	lu-	ulu-
12	tu-	-
13	ka-	-
14	yu-	u6u-
15	ku-	uku-
16	pa-	-
17	ku-	-
18	mu-	-
19	pi-	-
20	yu-	-
21	yi-	-

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

	Singular	Plural
Class 1	um-	a6a-
1a	u-	oo-
2	um-	imi-
3	ili, i-	ama-, ame-
4	isi-, is-	iti-, it-
5	i(N)-, i-	iti(N)-, ii(N)-, ii-
6	ulu-, ul-, u-	iti(N)-, ii(N)-
7	u6u-, u6-	-
8	uku-, uk-	-

Examples

Class 1

	Singular	Plural
	umntfu (person)	a6antfu
	umfati (woman)	a6afati
	umSuthfu (Mosothe)	a6aSuthfu
	umelaphi (healer)	a6elaphi
	umenti (doer)	a6enti

Class 1a

uḡawo (father)	oḡawo
unonkala-nkala (crab)	oononkala-nkala

Class 2

umtshi (tree)	imtshi
umthfunti (shade)	imithfunti
umlente (leg)	imilente

Class 3

ilive (country)	amave
ilit/e (stone)	amat/e
it/alo (calabash)	amat/alo
idvolo (knee)	amadvolo

class 4

isikhwaḡakati (widow)	itikhwaḡakati
isitiḡa (pool)	ititiḡa
isalukati (old woman)	italukati
isandla (hand)	itandla

Class 5

indlu (hut)	itindlu
inja (dog)	itinja
imbuuti (goat)	iimbuuti
ingudvudvu (ground hornbill)	iingudvudvu
inqawe (pipe)	iinqawe
icawe (church)	iicawe

Several nouns of this class take the prefix of Class 3 in the plural. e.g. indvodza (man) > amadvodza; inkatanyana (little girl) > amankatanyana; insimi (field) > amasimi; inkonyane (young calf) > amankonyane.

Class 6

ulutshi (rod)	itintsi
uluti (bark used as fibre)	No plural
utipho (finger nail)	iintipho
usiḡa (feather)	iinsiḡa

A few nouns of this class take the plural prefix of Class 3. e.g. utwane (toe) > amatwane; uḡendze (spleen) > amaḡendze.

Class 7

uḡudzakwa (drunkenness)	-
uḡuthfongo (sleep)	-
uḡudzala (age)	-
uḡomi (life)	-

Class 8

ukudla (food)	-
ukufa (death)	-

(b) Prefixal and Suffixal Nominal Formatives

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

(i) The locative formatives ku-, kwa-, e-. e.g. kuḡawo (to my father), kuMḡanu (at Mḡanu), kwaNomt/eket/e (at Nomt/eket/e's), kwaMjanyelwa (at Mjanyelwa's), eMpoza (at Mpoza), eḡaḡazi (at ḡaḡazi).

As is well known, all these formatives signify at, from, to, in, on.

(ii) The conjunctive formative na-, signifying and, together with. E.g. nabantu (and the people), netinja (along with the dogs).

(iii) The instrumental formative nga-, signifying by means of. e.g. ngomkhontfo (by means of an assegai), ngemithi (by means of herbs).

(iv) The indefinite prelocative formative nga-, signifying near, in the neighbourhood of. e.g. ngemfuleni (near the river), ngakunganu (near Nganu).

(v) The compound formatives njenga- (like) and nganga- (as big as). e.g. njengekati (like a cat), ngangembuuti (as big as a goat).

(vi) The possessive formatives ka- and a-. e.g. kamhana of my mother), samaBaca (of the Bacas).

(2) Suffixal Formatives

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

(ii) The diminutive suffix -ana. e.g. injana (little dog).

(iii) The augmentative/feminine suffix -kati. e.g. umtshikati (big tree), injakati (bitch).

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

Chapter III

Forms of the Noun

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

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

(i) Nouns ending in -a, -e, or -i change the final vowel to -ee.
umhana (mother) > mhanee!
uMaBendze > MaBendzee!
uNguBombini > NguBombinee!

(ii) Nouns ending in -o or -u substitute -wee for the final vowel
uNontshelelo > Nontshelelwee!
uNonsuku > Nonsukwee!.

These vowel changes are not observed (i) in impolite or angry speech, and (ii) if the vocative comes at the end of the sentence, that is, when it is no longer merely interjective. Thus we say: Nontshelelwee! uyihlo ulayi?

(Nontshelelo, where is your father?)

But: Uyihlo ulayi, Nontshelelo? (Where is your father, O Nontshelelo?)

(2) The Possessive Form. The Possessive Concord employed before nouns of Class 1a singular is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Class 1	ka-	6aka-
2	ka-	ka-
3	lika-	ka-
4	sika-	tika-
5	ka-	tika-
6	luka-	tika-
7	6uka-	-
8	kuka-	-

Examples:

- Class 1 umana kaNomt/eket/e (Nomt/eket/e's son)
oomana 6akaNomt/eket/e (Nomt/eket/e's sons)
- " 2 umti kaVimbi (Vimbi's kraal)
imiti kaVimbi (Vimbi's kraals)
- " 3 it/alo likamhana (my mother's calabash)
amat/alo kamhana (my mother's calabashes)
- " 4 isife sikaDzikwayo (Dzikwayo's sweet-reed garden)
itife tikaDzikwayo (Dzikwayo's sweet-reed gardens)
- " 5 inkomo ka^{le}/e/enisi (^{le}/e/enisi's beast)
iinkomo tika^{le}/e/enisi (^{le}/e/enisi's cattle)
- " 6 ubambo lukaNomtshelelo (Nomtshelelo's rib)
iimbambo tikaNomtshelelo (Nomtshelelo's ribs)
- " 7 u6utshi 6ukaNdza6a (Ndza6a's witchcraft)
- " 8 ukufa kuka Madzikane (Madzikane's death).

The general Possessive Concord is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Class 1	wa-	6a-
2	wa-	ya-
3	la-	a-
4	sa-	ta-
5	ya-	ta-
6	lwa-	ta-
7	ixhax 6a-	-
8	kwa-	-

Examples :

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

The Emphatic Possessive. This is formed by prefixing a vowel to the ordinary possessive forms. These vowels are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Class 1	o-	a-
2	o-	ix e-
3	e-	a-
4	e-	e-
5	e-	e-
6	o-	e-
7	o-	-
8	o-	-

Examples:

likašawo (of my father) > elikašawo
 senkosi (of the chief) > esenkosi
 šomfati (of the woman) > ošomfati.

The Emphatic Possessive either precedes or replaces the possessee:

iha/i likašawo (my father's horse) > elikašawo iha/i
 isixathfuša senkosi (the chief's shoe) > esenkosi
 isixathfuša
 ušutshi šomfati (the woman's witchcraft) > ošomfati ušutshi

If it is obvious who or what the possessee is, the noun signifying the possessee is "understood", e.g.

elikašawo (my father's)
 elenkosi (the chief's)
 ošomfati (the woman's)

The possessive form may prefix the formatives ku-, na-, nga-, nganga- and njenga-.

Examples:

kwelikašawo iha/i (on my father's horse)
 nelomntfwana it/alo (even the child's calabash)
 ngošomfati ušutshi (by means of the woman's witchcraft)
 ngangowekati umšai (as much as a cat's spring)
 njengawenkomo amasi (like cow milk)

(3) The Locative form. To form the locative, e- is substituted for the initial vowel of the noun, and the final vowel is substituted for as follows:

-eni is substituted for final -a, or final -e. e.g. intšaša > entšešeni (mountain); ilive > eliveni (country)

-ini for final -i. e.g. umšhi > emšhini (tree).

-weni for final -o. e.g. iboxo > eboxweni (gate-post)

-wini for final -u. e.g. isisu > esiswini (belly).

This rule is accompanied by the following modifications:

(a) Nouns of Class 5 plur. that ordinarily take the contracted prefix ii(N)- take the full prefix in the locative form: e.g. iinkomo (cattle) > etinkomeni; iinkaši (oxen) > etinkašini.

(b) Nouns of Class 6 sing. and plur. that take contracted prefix u-ii(N)- ordinarily, take the full prefix in the locative: e.g. unyawo (foot) > elunyaweni; utwane (toe) > elutwaneni; iinyawo (feet) > etinyaweni; iintwane (toes) > etintwaneni.

(c) If the final syllable contains a labial followed by a back vowel, the suffix drops w, and -eni, -ini are substituted for final -o and -u respectively. e.g. intsambo (rope) > entsambeni; igubu (water-pot) > egubini; utipho (finger-nail) > elutipheni; umlomo (mouth) > emlomeni; indawo (place) > endzaweni; ~~ixikhu~~ isikhewu (gap) > esikhewini; isifo (disease) > esifeni; ilifu (cloud) > elifini.

(d) If the final syllable contains f or mb followed by -o, the bilabial is in some cases palatalized.

f > t/, e.g. idvofo (jungle) > edvot/eni; ihlofo (summer) > ehlot/eni.

mb > nj, e.g. itshambo (bone) > etshanjeni; umthfombo (fountain) > enthfonjeni.

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

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

But: eLugangeni < uganga (hill); eLubacweni < ubaco (desolation); eThfoleni < ithfole (calf); eMbodleni < imbodla (wild cat).

(f) The following are some of the common nouns that do not take the locative suffix:- umnyango (entrance) > emnyango; itiko (hearth) > etiko; isunti (forehead) > esunti; isibaya (fold) > esibaya; inhloko (head) > enhloko; ikhaya (home) > ekhaya; ubusuku (night) > ebusuku; ukwindla (autumn) > ekwindla; ihlantane (midday) > ehlantane; imini (day-time) > emini.

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

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

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

(h) The possessive concord of the lost Class 17, kwa-, is prefixed to nouns of Class 1a singular to convey the idea of "at/to/from the place of". Here the initial vowel of the noun is elided before kwa-. e.g. kwaMnchisana (at Mnchisana's); kwamalume (at my mother's brother's).

If the conjunctive formative na- or the possessive concord is prefixed to a noun in the locative form in ~~xxxx~~ e-, to avoid hiatus, k- is preplaced to initial e-. e.g. ~~enke~~enke nakeMhlot/heni (even at Mhlot/heni); umatfu wakeMabobo (person from Mabobo).

If the indefinite prelocative formative nga- (in the neighbourhood of) is prefixed to a locative in e-, final -a of the formative coalesces with initial e- of the locative. e.g. ngemnyango (by the door); ngemfuleni (near the river).

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 > t/ : ingubo (blanket) > ingut/ana (small blanket)
ph > t/h : ucephe (spoon) > ucet/hana (small spoon)
b > j : incube (first-fruit ceremony) > inchujana (same, by minor chief)
m > ny : umlomo (mouth) > umlonyana (small mouth)
mp > nt/ : ihlwempu (pauper) > ihlwent/ana (contemptible pauper)
mb > nj : ubambo (rib) > ubanjana (small rib).

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

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

Note also the noun inkatanyana (little girl), from hypothetical inkatana still found in literary Xhosa as inkazana (woman as distinguished from man).

Note 2. Some nouns are found only in the diminutive form. Such a noun is umbulukundlwana (puppy), from hypothetical umbulukundlu. Some aguni dialects have the form umbundlwana (Mpondomise). Literary Xhosa has both umbundlu (little dog) and umbundlwane (little dog that cannot yet see). What the original form was, it is difficult to say.

Note 3. In the diminutive formation, adjectives and relatives follow the same rules as the nouns. e.g.: -khulu (big) > pkhudlwana; -dzala (old) > -dzadlwana; ~~xxx~~ -mhlophe (white) > -mhlot/hana; -ncani (small) > -ncanyana; -bovu (red) > ~~xxx~~ -bovana.

Note 4. Monosyllabic stems are not affected by palatalization. Thus: -bi (ugly) > -bana, and impi (impi) > impana.

Note 5. Baca, like Zulu, favours diminutive forms of qualificatives after diminutive forms of nouns. e.g. inkat/ama esundwana (small dark-red ox); inkatanyana enhlana (a pretty little girl).

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

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

If the noun is followed by a qualificative, the suffix is attached only to the qualificative. e.g. umfati omkhulukati (very big woman); umtshi omzekati (very tall tree).

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

Note 1. As a feminine suffix -kati is found in a few words that have lost their independence as simple nouns and are only found in the feminine form. e.g. isalukati (old woman) hypothetical isalu; isikhwa6akati (widow) < hypothetical isikhwa6a.

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

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

Sometimes such a qualificative is used as a substantive. e.g. ilungakati eligwansile (big-uddered black-and-white cow).

Distinction of Sex

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

- (i) distinct terms, e.g. indoda (man), umfati (woman).
- (ii) a special term for a male, e.g. impongo (he-goat).
- (iii) the terms inkunti (male), imati (female that has had young) insikati (female).

These are followed by generic terms in the possessive form. e.g. inkunt'enkomo (bull), imat'embuti (she-goat). Note the elisions.

assumes the form kwi-; if the vowel of the subjectival concord is any other vowel than i, the locative formative remains ku-. (The 1st person singular, as is usually the case in Bantu pronouns, is not covered by this rule).

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

	Singular	Plural
1st person	kumi (ndi)	kwitshi (si)
2nd "	kuwe (u)	kwini (ni)
3rd " Cl.1	kuye (u)	ku6o (6a)
2	kuwo (u)	kwiyo (i)
3	kwilo (li)	kuwo (a)
4	kwiso (si)	kwito (ti)
5	kwiyo (i)	kwito (ti)
6	kwilo (lu)	kwito (ti)
7	ku6o (6u)	-
8	kuko (ku)	-

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

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

The forms are the same when ku- is compounded with nga-. e.g. ngakwilo iha/i (near the horse), ngakwito itindlu (near the huts).

The Emphatic Pronoun may also take the prefixal formatives. The final vowel of a prefixal formative coalesces with the initial vowel of the pronoun. e.g. na + oyena > noyena; nga + etona > ngetona.

When ku- is prefixed to the emphatic pronoun, u is elided before initial o-, and becomes w before initial a- or e-. The table is therefore as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Class 1	koyena	kwa6ona
2		kweyona
3	kwelona	kwawona
4	kwesona	kwetona
5	kweyona	kwetona
6	kolona	kwetona
7	ko6ona	-
8	kokona	-

The forms are the same when ku- is compounded with nga-. e.g. ngakoyena mntfu (near the very person); ngakwawona madvodza (near the very men).

(b) Table of Demonstrative Pronouns

Class		1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
1	S	lo	lowo	lowa
	P	la6a	la6o	la6aya
2	S	lo	lowo	lowa
	P	le	leyo	leya
3	S	leli	lelo	leliya
	P	la	lawo	lawa
4	S	lesi	leso	lesiya
	P	leti	leto	letiya
5.	S	le	leyo	leya
	P	leti	leto	letiya

6	S. P	lolu leti	lolo leto	loluya letiya
7	3	lo6u	lo6o	lo6uya
8	8	loku	loko	lokuya

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

If the demonstrative of any position precedes the noun, the initial vowel of the noun is elided. e.g. Leso sicamba hesam (That mat is mine); isicamba leso hesam (The mat is mine). Letiya mbuuti tidla amabele am (Those goats are feeding on my corn); imbuuti letiya tidla amabele am (Those goats are feeding on my corn). Leso si/iye lapha (leave that one here); Letiya hetakwaMjanyelwa (Those are Mjanyelwa's).

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

(i) When the demonstrative either as subject or as object stands alone. e.g. La6a ha6akwitshi (These are my compatriots); Tibeke lapha tonke leti (Put all these here).

(ii) When the demonstrative is preceded by, and is in apposition to, the noun. e.g. Iboxo leli lephulwe hini? (What broke the gate-post?) U6uhlalu 6am lo6u 6uyeke lapha (Leave my beads here).

(iii) When the noun implied, whether preceding or following the demonstrative, belongs to one of the "weak" classes. e.g. Lo mfo uqhanka phi? (Where does this gentleman come from?) Le nkomo yayitelwe ihisilima (This beast was born deformed). Imitshi le yayihekaMadzikane (These herbs were Madzikane's). Amadvo6za la wanyatshise (Give these men a drink).

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

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

Lolu hlaka ma lulungiswe (Let this door be repaired)

Leti nkeleket/hane ti/u6a amagcokwe

(These falcons are finishing the chickens)

The Contracted 1st Demonstrative

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

The following table will illustrate this:

Class	Singular	Plural
1. lo mfati = lo mfati (this woman)	laŋa 6afati >	la' 6afati
2. lo mti = lo mti (this village)	le miti = le miti	
3. leli lit/e >	le' lit/e (this stone)	la mat/e = la mat/e
4. lesi siŋaya >	le' siŋaya (this fold)	leti tiŋaya > le' tiŋaya
5. le ndlu = le ndlu (this hut)		leti tindlu > le' tindlu
6. lolu lutshi >	lo' lutshi (this rod)	leti tintsi > le' tintsi
7. loŋu 6uhlalu >	lo' 6uhlalu (these beads)	-
8. loku kudla >	lo' kudla (this food)	-

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

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

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

	Singular	Plural
1st person	ndonke	sonke
2nd "	wonke	nonke
3rd " 1.	wonke	6onke
2.	wonke	xwkw yonke
3.	lonke	wonke
4.	sonke	tonke
5.	yonke	tonke
6.	lonke	tonke
7.	6onke	-
8.	konke	-

This pronoun may :

(i) stand alone as subject or object. e.g. Bonke 6aya yati leyo ntfo (They all know that); Ma katiletshe lapha tonke leto (Let him bring all those here).

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

(iii) Precede or follow an absolute or demonstrative pronoun. e.g. Sonke tshins maBaca siqhawka kwaZulu. (All of us Bacas come from Natal); Fona konke loku okubobako hamanga (All that you say is lies); Letiya tonke tiinkomo tam (All those are my cattle); Lonke leli hilive lo6awo (All this is our fatherland).

The following is the table of Enumerative Pronouns with root -dvwa / -dzi

	Singular	Plural
1st person	ndedvwa / ndedzi	sodvwa / sodzi
2nd "	wedvwa / wedzi	nodvwa / nodzi
3rd " Cl.1	yedvwa / yedzi	godvwa / godzi
2	wodvwa / wodzi	yodvwa / yodzi
3	lodvwa / lodzi	wodvwa / wodzi
4	sodvwa / sodzi	todvwa / todzi
5	yodvwa / yodzi	todvwa / todzi
6	lodvwa / lodzi	todvwa / todzi
7	lodvwa / lodzi	-
8	kodvwa / kodzi	-

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

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

If the noun takes the first position in the sentence then the predicate comes between the noun and the pronoun. e.g. Umfo wakemtini ufike yedzi (The stranger arrived alone).

If the noun is merely implied, the pronoun follows the predicate. e.g. Wa banyatshe godzi labaya (Let those drink by themselves).

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

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

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

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

In the following tables the numeral roots -tshathfu (three, adj.), -gcelu (seven, relative) and i/umi (ten, noun) are used as illustrations:

Table with adjectival root --tshathfu

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-	sobatshathfu
2nd person	-	nobatshathfu
3rd person Cl. 1	-	6obatshathfu
2	-	yomitshathfu
3	-	womatshathfu
4	-	totitshathfu
5	-	tontsathfu
6	-	tontsathfu
7	6obatshathfu	-
8	kokutshathfu	-

Table with relative root -gcelu

1st person	-	sogcelu
2nd "	-	nogcelu
3rd " Cl. 1	-	6ogcelu
2	-	yogcelu
3	-	wogcelu
4	-	togcelu
5	-	togcelu
6	-	togcelu
7	6ogcelu	-
8	kogcelu	-

Table with noun stem -i/umi

1st person	-	soli/umi
2nd "	-	noli/umi
3rd " Cl. 1	-	6oli/umi
2	-	yoli/umi
3	-	woli/umi
4	-	toli/umi
5	-	toli/umi
6	-	toli/umi
7	6oli/umi	-
8	koli/umi	-

This pronoun may precede or follow or replace a noun. e.g. Tombini iintfombi tam tendzele emaXesibeni (Both my daughters have been married to Xesibes); Leti nkomo tonxhongo ndatitshenga ngemali yakeGoli (I bought all eight of these cattle for money obtained from the Rand); Boma/umi-ama6ini ha6afati 6akaMchisana (All twenty are Mchisana's wives).

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

Table of Possessive Roots

1st person	-m	-ithfu
2nd "	-kho	-inu
3rd person Cl.1	-khe	-6o
2	-wo	-yo
	etc.	etc.

Examples:

U6endze lwenkomo yam ndiluse kunodipha (I have taken the speen of my ox to the dipping-supervisor).

Omana 6ethfu 6ase6enta eGoli (Our sons work in the Rand)

Iinkomo tezu tidla phi? (Where do your cattle graze?)

The emphatic Possessive. This is formed by prefixing a vowel to the ordinary or simple possessive pronoun. This vowel is a, e, or o according as the initial vowel of the noun signifying the possessee is a, i, or u respectively. The above rule, however, is not quite satisfactory since it fails to cover Class la plur. Neither does the rule that it is the vowel of the noun prefix that determines the initial vowel of this pronoun, for the same reason. It would therefore perhaps be better to say "according as the subjectival concord of the noun signifying the possessee has for its vowel a, i or u". e.g. a6am oomana (my sons); esakhe isicamba (his mat); olwa6o uhlo6o (their kind).

The simple possessive pronoun always follows the noun signifying the possessee, and the emphatic possessive pronoun always precedes the noun signifying the possessee. e.g. Amaha/i ethfu adla entsabeni (Our horses are grazing on the mountain-slope). Awethfu amaha/i adla entsabeni (Our horses are grazing on the mountain-slope).

Demonstratives, Enumeratives and Possessives with Prefixal Formatives

To demonstratives of all positions the prefixal formatives are prefixed without any modification taking place regarding the pronoun. e.g. kuleli thfole (to this calf); kula' 6antfu (to these people); naleso sikhwa6akati (even that widow); nalo' 6uhlalu (even these beads); ngaletiva tinja (by means of those dogs); ngale' tintsi (by means of these rods).

To enumeratives, prefixal formatives are never prefixed. If there is any locative, conjunctive or instrumental implication, the formative is prefixed to the absolute. e.g. Icala li6eke kwitshi sonke (Put the blame on all of us); Ita nato tonke iimbuti (Bring all the goats); Icala mus'uli6eka kwitshi sedzi (Don't put the blame on us alone); Boba naye yedvwa (Speak to him alone); Et6 Ndit/ho kwini noba6ini (I am addressing both of you); Buya nato tonhlanu (Bring back all five).

The possessive, when prefixal formatives are used, assumes the emphatic form. e.g. ndita khwelela kwelam iha/i. (I am going to ride my own horse); Ma6ete nela6o ijiki (Let them bring their own beer); Ndimhla6e ngowam umkhontfo (I stabbed him with my own assegai).

Chapter V

The Qualificative

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

(1) The Adjective

The concords are as follows:

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
S.	om-	om-	eli-	esi-	e-	olu-	o6u-	oku-
P.	a6a-	e ^{ml} -	ama-	eti-	eti(N)-	eti(N)-	-	-

The following are the commonest adjectival roots:

-dze (long/tall), -hle (beautiful), -khulu (big), -si (ugly/bad), -dzala (old), -fit/hane (short), -ncani (small), -nje (so many, indicated by fingers), -t/a (new), -nyhenti (many), -ngakhi? (how many?) and numerals from one to five, viz. -nye (one), -sini (two), -tshathfu (three), ~~xxx~~ -ne (four), -hlanu (five).

The adjective -khulu is used as an illustration.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. umfati omkhulu (stout woman) | a6afati a6akhulu (stout women) |
| 2. umtshi omkhulu (big tree) | imitshi emikhulu (big trees) |
| 3. ilit/e elikhulu (big stone) | amat/e amakhulu (big stones) |
| 4. isitisa esikhulu (big pool) | isitisa etikhulu (big pools) |
| 5.inja enkulu (big dog) | itinja etinkulu (big dogs) |
| 6. utshango olukhulu (big enclosure) | intsango etinkulu (big enclosures) |
| 7. u6uso o6ukhulu (big face) | - |
| 8. ukufa okukhulu (serious disease) | - |

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

(2) The Relative

The concords are as follows:

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
S	o-	o-	eli-	esi-	e-	olu-	o6u-	oku-
P	a6a-	e-	a-	eti-	eti-	eti-	-	-

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

(a) True relative stems - including numerals seven (gcelu), eight (nxhongo), e.g. inka6i esundvu (a dark-red ox), umhla6a o6ovu (red clay); ithf kati elik alakati (a white-faced heifer) inkunti ecola (a black bull with a white abdomen and a white spot on the pelvis); imbuuti emhlophe (a white goat); ijiki elimunchu (sour beer); amaha/i anxhongo (eight horses).

(b) Noun stems, including the numerals six, nine, ten upwards: e.g. amaha/i asithupha (six horses); itindlu etisithfwe6a (nine huts); indzaba e6ublungu (a painful affair); ukudla okumnanzi (palatable food); ingu6o emanti (a wet blanket, literally.); imati ephela-ndle (a dark-red cow with bright-red muzzle and ears) (literally a wild-cockroach-coloured cow)

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

1st position	2nd position	3rd position
-ngaka	-ngako	-ngakaya
-nje	anjalo	-njeya

e.g. indvodza engaka (a man of such age); amakhwenkwe anje (such boys).

In the first position -ngaka may ~~xxxxx~~ take the double diminutive suffix. e.g. Umntwana ongakanyana ufuna ni ejikini? (What does such a small child want in a beer party?)

The relative and noun stems (naturally excluding numerals) may take the diminutive suffix. e.g. inkuntana escolana (a black bullock with a white abdomen and a white spot on the pelvis); ukudla okumnanzana (a delicate dish).

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

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

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

(f) Copulatives. e.g. umfati ohisinyemfu (an untidy woman); inkomo ehisilima (a deformed beast).

(g) Adverbs. e.g. umti olee (a far-away village); itinfo etilepha (things that are here).

(3) The Numeral.

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

The table of the numeral concord is as follows:

Class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sing.	m-/wu-	m-/wu-	li-	si-	(yi-)	lu-	fu-	ku-
	6a-	mi-/yi-	ma-/wa-	ti-	ti-	ti-	-	-

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

Class	Sing.	Plur.
1	mbe/wumbe	6ambe
2	mbe/wumbe	miimbe/yimbe
3	limbe	maimbe/waimbe
4	simbe	timbe
5	yimbe	timbe
6	lumbe	timbe
7	fumbe	-
8	kumbe	-

-mbe may precede or follow a noun. The noun undergoes no inflection if it follows -mbe, but drops the initial vowel if it precedes -mbe. e.g. wumbe umntfu (some other person), lumbe u6endze (some other spleen), 6antfu 6ambe (different people), tindlu timbe (different huts).

Before -mbe nouns of Class 6 sing. that normally take the contracted prefix u- replace this by the ordinary prefix minus the initial vowel. e.g. lukhuni lumbe (a different piece of wood); lu6endze lumbe (a different spleen).

Examples of the use of -mbe : Wumbe umntfu angacinga njalo (Some other person may think so); Timbe iintfombi ti ayita nana se tendzile (Some maidens remain hysterical even after marriage); Wetisa lu6endze lumbe (He brought a different spleen); Nina manje niboba ntfo yimbe (You are now discussing something different).

-ni? takes no concord in Class 5 sing. In classes 1 sing. 2 sing. & plur. and 3 plur. -ni? takes the former of the alternative forms shown in the table, as follows:

	Sing.	Plur.
Class 1	nni?	6ani?
2	nni?	mini?
3	lini?	mani?
4	sini?	tini?
5	-ni?	tini?
6	luni?	tini?
7	6uni?	-
8	kuni?	-

-ni? always follows the noun it qualifies. The noun may retain or drop the initial vowel. e.g. umntfwana nni? (What sex of child?): ndza6a tini? (What sort of news?).

Examples of the use of -ni? : Lo mfati watala matfwana nni? (What was the sex of the child born of this woman?); Bafike niboba ndza6a tini? (What news did they find you discussing?); Hinkomo ni leyo oyitshengile? (What is the sex of the beast you bought?): Bakuphe kudla kuni? (What sort of food did they give you?).

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

The table is therefore as follows:

Class 1	omphi? / owuphi?	a6aphi?
2	omphi? / owuphi?	emiphi? / eyiphi?
3	eliphi?	amaphi? / awaphi?
4	esiphi?	etiphi?
5	eyiphi?	etiphi?
6	oluphi?	etiphi?
7	o6uphi?	-
8	okuphi?	-

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

Chapter VI

The Verb

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

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

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

But there are some monosyllabic stems. e.g. -phá (give), -fa (die), -sa (dawn), -dla (eat), xxi -t/ha (burn), -kha (draw).

There are also stems which begin with a vowel, which vowel is latent in some cases. e.g. -enta (do), -akha (build),

-(i)ta (come), -(i)va (hear).

There are three whose stems end in a vowel other than -a. These are : -ati (know), -tshi (say), -t/ho (say so).

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

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

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

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

(b) Those derived from nouns and qualificatives. e.g. khalipha (be brave) < ufukhali (sharpness); hlonipha (shun) < uhloni (bashfulness); limala (be incapacitated) < isilima (deformed person or animal); khuluphala (grow) < -khulu (big)

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

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

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

(a) Monosyllabic verbs, vowel verbs with latent initial vowel and dissyllabic vowel verbs insert -iw- before the final vowel. e.g. -dla (eat) > dliwa; -t/a (burn) > t/hiwa; -t/ho > t/hiwo; -(i)ta (come) > -(i)tiwa; -(i)va (hear) > xi > -(i)viwa; -akha (build) > akhiwa.

(b) Verbs that take the full suffix -ile in the perfect substitute -w- for the l of the suffix. e.g. -qalile (have begun) > -qaliwe; -thfukile (have cursed) > -thfukiwe.

Note: The verb 6uxx6uxx 6ulala (kill) whose perfect form is 6ulele follows this rule in the present as well as in the perfect tense. 6ulala (kill) > 6ulawa; 6ulele (have killed) > 6ulewe.

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

6	>	t/	:	qhu6a (drive)	>	qhut/wa; /u6a (finish)	>	/ut/wa
b	>	j	:	boba (speak)	>	bojwa; quba (wallow)	>	qujwa
ph	>	t/h	:	phepha-(dodge)	>	phet/hwa; elapha (heal)	>	elat/hwa
m	>	ny	:	e/wawa (taste)	>	e/wanywa; thfuma (send)	>	thfunywa
mb	>	nj	:	6amba (hold)	>	6anjwa; tshemba (trust)	>	tshenjwa

(d) A bi-labial in the final syllable of the stem is palatalized even if, as a result of the addition of a suffix, the bi-labial is no longer in the final syllable. e.g. qhu6ela (drive

for² qhat/elwa; thfumela (send for) thfunyelwa; bobisa
(cause to speak) bojiswa.

(e) Several polysyllabic verbs now used as simple stems are affected by palatalization like the verbs considered under (d).
e.g. xabela (chop) xat/elwa; fumbatsha (clench)
funjatshwa; fumana (find) funyanwa; 6ophela (bind)
6ot/helwa.

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

(3) The Applicative. The suffix is -ela. e.g. lima (plough)
limela; 6amba (seize) 6ambela.

(4) The Causative. The commonest suffix is -isa, but several verbs ending in -la change -la to -ta (Ur-Bantu lya). e.g.
nyatsha (drink) nyatshisa; dwa6a (forage) dwa6isa;
khatshala (be tired) khatshata; vela (appear) veta.

Note: Ur-Bantu y sometimes exerts influence on the vowel of the preceding syllable, and partial assimilation takes place
e.g. dvundvu6ala (climb to summit) dvundvu6eta;
fudvumala (be warm) fudvumeta.

(5) The Intensive. The suffix is -isisa. e.g. beka (look)
bekisisa; 6uta 6uta (ask) 6utisisa.

(6) The Reciprocal. The suffix is -ana. e.g. kh/ikh/a
(strike) kh/ikh/ana; qondza (understand) qondzana.

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

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

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

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

Monosyllabic verbs insert -yi- between the stem elements.
e.g. -na (rain) nayina (rain slightly).

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

Some other aspects of the verbal derivative species

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

e.g.	Neuter	Causative
	qhekeka (be cracked)	qheketa (cause to crack)
	ephuka (be broken)	ephula (cause to break)
	ncothfuka (be pulled out)	ncothfula (cause to be pulled out)
	phendvuka (be turned about)	phendvula (cause to turn about)
	godvuka (go home)	godvusa (cause to go home)

(ii) The suffixes -na and -nisa.

(a) Baca has the verb -(i)ma (not to give). This is a transitive verb. The suffix -na makes it intransitive. e.g. Ugemela ni ašantfu inyama? Uyemana! (Why do you refuse the people meat? You are very stingy!)

This reminds one of the Sotho *tima* (not to give), *timana* (be stingy). Further research may prove that there are other verbs made intransitive by the suffix -na.

(b) Another remarkable suffix is -nisa. e.g. (e)thfuka (swear) ethfukanisa. One of the speakers (in fact the defendant) involved in a lawsuit at Chief Wabane's inkundla during the Easter Week, 1942, said: "Lo m'ati ukhuphuka l'entsašeni, adze at'odvundvušala ngetulu, ethfuka, ethfukanisa". (This woman climbs up the hill until she reaches the summit, swearing and swearing indiscriminately.)

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

N.B. Though I have given the suffixes as -na, -nisa, they are more probably -ana, -anisa.

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

Chapter VII

The Verb (continued)

Conjugation of the Verb

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

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

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

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

(a) The Infinitive

Examples:	Positive	Negative
	ukukhamba (to go)	ukungakhambi
	ukwenta (to do)	ukungenti
	ukwati (to know)	ukungati
	ukudliwa (to be eaten)	ukungadliwa

Sentences: Lo mfo uya kwati ukunyatshela indlam (This man knows how to tread the war-dance); Ukungabeki itintfo kahle humkhwa om6i (It is a bad habit not to look at things well).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(v) When preceded by the objectival concord or by the reflexive affix ti, the imperative changes the terminal -a of the stem into -e. e.g. 6amba (seize) > m6ambe, m6ambeni (seize him); idla (eat) > yidle, yidleni (eat it); 6ula (pull) > ti6ule, ti6uleni (pull yourself/yourselves).

(vi) Baca, like Zulu-Xhosa, has no corresponding negative imperative. To express the negative imperative, the verb stem musa, musani (remove) is used imperatively before the infinitive form of the verb being negatived. The k of uku- and the final vowel of musa, musani are elided. e.g. 6uta (ask) > mus'uubuta; 6utani > musan'uubuta; dlala (play) > mus'uudlala; dlalani > musan'uudlala.

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

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

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

(i) The Present Tense (Long Form). The table of concords is as follows:

	1st P.	2nd P.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sing.	ndi-	u-	'u-	u-	li-	si-	i-	lu-	6u-	ku-
Plur.	si-	ni-	6a-	i-	a-	ti-	ti-	ti-	-	-

The concord of the negative is the same, but has wu- and ka- in the singular of the 2nd and 3rd persons respectively.

Examples

Positive	Negative
ndiya khamba (I am going/I go)	andikhambi
uya khamba (you are going/you go)	awukhambi
'uya khamba (he is going/he goes)	akakhambi
etc.	etc.

The Present Tense (Short Form)

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

nd-	w-	'w-	w-	l-	s-	y-	lw-	6-	kw-/k-
s-	ng	6-	y-	a/e/o	t-	t-	t-	-	-

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

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

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

Examples of the Positive (Short Form)

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

The Negative of the Present (Short Form)

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

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

* All predicatives following -ve, whether verbal or non-verbal, are always in the Participial Mood.

The forms are therefore as follows:

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

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

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

The Perfect Tense (Long Form)

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

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

The Perfect Tense (Short Form)

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

1st P. ndikhambe ndedzi (I went alone)	a(ndi)ve ndikhambe ndedzi
2nd P. ukhambe wedzi (you went alone)	a(wu)ve ukhambe wedzi
3rd P.1 ukhambe yedzi (he went alone)	a(ka)ve ekhambe yedzi
2 ukhambe wodzi (it went alone)	a(wu)ve ukhambe wodzi
3 likhambe lodzi (it etc.)	a(li)ve likhambe lodzi
etc.	etc.

Further examples: A(ndi)ve ndibeke wena (I was not looking at you); A(6a)ve 6efike itolo (It was not yesterday that they arrived); Le mbuuti a(yi)ve ihintelwe wena (It was not in your honour that this goat was slaughtered);

The Long Form may follow -ve when the negative is used in an exclamatory sense. e.g. A(ka)ve ebobile lowo mfo! (How well that man spoke!); A(6a)ve 6ece6ile laba 6antwana 6akho! (How healthy these your children are!)

The Past Tense (Simple)

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

The table is as follows:

1st p.	ndakhamba (I went)	tange ndikhambe
2nd P.	wakhamba (you went)	tange ukhambe
Cl. 1	wakhamba (he went)	tange akhambe
2	wakhamba (it went)	tange ukhambe
3	lakhamba (it etc.)	tange likhambe

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

(iv) The Future Tense (Immediate). This is characterised by the verb -ta, to which is prefixed the subjectival concord as for the Present Tense: -ta is then followed by the simple verb-stem. The negative is formed in two ways, one the well-known way by negating -ta as for the present Tense, eliding the final vowel of -ta (which is -i in the negative) followed by the main verb in the Infinitive with -k- elided. e.g.

ndita khamba (I am about to go)	andit'uukhamba
tita khamba (they are about to go)	atit'uukhamba

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

The table is as follows:

1st P.	ndita khamba nawe (I shall go with you)	a(ndi)ve ndita khamba naw
2nd P.	uta khamba naye (you will go with him)	a(wu)ve uta khamba naye.
Cl. 1	uta khamba nawe (he will go with you)	a(ka)ve eta khamba nawe.
	etc.	etc.

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

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

The Future Tense (Remote)

The Remote future is formed as follows:

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

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

Positive	Negative
ndawukhamba (I shall go)	andiyukhamba
uyawukhamba (you will go)	awuyukhamba
tiyawukhamba (they will go)	atitukhamba

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

ndawukhamba nawe (I shall go with you)	a(ndi)ve ndawukhamba nawe
uyawukhamba naye (You will go with him)	a(wu)ve uyawukhamba naye
uyawukhamba nawe (he will go with you)	a(ka)ve eyawukhamba nawe
etc.	etc.

The Secondary Tenses of the Indicative.

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

(v) The Recent Past Continuous

6endikhamba (I was going)	6endingakhambi 6endingeve ndikhamba
u6ukhamba (you were going)	u6ungakhambi u6ungeve ukhamba
6elikhamba (it was going)	6elingakhambi 6elingeve likhamba
etc.	etc.

(vi) The Recent Past Perfect

6endikhambile (I had gone)
6endikhambe

6endingakhambanga
6endingeve ndikhambe

u6ukhambile (you had gone)
u6ukhambe

u6ungakhambanga
u6ungeve ukhambe

6elikhambile (it had gone)
6elikhambe
etc.

6elingakhambanga
6elingeve likhambe
etc.

(vii) The Recent Past Contemplated

6endita khamba (I was about to go)

6endingatuukhamba
tendingeve ndita khamba

u6uta khamba (You were about to go)

u6ungatuukhamba
u6ungeve uta khamba

e6eta khamba (he was about to go)
etc.

e6engatuukhamba
e6engeve eta khamba
etc.

(viii) The Remote Past Continuous

ndandikhamba (I was going)

ndandingakhambi
ndandingeve ndikhamba

wawukhamba (you were going)

wawungakhambi
wawungeve ukhamba

wayekhamba (he was going)
etc.

wayengakhambi
wayengeve ekhamba
etc.

(ix) The Remote Past Perfect

ndandikhambile (I had gone)

ndandingakhambanga
ndandingeve ndikhambile

(x) The Remote Past contemplated

ndandita khamba (I was about to go)

Ndandingatuukhamba
ndandingeve ndita khamba

wawuta khamba (you were about to go)

wawungatuukhamba
wawungeve uta khamba

wayeta khamba (he was about to go)
etc.

wayengatuukhamba
wayengeve eta khamba
etc.

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

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

(i) The Present. The table of the Present Tense is as follows:

ndikhambe	(that I may go)	ndingakhambi
ukhambe	(that you may go)	ungakhambi
akhambe	(that he may go)	angakhambi
etc.		etc.

The Imperative use of the Subjunctive. The Present Subjunctive, with the help of the prefixal formative ma-, is used imperatively in the 1st and 3rd Persons. e.g. ma bakhambe! (let them go!); ma i6uye! (Let it come back!).

If the subjectival concord is that of the 1st Person Plural, two different forms are possible. One is the regular one, like the examples given above, and it signifies "we two". e.g. ma sikhambe! (Let you and me go); ma siyi6ambe! (Let us two seize it!)

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

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

1st P.	ndakhamba (I went)	ndangakhambi
2nd P.	wakhamba (you went)	wangakhambi
Cl. 1	wakhamba (he went)	wangakhambi
	etc.	etc.

Examples: U6awo watshi ma ndiye, kodwa ma ndangayi (My father told me to go, but I did not go); Ndamfuna, ndangamboni (I look for him (but) did not see him); Iinkomo talahleka, ne6a ngo6a wasuka wangatibeki kahle. (The cattle went astray because he did not look after them properly).

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

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

* Found also in Hlu6i and Mpondomise

(i) The Present

1st P. ndikhamba (I going)	ndingakhambi ndingeve ndikhamba
2nd P. ukhamba (you going)	ungakhambi ungeve ukhamba
3rd P. ekhamba (he going)	engakhambi engeve ekhamba
etc.	etc.

(ii) The Perfect

1st P. ndikhambile (I having gone) ndikhambe	Ndingakhambanga ndingeve ndikhambe
2nd P. ukhambile (you having gone) ukhambe	ungakhambanga ungeve ukhambe
Cl. 1. ekhambile (he having gone) ekhambe	engakhambanga engeve ekhambe
etc.	etc.

(iii) The Future

1st P. ndita khamba (I, about to go)	ndingatukhamba ndingeve ndita khamba
2nd P. uta khamba (you, about to go)	ungatukhamba ungeve uta khamba
Cl. 1. eta khamba (he, about to go)	engatukhamba engeve eta khamba
etc.	etc.

Examples : Sifike aGafati seta vova ijiki. (We arrived when the women were about to strain the beer); Eta khanyela nje kuncedza ni ukusobuta? (Since he is going to deny what is the use of asking him?); Nitixhamla nje, ndingeve ndita boba into engehlanga nje (You labour in vain, since I am not going to say what has not happened). Undinqamlele, ndingeve ndita boba kakhulu (You have cut me short although I was not going to speak at length).

(iv) The Past

1st P. ndakhamba (I having gone)	ndingatange ndikhambe
2nd P. wakhamba (you having gone)	ungatange ukhambe
3rd P. wakhamba (he having gone)	engatange akhambe
etc.	etc.

Examples: Ufika uyihlo-mkhulu wafa kudzala (You arrive long after your grandfather's death); (Lit. you arrive, your grandfather having died long ago). Sifike tshina inkomo yahlintwa ngeveki edlulile (We arrived a week after the beast had been slaughtered) (lit. We arrived, the beast having been slaughtered in the previous week); Leti ndzaba sitiva kudzala tadlula (We learn this news long after it has passed).

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

(i) The Present Tense

1st P.	ndingakhamba	(I can go)	andingekhambi
2nd P.	ungakhamba	(you can go)	awungekhambi
1	angakhamba	(he can go)	akangekhambi
2	ungakhamba	(it can go)	awungekhambi
	etc.		etc.

(ii) The Recent Past

1st P.	6endingakhamba	(I could have gone)	6endingekhambi
2nd P.	ufungakhamba	(you " " ")	ufungekhambi
Cl. 1	e6engakhamba	(he " " ")	e6engekhambi
2	ufungakhamba	(it " " ")	ufungekhambi
	etc.		etc.

(iii) The Remote Past

1st P.	ndandingakhamba	(I could have gone)	ndandingekhambi
2nd P.	wawungakhamba	(you " " ")	wawungekhambi
Cl. 1	wayengakhamba	(he " " ")	wayengekhambi
2	wawungakhamba	(it " " ")	wawungekhambi
	etc.		etc.

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

(i) The Present

1st P.	ngendikhamba	(I should go)	ngendingakhambi
2nd P.	ngewukhamba	(you should go)	ngewungakhambi
Cl. 1	ngeyekhamba	(he " ")	ngeyengakhambi
	etc.		etc.

(ii) The Perfect

1st P.	ngendikhambile	(I should have gone)	ngendingakhambanga
	ngendikhambe		ngendinge ve ndikhambe
2nd P.	ngewukhambile	(you should have gone)	ngewungakhambanga
	ngewukhambe		ngewunge ve ukhambe
Cl. 1	ngeyekhambile	(he " " ")	ngeyengakhambanga
	ngeyekhambe		ngeyenge ve ekhambe
	etc.		etc.

(iii) The Recent Past Perfect

1st P.	nge6endikhambile	(I should have gone)	nge6endingakhambanga
	nge6endikhambe		nge6endinge ve ndikhambe
2nd P.	nge6eukhambile	(you " " ")	nge6eungakhambanga
	nge6eukhambe		nge6eunge ve ukhambe
3rd P.	nge6eekhambile	(he " " ")	nge6eengakhambanga
	nge6e ekhambe		nge6e enge ve eekhambe
	etc.		etc.

(iv) The Remote Past Perfect

1st P.	ngendandikhambile	(should have gone)	ngendandingakhambanga
	ngendandikhambe		ngendandinge ve ndikhambe
2nd P.	ngewawukhambile	(you " " ")	ngewawungakhambanga
	ngewawukhambe		ngewawunge ve ukhambe

3rd P. ngewayekhambile (he should have gone)	ngewayengakhambanga
ngewayekhambe	ngewayengeve ekhambe
etc.	etc.

Examples of the use of the Contingent Mood:

Ngendikhamba khona manje u6a 6endihuwe (If I were you I should go now); Ngendikhambe naye u6a 6endinemali (If I had had money I should have gone with him); U6a 6endikhona ngendimkh/ikh/ile (If I had been there I should have given him a hiding); U6a-6e6-6endikhona ngendimkh/i U6a 6e6enamaha/i nge6engeve 6ete ngeenyawo (If they had horses they should not have come on foot); U6a 6endisati ukutshi uya yifuna nge6endite nayo. (Had I known that you needed it I should have brought it); Ngewayeteke kudzala u6a e6eneenkomo (If he had cattle he should have been married long ago); U6a umana wam e6esaphila ngendinge6e ndidzelelwe kangaka ha6afana (If my son were still living I should not be contemned so much by young men); U6a yayingekho imitshi yakhe ngewayefe6e kuleyo ndzawo (Had his herbs not been there he should have died on the spot); U6a 6endiyati imbambano yenu ngendinge6e ndi6uta kuwe (If I knew the cause of your quarrel I should not be asking you).

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

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

But -ko is not suffixed in the following circumstances:

- (i) When the verb has an adjunct and no objectival concord. That is, when emphasis is laid on an adjunct. e.g. A6afana a6adla ijiki andi6afshandzi (I do not like young men who drink beer); Umfo oteka intfombi enhle! (A man who is engaged to a fine girl!)
- (ii) When the verb has a progressive or exclusive implication. e.g. a6antfu a6asasina (people who still dance); indvodza e6e ilala (the man who is already preparing to sleep).
- (iii) In the negative conjugation, irrespective of adjunct or implication. e.g. a6antfu a6anganvatshi (people who do not drink); Huye umbem endingamati (He is the fellow I don't know).

The uses of the various Tenses in the Relative Construction:

(i) The Present
Simple Implication

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

Progressive Implication

a6afati a6asanyatsha (women who still drink)	a6afati a6angasanyatshi
	a6afati a6angaseve
	6enyatsha

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

Exclusive Implication

Exclusive Implication

umfana ose esebenta (a young man who
is already working)
umfana ose esebenta
eGoli

umfana ongekasebenti
umfana ongekasebenti
eGoli

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

(ii) The Perfect

Simple Implication

indvodza elele (the man who is
sleeping)
indvodza elele (the man who is fast
asleep)
uButhfongo

indvodza engalalanga
indvodza engeve ilele
uButhfongo

Progressive Implication

indvodza esalele (the man who is still
sleeping)

indvodza engasalalanga
indvodza engeve isalele

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

Exclusive Implication

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

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

(iii) The Future

Simple Implication

aBantfu aBata fika (people who are about
to come)

aBantfu aBanguafika
aBantfu aBangeve Bata
fika

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

Progressive Implication

aBantfu aBasata fika (people who are
still to come)
aBantfu aBasata fika lapha (people who are
still to come here)

aBantfu aBanguafika
aBantfu aBanguafika
lapha

Note that the negative in -ve is not acceptable here.

Exclusive Implication

aBantfu aBase Bata fika (people who are
already about to
come)

aBantfu aBanguafika

One informant told me that the negative form aBangeve se Bata fika is acceptable even if there is no adjunct. With an adjunct, of course, the negative in -ve is acceptable. This would be aBangeve se Bata fika manje (who are not yet about to come now).

(iv) The Past

a6antfu a6akhamba	(people who went)	a6antfu a6angatange 6akhambe
a6antfu a6akhamba kadze	(people who went late)	a6antfu a6angatange 6akhambe kadze

(vi) The Recent Past Continuous

Simple Implication

umntfu o6ekhamba	(the man who was going)	umntfu o6engakhambi
umntfu o6ekhamba nawe	(the man who was going with you)	umntfu o6engeve ekhamba nawe

Progressive Implication

umntfu o6esakhamba	(the man who was still going)	umntfu o6engasakhambi
umntfu o6esakhamba nawe	(the man who was still going with you)	umntfu o6engaseve ekham nawe

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

Exclusive Implication

umntfu o6eseyekhamba	(the man who was already going)	umntfu o6engekakhambi
umntfu o6eseyekhamba nawe	(the man who was already going with you)	umntfu o6engeve seye- khamba nawe

(vii) The Recent Past Perfect

Simple Implication

umntfu o6ekhambile	(the man who had gone)	umntfu o6engakhambanga
umntfu o6ekhambe nawe	(umntfu o6engeve ekhambe nawe

Progressive Implication

umntfu o6esakhambile	(the man who had still gone)	umntfu o6engasakhambang
umntfu o6esakhambe nawe	(the man who had still gone with you)	umntfu o6engeve esakham nawe

Exclusive Implication

umntfu o6eseye- khambile	(the man who had already gone)	umntfu o6engekakhambi
umntfu o6eseye- khambe nawe	(the man who had not yet gone with you)	umntfu o6engeve seye- khambe nawe

(viii) The Recent Past Contemplated

Simple Implication

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

umntfu oβengatuukhamba

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

umntfu oβengeve eta khamba
nawe

Progressive Implication

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

umntfu oβengasatuukhamba

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

umntfu oβengasatuukhamba nawe

Note the absence of the negative in -ve.

Exclusive Implication

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

umntfu oβengekatuukhamba

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

umntfu oβengeve seyeta
khamba nawe

(viii) The Remote Past Continuous

Simple Implication

umntfu owayekhamba
(the man who was going)

umntfu owayengakhambi

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

umntfu owayengeve ekhamba nawe

Progressive Implication

umntfu owayesakhamba
(the man who was still going)

umntfu owayengasakhambi

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

umntfu owayengaseve ekhamba
nawe

Exclusive Implication

umntfu owayeseyekhamba
(the man who was already going)

umntfu owayengekakhambi

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

umntfu owayengeve seyekhamba
nawe

(ix) The Remote Past Perfect

Simple Implication

umntfu owayekhambile
(the man who had gone)

umntfu owayengakhambanga

umntfu owayekhambe nawe
(the man who had gone with you)

umntfu owayengeve ekhambe nawe

Progressive implication

umntfu owayesakhambile
(the man who was still away)

umntfu owayengasakhambanga

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

umntfu owayengeve esakhambe
nawe

Exclusive Implication

umntfu owayeseyekhambile
(the man who had already gone)

umntfu owayengekakhambi

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

umntfu owayengeve seyekhambe
nawe

(x) The Remote Past Contemplated

Simple Implication

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

umntfu owayengatuukhamba

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

umntfu owayengeve eta khamba
nawe

Progressive Implication

umntfu owayesakhamba
(the man who was still going)

umntfu owayengasakhambi

umntfu owaye sakhambi nawe
(the man who was going with you)

umntfu owayengasakhambi nawe

Note the absence of the negative in -ve.

Exclusive implication

umntfu owayeseyekhamba
(the man who was already going)

umntfu owayengekakhambi

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

umntfu owayengeve seyekhamba
nawe

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

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

(ii) Substantive qualified as object of the relative predicate in effect: Hinkatanyana endandiyati (She is a girl I used to know); Abantfu endingaabaqondzi kahle halaabo ubat/hoko (The people whom I do not understand well are those you mean); Kwakuhumbem endimatiko (It was a fellow I knew).

(iii) Substantive qualified brought into possessive relationship with the relative predicate: Ndi6one idlanga elimaphiko madze lindinga eti kwam (I saw a vulture whose wings were long flying above me); Safika eligxeni elimitshi mikhulu (We came to a forest whose trees were big); Le nkosi eha/i lihlat/iwe hu hufa? (Who is the chief whose horse has been stabbed?).

(iv) Substantive brought into copulative relationship with the relative predicate: Naandi inyanga endelat/hwa hiyo (Here is the doctor by whom I was healed); Umfati a6a/ut/we huye humolokatana (The woman by whom they have been finished [i.e. bewitched] is the daughter-in-law); Hilelo iqhinga 6sancedzwa hilo (That is the plan by which we were made successful).

(v) Substantive brought into adverbial relationship with the relative predicate: 6ee

Locative: Iha/i endikhwelele kwilo li6ovu
(The horse on which I am riding is brown)

Instrumental: Umkhontfo awahlat/wa ngawo uNcaphayi kwakuhowakhe (The spear with which Ncaphayi was stabbed was his own)

Conjunctive: Iindza6a afike nato ti6uhlungu (The news he has brought is sore, lit. with which he has come)

Manner-comparison: wanting.

Positional: Iilivi endime eti kwalo hileli (My contention is this, lit. The word on which I am standing is this).

Chapter VIII

The verb (continued)

Deficient Verbs

The majority of the deficient verbs in Baca are followed either by the Subjunctive or by the Participial Mood, but a few are followed by the Infinitive.

(1) Deficient Verbs followed by the Subjunctive:

6ka, -ke: The form -ka is used persuasively to indicate "if you please", "just this once", "for the time being". e.g. Ka undit/ene*inyani (Just tell me the truth); ka uyibambe; ndiyeta (hold it for the time being; I am coming).

The form -6e is used in direct statements or questions to indicate "happening at some time or other". e.g. Ndike ndi6a6one la6o 6afati (I sometimes see those women); 6ake 6at/ho na ukutshi ngena? (Did they at any time ask you to come in?).

-dze: indicating "to happen at last". e.g. Kwadze kwa6onwa umkhondvo wenka6i (At last the track of an ox was discovered); UFelendlamini wadze wateka? (Did Felendlamini get married at last?).

* t/ena (inform) corresponds to Zulu t/ela.

-t/het/ha: indicating "happening sooner than expected, or prematurely". e.g. Iinwele etifo/hwa nge u6a tit/het/ha tinqutsheke (Hair that is dressed with brown clay falls prematurely); Leto ntfo mbi tenu tita t/het/ha tendze niselapha eGoli (Those girls of yours will quickly get married while you are still here in the mines).

-6uye: indicating "to happen again", "to happen subsequently", or later". e.g. 'Utshi ma ndi6uye ndinyatshe (He invites me to have another drink), Sita 6uye siyihlawule leyo ntfo (We shall make compensation for that later on).

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

-suke: "to happen unexpectedly", "to do unwisely". e.g. Yasuke yafa leyo nkomo ingekatali (That cow unexpectedly died before it had had any young); Usuke u6alekane nabantfu a6adzala (You unwisely avoid the senior people).

-hle: "to happen to do, or to happen". e.g. Angahle afike namhl: nje ntsambama (He may arrive this afternoon, very likely); Singahle sikukh/ikh/e tshita usahleka nje! (We may happen to give you a hiding while you are still laughing!).

The verb -hle is always in the Potential Mood.

(2) Deficient Verbs followed by the Participial Mood:

-loko : indicating "to do or happen continually, or often". e.g. 'Uloko egula hisifuba (He often suffers from a sore chest); Niloko nilokotisa amehlo lapha ngani? (Why do you continually cast your eyes this way?)

-mane: indicating "happening or doing at intervals". e.g. E6emane eyikh/ikh/a etshangeni ngoswati (He at intervals gave it a thwack on the thigh with a switch); Umane ubeka imbuuti leto ndidze ndi6uye (Now and again cast an eye on the goats until I return).

-phetsha: indicating "to happen or do finally". e.g. Lo mbem ndita phetsha ndimkh/ikh/ile (I shall hit this fellow at last); Na ungaloboli nje, le ntfo mbi iyawuphetsha igcagciswe habanye a6abem (If you do not lobola this girl will finally be abducted by other fellows).

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

-sa: indicating "to happen or do overnight", lit. "dawn". e.g. Intfo mbi kwasa icat/hile (The girl absconded overnight) lit. It dawned the girl having absconded); Na kusa ufele lapha licala lika6a'? (If you die here overnight who will be responsible?)

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

(3) Deficient Verbs followed by the Infinitive:-

-vama : indicating "to happen or do as a rule". e.g. Akavami kukhwelela (He does not usually ride); A6afati 6avama ukumemana na 6evova ijiki. (As a rule women invite one another when they strain beer).

Note (1) the elision of the initial vowel of the infinitive in

absolute negation, kukhwelela instead of ukukhwelela. (ii)
The regular negative is used interchangeably with the negative in -ve in certain deficient verbs. The rule, however is not clear, for certain deficient verbs never take -ve .

-tshandza : indicating "to partake somewhat of a certain action or state". e.g. Litshandza ukuna-yina (It is raining somewhat);
Le' silwana sitshandza ukuša mhlophe, kodwa asi/u6i (This animal partakes somewhat of whiteness, but is not quite white; lit. but does not finish (whiteness)).

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

Probably the verb-stem is -te, or the same -ta that is used in the negative of the Past Indicative. Some of the other Nguni dialects in the Transkei e.g. Mpondomise, have the forms sobe, andisobe (ikked ste) and soze, andisoze (remote), and literary Xhosa has the form sayi kuze. The form soze would therefore seem to be an extreme case of elision. sa(yi k)uze > sauze > soze (a + u > o). The corresponding Baca form would then, of course, be sote.

Chapter IX

The Copulative

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

(1) Nouns of all classes, that take the full prefix of their class, preplace h- to the noun-prefix. Thus: umfati (woman) > humfati; a6afati (women) > ha6afati; umtshi (tree) > humtshi; imitshi (trees) > himitshi; ilive (country) > hilive; amave (countries) > hamave; isilima (cripple) > hisilima; itilima (cripples) > hitilima;inja (dog) > hinja; itinja (dogs) > hitinja; ulutshi (rod) > hulutshi; itintsi (rods) > hitintsi; u6uhlalu (beads) > hu6uhlalu; ukudla (food) > hukudla.

(2) Nouns of Class 3 sing. that take the contracted prefix i- > e and nouns of Class 6 sing. that take the contracted prefix u- > e preplace i- > not h. Thus iha/i (horse) > Ziha/i; igcokwe (chicken) > ligcokwe; ukhuni (firewood) > lukhuni; uhlaqa (door) > luhlaqa.

(3) Nouns of Class 5 plur. and Class 6 plur. that take the contracted prefix ii(N) >, preplace t- to the prefix. Thus: iinkomo (cattle) > tiinkomo; iintfombi (maidens) > tiintfombi; iinkuni (firewood) > tiinkuni; iinhlaka (doors) > tiinhlaka.

Examples of the use of Copulatives from nouns: UMadzikane wa6ulawa ha6aThembu (Madsikane was slain by the Thembus); Le nkomo hisilima (This beast is a cripple); Ukudla nita kuphiwa hoonyoko (You are going to be fed by your mothers); 6ebelibele liiki (They delayed in a beer-drink).

The rule for the formation of the negative is as follows: To the positive form prefix ku-, and let this be preceded by ave. Thus: humfati > ave kumfati (it is not a woman); himitshi > ave kuhimitshi (it is not trees); lukhuni > ave kulukhuni (it is not firewood)

Personal Copulatives are formed from nouns by prefixing, to the impersonal copulative forms, the subjectival concord of the noun implied by the concord. Thus : humfati uhumfati (she is a woman); haḥafati ḥahaḥafati (they are women); hisilima ihisilima (it is a cripple); hitilima tihitilima (they are cripples).

The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve, with or without the concord of the noun implied by the concord, to the personal positive form in the Participial Mood. Thus : uhumfati a(ka)ve ehumfati (she is not a woman); ḥahaḥafati a(ḥa)ve ḥahaḥafati (they are not women); ihisilima a(yi)ve ihisilima (it is not a cripple); tihitilima a(ti)ve tihitilima (they are not cripples).

The recent and Remote Past forms of the impersonal copulative are formed by prefixing ḥeku-, kwaku-respectively to the impersonal positive forms. Thus: humfati ḥekuhumfati (it was a woman), kwakuhumfati; hitinja ḥekuhitinja (it was dogs) kwakuhitinja.

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

The impersonal negative Recent and Remote Past are formed by prefixing ḥeku-, kwaku- respectively to -ngeve. This is followed by ku- plus the simple impersonal form. Thus ḥekuhaḥafati ḥekungeve kuhaḥafati (it was not women); kwakuhaḥafati kwakungeve kuhaḥafati (it was not women). ḥekuhitinja ḥekungeve kuhitinja (it was not dogs); kwakuhitinja kwakungeve kuhitinja (it was not dogs); ḥekukuluhuni ḥekungeve kuluhuni (it was not firewood).

The personal negative Past is formed by prefixing the subjectival concord of the noun implied by the concord to the auxiliaries -ḥe, -ye according to tense. This is then prefixed to -ngeve. The personal copulative form follows. Thus: eḥehinkosi eḥengeve ehinkosi (he was not a chief); wayehinkosi wayengeve ehinkosi (he was not a chief); eḥehamakhosi eḥengeve eḥhamakhosi (they were not chiefs).

(Ia) Copulatives from nouns in the locative form.

Impersonal copulatives are formed from nouns in the locative form by prefixing ku- to the locative. To avoid hiatus, -k- is inserted between the subjectival concord ku- and initial e- of the locative. Thus: emtini (at the village) kukemtini (it is at the village); ekhaya (at home) kukekhaya (it is home); kuḥbonda (at ḥbonda) kukuḥbonda (it is ḥbonda). kwaḥsali (at ḥsali's) kukwaḥsali (it is ḥsali's).

The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve without any concord, to the positive form. e.g. kukemtini ave kukemtini (it is not at the village); kukekhaya ave kukekhaya (it is not home); kukuḥbonda ave kukuḥbonda (it is not ḥbonda); kukwaḥsali ave kukwaḥsali (it is not ḥsali's place).

The Recent and Remote Past, positive, are formed by preplacing ḥe-, kwa- respectively to the positive. Thus: kukemtini ḥekukemtini (it was at the village) kwakukemtini
kukekhaya ḥekukekhaya (it was home) kwakukekhaya
kukuḥbonda ḥekukuḥbonda (it was ḥbonda) kwakukuḥbonda

The Recent and Remote Past, negative, are formed by preplacing **6eku-** **kwaku-** respectively to **-ngeve**, and letting this precede the Present, positive. Thus:

6ekukemtini > **6ekungeve kukemtini** (it was not at the village)
kwakukemtini > **kwakungeve kukemtini**

6ekukekhaya > **6ekungeve kukekhaya** (it was not home)
kwakukekhaya > **kwakungeve kukekhaya**

6ekukuMbonda > **6ekungeve kukuMbonda** (it was not Mbonda)
kwakukuMbonda > **kwakungeve kukuMbonda**

6ekukwaMsali > **6ekungeve kukwaMsali** (it was not Msali's place)
kwakukwaMsali > **kwakungeve kukwaMsali**

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

emtini > **ndikemtini** (I am in the village).
ekha a > **'ukekhaya** (he is at home)
emfuleni > **tikemfuleni** (they are on the riverside)
kukuMbonda > **nikuMbonda** (you are at Mbonda).
kwamsali > **6akwamsali** (they are at Msali's).

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

ndikemtini > **a(ndi)ve ndikemtini** (I am not in the village)
'ukekhaya > **a(ka)ve ekekhaya** (he is not at home)
nikuMbonda > **-aa a(ni)ve nikuMbonda** (you are not at Mbonda).
6akwamsali > **a(6a)ve 6akwamsali** (they are not at Msali's).

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

ndikemtini > **6endikemtini** (I was in the village)
> **nda(ye)ndikemtini** (
6akekhaya > **6e6ekekhaya** (they were at home)
> **6a6ekekhaya** (
tikemfuleni > **6etikemfuleni** (they were at the riverside)
> **ta(ye)tikemfuleni**

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

6endikemtini > **6endingeve ndikemtini** (I was not ~~ti~~ in the village)
6etikekhaya > **6etingeve tikekhaya** (they were not at home)
6a6ekwamsali > **6ax 6a(ye)6engeve 6ekwamsali** (they were not at Msali's)

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

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

* Personal copulatives are possible in the 1st & 2nd persons, sing. e.g. **Ndihoka Mchisana** (I am Mchisana's); **Uhoka6a?** (Whose are you?)

The negative is formed exactly like the negative of the impersonal form with nouns in their simple form. In the possessive form, however, -ve is never preceded by the subjectival concord. e.g. helikaḅawo > ave kuhelikaḅawo (it is not my father's); hawenkosi > ave kuhawenkosi (they are not the chief's). The Past Tenses are also formed quite regularly like those of the simple form. Examples

ḅekuhelikaḅawo (it was my father's) > ḅekungeve kuhelikaḅawo
 ḅekuhawenkosi (they were the chief's) > ḅekungeve kuhawenkosi
 kwakuhelikaḅawo (it was my father's) > kwakungeve kuhelikaḅawo
 kwakuhawenkosi (they were the chief's) > kwakungeve kuhawenkosi

(II) Copulatives from Pronouns

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

(i) in the 1st person singular, u

(ii) in all other cases the vowel of the subjectival concord (Present indicative) of the class of the noun implied by the pronoun.

The forms are therefore as follows:

1st pers.	hum	hitshi
2nd	huwe	hini
1	huye	haḅo
2	huwo	hiyo
3	hilo	hawo
4	hiso	hito
5	hiyo	hito
6	hulo	hito
7	huḅo	-
8	huko	-

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

1st pers.	ave kuum	ave kuhitshi
2nd	ave kuhuwe	ave kuhini
1	ave kuhuye	ave kuhaḅo
2	ave kuhuwo	ave kuhiyo
	etc.	etc.

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

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

Examples: ḅekuum (it was I) ḅekungeve kuum
 kwakuhitshi (it was we) kwakungeve kuhitshi
 ḅekuhesona (it was the very one) ḅekungeve kuhesona
 kwakuheyona do. kwakungeve kuheyona

(b) Formation of Copulatives from Demonstrative Pronouns

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

Cl.	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
1. S.	hulo	hulowo	hulowa
P.	halaša	halašo	halašava
2. S.	hulo	hulowo	hulowa
P.	hile	hileyo	hileya
3. S.	hileli	hilelo	hileliya
P.	hala	halawo	halawa
4. S.	hilesi	hileso	hilesiya
P.	hileti	hileto	hiletiya
5. S.	hile	hileyo	hileya
P.	hileti	hileto	hiletiya
6. S.	hilolu	hulolo	huloluya
P.	hileti	hileto	kwā hiletiya
7.	hulošu	hulošo	hulošuya
8	huloku	huloko	hulokuya

The formation of the negative is clear.

Examples: Ave kuhile ndvodza (It is not this man); Ave kuhalašaya šantfu (It is not yonder people); Ave kuhileto tinti (it is not those rods).

(c) Formation of Copulatives from Possessive Pronouns

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

Negative: ave kuhelam (it is not mine); ave kuhelethfu (it is not ours); ave kuhowakho (it is not yours); ave kuhowenu (it is not yours).

Past Tenses

kwā Sekuhelam (it was mine)	Sekungeve kuhelam
Sekuhelethfu (it was ours)	Sekungeve kuhelethfu
kwakuhowakho (it was yours)	kwakungeve kuhowakho
kwakuhowenu (it was yours)	kwakungeve kuhowenu

(d) Formation of Copulatives from Enumerative Pronouns.

In the positive Baca does not differ with Zulu-Xhosa. But in the negative Baca employs a-ve with ar without the subjunctive concord. Examples:

	Present
šisonke (we are all there)	a(si)ve šisonke
šyonke (it is all there)	a(yi)ve šyonke
ndindodzi (I am alone)	a(ndi)ve ndindodzi
šilodzi (it is alone)	a(li)ve šilodzi
šitombini (both are together)	a(ti)ve šitombini
šwomahlanu (all five are together)	a(wa)ve šwomahlanu

Immediate Past

6esisonke (we were all there)	6esingeve sisonke
16iyonke (it was all there)	16ingeve iyonke
6endindodzi (I was alone)	6endingeve ndindodzi
6elilodzi (it was alone)	6elingeve lilodzi
6e6i6ombini (both were together)	6etingeve titombini
e6ewomahlanu (all five were together)	6engeve ewomahlanu

Remote Past

sasisonke (we were all together)	sasingeve sisonke
ndandindodzi (I was alone)	ndandingeve ndindodzi
tatitombini (both were together)	tatingeve titombini
ayewomahlanu (all five were together)	ayengeve ewomahlanu

(III) Formation of Copulatives from adjectives and Relatives

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

mkhulu (he is big)	a(ka)ve emkhulu
inhle (it is fine)	ni a(yi)ve inhle
ematshathfu (there are three of them)	a(wa)ve ematshathfu
u6ovu (he is red)	a(ka)ve e6ovu
i6uhlungu (it is sore)	a(yi)ve i6uhlungu
amanti (they are wet)	a(wa)ve emanti
e6ema6ini (therewere two)	e6engeve ema6ini
tatimandzi (they were nice)	tatingeve timandzi.

(IV) Formation of Copulatives from Numerals. Of the three numerals -phi?, -ni? and -mbe only the first has complete copulative forms. These are formed by prefixing h- to the numeral concord. Thus : omuphi? owuphi? > homuphi? howuphi? (which one is he?); a6aphi? > ha6aphi? (which ones are they?)

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

The other classes do not permit of copulatives. If a copulative has to be formed, the noun is made copulative, and -ni? is used as a qualificative. e.g. ha6antfu 6ani? (what people are they?); humtshi umni? (what wood is it?).

-mbe too can only function as qualificative. e.g. hamasimi wambe (they are different lands); hu6uso 6umbe (it is a different face).

Naturally there can be no negative forms of numeral copulatives.

The Immediate and Remote Past are formed by preplacing 6eku-, kwaku- to forms of the Present. e.g. 6ekuheliphi? (which one was it?); kwakuhamani? (what tribe werethey?); Personal copulatives may be formed by prefixing the subjectival concord of the noun implied to the impersonal forms. e.g. humni? > uhumni? (to what tribe do you belong?); howuphi? > uhowuphi? (which one are you?)

(V) Formation of Copulatives from Adverbs. Impersonal copulatives may be formed from certain adverbs by prefixing ku- to the adverbial form. Thus: apha > kulapha (it is here); kufit/hane > kukufit/hane (it is near).

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

Past Tenses :

Gekulapha	(it was here)	6ekungeve kulapha
Gekukufit/hane	(it was near)	6ekungeve kukufit/hane
Gekukekudzeni	(it was far away)	6ekungeve kukekudzeni
kwakuketulu	(it was on the top)	kwakungeve kuketulu

Personal copulatives may be formed by prefixing the subjectival concord of the noun implied to the adverbial forms. e.g. ndilapha (I am here); 6akufit/hane (they are near); 6etiketulu (they were at the top); wayekukudzeni (he was far away).

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

Past Tenses:

6etiketulu	(they were at the top)	6etingeve tiketulu
wayekukudzeni	(he was far away)	wayengeve ekekudzeni

(V) Locative Demonstrative Copulatives

	1st position	2nd position	3rd position
Cl.1 S.	nangu	nango	nanguya
P.	naba	nabo	nabaya
2 S.	nangu	nango	nanguya
P.	nandi	nando	nandiya
3 S.	nali	nalo	wa naliya
P.	nanka	nanko	nankaya
4 S.	nasi	naso	nasiya
P.	nati	nato	natiya
5 S.	nandi	nando	nandiya
P.	nanti	nanto	nantiya
6 S.	nalu	nalo	haluya
P.	nati	nato	natiya
7 S.	naba	nabo	nabuya
8 S.	naku	nako	nakuya

(VI) Formation of Copulatives from Conjunctions. Copulatives are formed from conjunctions by prefixing the subjectival concord ku- to the conjunction. e.g. Kungoba lo mfati elidikazi kuphela na? (Is it because this woman is a mere concubine?) Ngo waca kuna kuqala ukuqa nyama ("Ngo waca" is when darkness begins); Intro endingayitshandzi kukutshi adiboba a6e eboba (What I object to is that he should speak while I am speaking); KwaZulu kulapho saqhanka khona (Zululand is where we came from); Kukhona kusengwako lapha? (Is it only now that you are milking here?)

The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve without a concord to the positive form. e.g. Ave kungoba elidikazi (It is not because she is a concubine); Ave kukhona kusengwako (It is not only now that we are milking).

(VII) The Copulative use of the Conjunctive Formative na- to signify possession, and existence.

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

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

Impersonal copulatives are formed by prefixing ku- to na- X noun, to signify "there is". e.g. kunemali lapha (there is money here); kunabantfu abanyhenti (there are many people).

The negative is formed by preplacing a-ve, without any concord, to the positive form. e.g. Ave kunemali lapha (There is no money here); Ave kunabantfu abanyhenti (There are not many people).

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

Chapter X

The Copulative (continued)

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

Conjugation of the verb -6a

Infinitive

uku6a (to be)

ukungabi

Imperative

Sing. (y) i6a (be)

mus'ru6a

Plur. (y) i6ani

mus'n'uu6a

Present Indicative

1st P. ndi6a (I am/become)
2nd P. u6a (you are/become)
Cl. 1. 'uba (is/ ")
etc.

andi6i/a(ndi)ve ndi6a
awu6i/a(wu)ve u6a
aka6i/a(ka)ve e6a
etc.

Perfect Indicative

1st P. ndi6e (I was/became)
2nd P. u6e (you were/became)
Cl. 1. 'u6e (he was/became)
etc.

andi6anga/a(ndi)ve ndi6e
awu6anga/a(wu)ve u6e
aka6anga/a(ka)ve e6e
etc.

Past Indicative

1st P.	ndaba	(I was/became)	tange ndibe
2nd P.	waba	(you were/became)	tange ube
Cl. 1	'waba	(he was/became)	tange abe
	etc.		etc.

Immediate Future Indicative

1st P.	ndita 6a	(I am about to be)	a(ndi)ve ndita 6a
2nd P.	uta 6a	(you are ")	a(wu)ve uta 6a
Cl. 1	'uta 6a	(he is ")	a(ka)ve eta 6a
	etc.		etc.

Remote Future Indicative

1st P.	ndawuba	(I shall be)	a(ndi)ve ndawuba
2nd P.	uya wuba	(you will be)	a(wu)ve uya wuba
Cl. 1	'uya wuba	(he ")	a(ka)ve eya wuba

Recent Past Continuous Indicative

1st P.	6endiba	(I habitually was/became)	6endingeve ndiba
2nd P.	u6uba	(you " were/ ")	u6ungeve u6a
Cl. 1	e6eba	(he " was/ ")	e6engeve e6a
	etc.		etc.

Recent Past Contemplated Indicative

1st P.	6endiya wuba	(I should have been/become)	6endingeve ndiy wuba
2nd P.	u6uya wuba	(you would " ")	u6ungeve uya wu
3rd P.	e6eya wuba	(he " " ")	e6engeve eya wu
	etc.		etc.

Remote Past Continuous Indicative

1st P.	ndandiba	(I habitually was/became)	ndandingeve ndiba
2nd P.	wawuba	(you " were/ ")	wawungeve u6a
Cl. 1	'wayeba	(he " was / ")	'wayengeve e6a
	etc.		etc.

Remote Past Contemplated Indicative

1st P.	ndandiya wuba	(I would have been/become)	ndandingeve ndiya wuba
2nd P.	wawuya wuba	(you would " ")	wawungeve uya wuba
Cl. 1	'wayeya wuba	(he " " ")	wayengeve eya wuba
Cl. 1	'wayeya wuba	(he would have been/become)	wayengeve eya wuba
	etc.		etc.

Present Subjunctive

1st P.	ndibe	(that I may be/become)	ndinga6i
2nd P.	ube	(" you ")	unga6i
Cl. 1	abe	(" he ")	anga6i
	etc.		etc.

Past Subjunctive

1st P.	ndaba	(and I became)	ndanga6i
2nd P.	waba	(and you ")	wanga6i
Cl. 1	'waba	(and he ")	'wanga6i
	etc.		etc.

Present Participial

1st P. ndi6a	(I becoming)	ndinga6i
2nd P. u6a	{you "}	unga6i
3rd P. e6a	{he "}	enga6i
etc.		etc.

Perfect Participial

1st P. ndi6e	(I have ^{ing} been/become)	ndinga6anga
2nd P. u6e	{you "}	unga6anga
Cl. 1 e6e	{he "}	enga6anga
etc.		etc.

Past Participial

1st P. nda6a	(I having been/become)	ndingatange ndi6e
2nd P. wa6a	{You "}	ungatange u6e
Cl. 1 a6a	{he "}	engatange e6e
etc.		etc.

Future Participial

1st P. ndita 6a	(I, about to be/become)	ndingeve ndita 6a
2nd P. uta 6a	{you, "}	ungeve uta 6a
Cl. 1 eta 6a	{he, "}	engeve eta 6a
etc.		etc.

Present Potential

1st P. ndinga6a	(I can be)	andinge6i
2nd P. unga6a	{you "}	awunge6i
Cl. 1 anga6a	{he "}	akange6i
etc.		etc.

Immediate Past Potential

1st P. 6endinga6a	(I could be/have been)	6endinge6i
2nd P. u6unga6a	{you "}	u6unge6i
Cl. 1 e6enga6a	{he "}	e6enge6i
etc.		etc.

Remote Past Potential

1st P. ndandinga6a	(I could be/have been)	ndandinge6i
2nd P. wawunga6a	{you "}	wawunge6i
Cl. 1 wayenga6a	{he "}	wayenge6i
etc.		etc.

Present Contingent

1st P. ngendi6a	(I should be)	ngendinga6i
2nd P. ngewu6a	{you "}	ngewunga6i
Cl. 1 ngeye6a	{he "}	ngeyenga6i
etc.		etc.

Perfect Contingent

1st P. ngendi6e	(I should have been/become)	ngendingabanga
2nd P. ngewu6e	you	ngewingabanga
Cl. 1 ngeye6e	he	ngeyengabanga
etc.		etc.

Recent Past Perfect Contingent

1st P. nge6endi6e (I should have been/become) nge6endingabanga
 2nd and 3 person same as for Simple perfect above.

Remote Past Indefinite Contingent

1st P. ngendaba	(I should have been/become)	ngendingatange
		ndi6e
2nd P. nge waba	you	ngewingatange u6e
Cl. 1 nge waba	he	ngeyengatange a6e
etc.		etc.

Remote Past Perfect Contingent

1st P. ngendandi6e	(I should have been/become)	ngendendingabanga
2nd P. ngewawu6e	you	ngewawungabanga
Cl. 1 ngewaye6e	he	ngewayengabanga

Illustrative examples of the use of the copulative verb -6a.

Na ndikemahpondweni ndi6a hinkosi
 (When I am in Pondoland I become chief; lit. I am greatly respected.)

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

Ndita 6a hisicaka kudze ku6e nini?
 (How long am I going to be servant?)

Wayeta 6a hinkosi na kufe uyise
 (He was going to be ruler after his father's death)

Na sikhamba ngenqwelo e6e6a humkhokheli
 (When we travelled by ox-waggon he used to be leader)

Umntfu oyaba hiphula kuCem6i
 (The person who was foolish was Cem6i)

Na ukemk ukemkhathini wethfu idla inyama, u6e liBaca
 (While you are in our midst eat meat, and be a Baca)

Mae ave adikutshandza ukuba hinkosi
 (I do not like to be chief)

Saqala a6a mathidala na e6uta lowo m6uto
 (We began to have misgivings when he asked that question)

Wangw6i nenhloni na wena, na comelokatana 6akho 6eku6ona
nyot/iwe? (And were you not ashamed when your daughters-in-law found you drunk?)

Kaloku, akosi, umntfu ave e6a nenhloni na eyot/iwe
 (Remember, O chief, that one has no sense of shame when one is drunk)

Angaba khona ekhaya ngo waba (He may be at home in the evening)

Engaba* w6ali nje ukugijima ukufunela ni ukulwa?
 (Since he would be the first to run away why does he want to fight?)

* This particular example brings up the question whether we are right in regarding nga as potential-mood-forming. This, as it stands, is definitely Participial Mood!

Amakholwa atshi ave kuta Ga nanchube manje kuphetshe uWabane n;
(The Christians say there is not going to be any first-fruit ceremony at all now that Wabane is chief).

Asati ukutshi at/ho ngani, ngoGa noyise uMachisana eGeba nayo inshube kodsi elikholwa.
(We do not know why they say so, for even his father Machisana used to hold the first-fruit ceremony, in spite of his being a Christian)

Chapter XI

Adverbs

Adverbs may be classified as follows:

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

These may be subdivided into Time, Place and Manner.

Adverbs of Time:

futshi (too long/again). e.g. Mas'uhhlalela futshi endlini (Do not remain too long indoors).

nini? (when?) e.g. Omama Gakho Gafike nini? (When did your sons arrive?)

Adverbs of Place:

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

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

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

la (here). e.g. Leyo ntsambo ma ite la (Let that rope come here).

Adverbs of Manner:

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

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

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

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

(3) Nouns now used exclusively as adverbs without any modification in form. e.g. itolo (yesterday), umphelo (altogether). e.g. Omama Gakhe Gafike itolo (His sons arrived yesterday); 'Umke umphelo (He has gone away for good).

(4) Nouns taking the locative initial vowel e- and most of them used now exclusively as adverbs. e.g. exeleni (on the left), emva (behind), endle (in the open veld), edasi (at the bottom), e/eya (across), embili (in front), etulu (on top), ekhatshi (inside), ehlantane (at midday), emini (at day-time), ekudzeni (far away).

Adverbs in (2) and (4) are mostly adverbs of Place. A few are adverbs of time. e.g. Leto mbuati nditi/eye ekhatshi (I left these goats inside); Kuta sengwa ehlantane (Milking will be done at midday).

(5) Nouns modified by dropping the initial vowel, and used adverbially. e.g. Gumini (recently), Gucala (aside), kuqala (at first), mantsembama (in the afternoon), kuaphela (only), mpela (entirely), Gume (restlessly), mmo (altogether not).

These are mostly adverbs of Manner, but a few are adverbs of Time or Place. e.g. Tonke etakwitshi tiseke Guqala (Put all those belonging to us aside); Nalelo jiki salinyatsha Gume (Even that beer we drank restlessly); Tange ndimfene mmo (I did not see him at all); Amaklusi afike Gumini kule (The Hlubis arrived here quite recently).

(6) Noun stems preceded by the formative nga- and in this form used exclusively as adverbs: e.g. ngozwaca (at twilight), ngomso (to-morrow), ngonongane (at midday). Ungonane is the Baka word for the tinky. The idea is "when the tinky is heard overhead".

All the adverbs in this class are adverbs of Time. e.g. La' Gafana Gafike ngozwaca (These young men arrived at twilight); Sisuke ekhaya ngonongane (We left home at midday).

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

(7) Qualificatives preceded by the formative ka-. These are all adverbs of Manner: e.g. kakhulu (greatly), ka6i (badly), kahle (well), kanyhenti (many times), ka6ini (twice), kadse (late), kangaka (so much), kancani (a little). e.g. Mus' uucija kangaka! (Don't tell lies so much!); 'Undikh/ikh/e kanyhenti (he struck me many times).

Chapter XII

The Ideophone

Baka ideophones may be classified as follows:-

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

(1) Monosyllabic ideophones. e.g. tu (of silence), nya (of sudden disappearance), 3u (of falling dead), vi (of suddenly sitting bolt upright), tshu (of pitch darkness), gqi (of sudden emergence), thwa (of spotless whiteness).

(2) Dissyllabic ideophones. e.g. *dlabu* (of bursting), *baya* (of falling whole length), *bavu* (of stabbing with a spear), *fuce* (of settling down), *laqa* (of casting an eye).

(3) Trisyllabic ideophones. e.g. *nyelete* (of sneaking off), *habevu* (of belching).

(4) Quadrisyllabic ideophones. e.g. *gak galakadla* (of making a sudden, noisy irruption), *t/hebele* (of gliding smoothly along), *cecefiya* (of sleeping peacefully).

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

Monosyllabic.

(1) Low-rising: *tu*, *mbe* (of running in a straight level course) *nya*.

(2) Low-level: *u*, *tshu*, *uu* (of the slow glide of a snake)

(3) Mid-level: *ggi*, *thwa*.

(4) Mid-rising: *mbu* (of hitting so as to produce a heavy round sound).

(5) High-rising: *nkee* (of hitting on the head).

Dissyllabic.

(1) Low-rising: *xhule-xhule* (of walking with a limp), *laqa*.

(2) Low-level: *dlabu*, *bavu*, *baya*

(3) Low-falling: *qitshi* (of a stone dropping), *gqila* (of falling over), *fuce*.

(4) Mid-falling: *gxambu* (of plunging into water).

Trisyllabic.

(1) Low-falling: *nyelete*, *habevu*

(2) Mid-falling: *qaqaba* (of the smart gallop of a horse).

Quadrisyllabic

(1) Low-falling: *kwilikiji* (of throwing a stick), *galakadla*, *cecefiya*.

(2) Low-level: *t/hebelele*.

Illustrative examples of the use of ideophones

Lelo ha/i kwasa litshe nya (By the morning that horse had disappeared). *Sambona seyetsi gqi ngale kweligxa* (We saw him suddenly emerging on the other side of the forest). *Kwangoko wawa u* (Instantaneously he fell stone dead). *Walala cecefiya ngokontwana* (he slept as peacefully as a child). *Ndamkha bavu agetkhontfo* (I stabbed him deep with a spear). *Galakadla sat/he ngekhatshi!* (With a sudden burst we went in!). *Nanko etshi xhule-xhule eyawungena endlini!* (See how he goes limping, limping into the hub).

The following are a few verbs derived from ideophonic stems.

g cothfo (shuffle along) > *cothe cothfo-cothfo*

dzathfuka (snap, of a string) > *dzathfu*

nqutshaka (be nipped) > *nquthfu* (for *tsa* and *thf* cf. Ch. I § 63 p. 9)

dlabuka (be ruptured) > *dlabu*

kwilikijela (throw) > *kwilikij kwilikiji*

qitshika (drop) > *qitshi*

laqata (make furtive glances) > *laqa*.

The conjunction

There are three types of conjunctions, viz:

(a) Primitive conjunctions.

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

(c) Other parts of speech modified in form.

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

kantsi (yet, whereas). Yena ucinga ukutshi andimboni, kantsi kadine ndimbekile (He thinks I do not see him, and yet I have been watching him for some time).

futshi (moreover, further). Futshi nditshandza ukwati inyaniso yale ndzaba. (Moreover I want to know the truth of this matter).

Under (b) There are the following:

(i) Verbal infinitives. Examples:

ukuza (if). Ukuza ufike embi kwan, ust/ane leti ndzaba. (If he arrives before me, divulge this news to him).

ukutshi (that). Ndiya qondisa ukutshi leto ukomo tafa (I realize that those cattle died).

(ii) Pronouns. Examples:

kodwa (but). Ndiya lati igama lakhe, kodwa ave ndiyati eyona ndawo ahlala kwiyo (I know his name, but I do not know the place where he lives). Ngendikwancedza kuloko ave ndikutshemba kahle. (I should help you but I do not trust you well enough).

(iii) Adverbs. Examples:

manje (now). Manje ke utshi na sive eyiphi? (And now which do you expect us to accept?).

na (when). Ave kutshiwa "sicala" na kubojwa icala! (Addressing anybody as "swear" is not permissible when trying case)

(iv) Copulatives. Examples:

kuna (it is when). Kuna Gafikako (It is when they arrive).

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

Under (c) we find the following:

(i) Noun derivatives. Examples :

noga (even if). Noga akakhambi una ndita khamba (Even if he is not going, I personally shall go).

This conjunction is used correlatively to signify either.. or. e.g. Na ungasona noga huGemi noga huSihoyana mbite etc lapha. (If you happen to see either Gemi or Sihoyana, call hi here).

ngoba (because). *Ingandibamba lula ngoba namu se mthifutham:*
(It can easily overtake me because I am already trembling).

nje ngoba (according as, as). *Ma kwentive nje ngoba inkosi*
y' ibobile (Let things be done as the chief has commanded).

The above are all derived from *ukuba*. As we have already seen, the tendency in Basa is to elide the -k- of the infinitive prefix. Thus *na + ukuba > na + uba > noba*; *nga + ukuba > nga uba > ngoba*.

mba (the day when). *Sita bonana mba ndabuya* (We shall meet on the day when I return).

nyakana (the year when). *Tonke le' tintfo tiyawulungiswa nyakana*
(savuna kahle (All these things will be rectified the year when we shall have a good harvest).

(ii) Pronominal derivatives.

noko (nevertheless). *Noko ke ma Ga, oxe bofatini kulelo gama*
(Nevertheless let them both withdraw that statement).

kaloku (now). *Kaloku ave uta khamba naye?* (But now aren't you going with him?)

Chapter XIV

The Interjection

Interjections may be classified as follows:

(1) Primitive interjections. e.g. *awu!* (hallo!), *heyi!* (I say!), *ngawu-ngawu!* (hurrah!), *ki-ki!* (bravo!), *naye!* (alasi!), *nance!* (alas!)

(2) Other parts of speech used interjectively. These may be further subdivided as follows:

(i) Nouns used interjectively. These may be vocatives, e.g. *mfo!* (man!), *makhosi!* (hail, chiefs!).

The vocative may be preceded by a primitive interjection, e.g. *we, mfo!* (hi, man!), *ee, makhosi!* (hail, chiefs!).

The vocative may be followed by the vocative formative *ndzini*. e.g. *mfo ndzini!*

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

(iii) The imperative of verbs used interjectively, e.g. *suka!* (peck!), *dzedza* (get away!)

(3) Substantival phrases. e.g. *ndlu-akulu!* (hail, O Queen), lit. Big house!); *thfole lenkunti!* (hail, thou brave one!) (lit. calf of a bull!)

(4) Imperative predicative phrases, e.g. *Suka lapha!* (hosh!) lit. get away from here! *Itshi gu!* (Gang way!)

(5) Subjunctival predicatives preceded by the subjunctival concord of the 2nd person. e.g. *Wafa!* (Danger! lit. You die!), *Nanyatshelwa!* (Danger behind! lit. you are being run over!)

These are the commonest types of interjections. It may be mentioned that besides these, Basa, like all other languages, may employ any part of speech as an interjection in certain circumstances.